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PAUL S. BOYER Boston Book Censorship in the
Twenties

HAMLIN HILL Mark Twain: Audience and Artistry

ROBERT L. TYLER The I.W.W. and the Brainworkers

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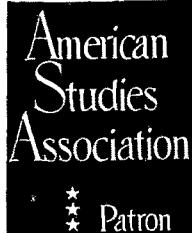
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The aim of AMERICAN QUARTERLY is to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present. Editors and contributors therefore concern themselves not only with the areas of American life which they know best but with the relation of those areas to the entire American scene and to world society.

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PAUL S. BOYER
Harvard University

Boston Book Censorship in the Twenties

MASSACHUSETTS CENSORSHIP CAME OVER ON THE MAYFLOWER. WHEN GOVERNOR William Bradford of Plymouth learned that Thomas Morton of Merrymount, in addition to his other misdeeds, had "composed sundry rhymes and verses, some tending to lasciviousness" the only solution was to send a military expedition to break up Morton's high-living settlement.¹

It was three centuries later, however, in the 1920s, that Massachusetts, and Boston in particular, acquired its real reputation for censorship and "Banned in Boston" became a slogan sure to boost flagging sales in the rest of the country. The roll call of books, magazines and plays of wide repute and recognized merit which were banned is a familiar one, led by *The American Mercury* (1926), *Elmer Gantry* and *An American Tragedy* (1927), *Strange Interlude* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1929) as well as works of Upton Sinclair, Sherwood Anderson, Bertrand Russell, William Faulkner, H. G. Wells, John Dos Passos, Ben Hecht, John Gunther, Percy Marks, Ernest Hemingway and a host of lesser-known authors.²

As the decade drew to a close, Boston's censorship became so ubiquitous that many began to view it with faint amusement as an inexplicable and even rather picturesque part of the Boston scene, like the cobblestone streets and Indian pudding. "It has become so tiresome to reproach Boston for its constant repression of creative work, that we are beginning to surrender in despair," wrote a world-weary editor of the *Harvard Crimson* in 1929. The year before, Helena Huntington Smith, in the same mood, observed in *The Outlook* that "the majority of intelligent

¹ William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, ed. S. E. Morison (New York, 1952), pp. 206, 209.

² For a list of over sixty titles banned in Boston between 1927 and 1929, see Zechariah Chafee Jr., *The Censorship in Boston* (Boston, 1930), p. 22. This pamphlet mentions other expressions of the suppressive spirit in Boston, such as the refusal to grant permits for public meetings on birth control or the Sacco-Vanzetti case, which tend to support the interpretation of Boston's censorship suggested in this paper.

people have reached a point where they turn over the page and forget it, merely reflecting that poor dear old Boston is making itself ridiculous again."³

Despite such contemporary counsel of despair it is perhaps possible now, a generation later, better to understand this curious outcropping of censorship. The story must begin at least as early as 1878, for in that year Anthony Comstock, New York's notorious warrior against sin, made a speech at Boston's Park Street Church on "impure literature" which bore fruit in the founding of the New England Society for the Suppression of Vice. The more picturesque name, New England Watch and Ward Society, was adopted a few years later. The founder and moving spirit in these early years was Dr. Frederick Baylies Allen, a leading Boston Episcopalian (and father of the sophisticated social historian Frederick Lewis Allen).⁴

A perusal of the annual reports of the Watch and Ward Society reveals that "impure literature" was a major concern from the very beginning of the Society. The chief offenders in the early years were magazines featuring crime and detective stories, of which the *Police Gazette* was described as a "fitting leader."⁵ Only rarely did more serious works of repute and merit come within the purview of the Watch and Ward. One important exception should be noted. In 1882 Dr. Allen, by a few discreet letters, halted a Boston publisher's plans for bringing out an edition of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.⁶ There were few actual prosecutions, and this paucity of obscenity was attributed by the Watch and Ward Society to its own "constant watchfulness and earnest efforts."⁷

Literature control was only one facet of a more general attack on evil. Gambling and prostitution (primly called "the Social Evil" or "Ill Repute" in the annual reports) were also major items of attention. Although the original impetus for the founding of the Watch and Ward had been the influence of Anthony Comstock, a neurotic whose personal psychological peculiarities were later mercilessly exposed by Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech,⁸ it would be incorrect to dismiss the Society

³ *Harvard Crimson*, September 23, 1929; Helena H. Smith, "Boston's Bogy-Man," *The Outlook*, CIL (June 6, 1928), 214.

⁴ *My Neighbor, Journal of the Episcopal City Mission and the Archdeaconry of Boston*, XXXIV (February 1925), 8; Frederick Lewis Allen, *Frederick Baylies Allen: A Memoir* (Cambridge, 1929).

⁵ *Annual Report of the New England Society for the Suppression of Vice, 1883-84* (Boston, 1884), p. 7. Hereafter: *Annual Report*.

⁶ Frederick P. Hier Jr., "When Boston Censored Walt Whitman," *New York Times Magazine*, June 19, 1927.

⁷ *Annual Report, 1903-04* (Boston, 1904), p. 6.

⁸ Heywood Broun and Margaret Leech, *Anthony Comstock, Roundsman of the Lord* (New York, 1927).

as simply a group of repressed and prurient snoops. In fact, the young Watch and Ward Society was welcomed as a valued ally in the movement for social reform which swept Boston at the end of the nineteenth century. The lists of early officers and directors of the Society⁹ almost provide a directory of Boston's reformers: Robert A. Woods, famed founder of the South End Settlement House; Phillips Brooks, who gave his name to Harvard's social service organization; Raymond Calkins, who was active in prison and housing reforms; Joseph Lee, leader of the playground movement; Charles Hodges of the Christian Social Union and longtime president of South End House; Robert T. Paine of the Workingmen's Housing Movement and founder of the Associated Charities organization, and numerous others who were deep in a myriad of good works. Dr. Allen, the founder, was a veritable Paul Bunyan among reformers. He established the Episcopal City Mission, the Sailor's Haven in Charlestown, the St. Mary's Home for Sailors in East Boston, "Mother's Rest" at Revere Beach and numerous summer playrooms throughout Boston.¹⁰ With good reason the Rev. Mr. Calkins has characterized his Watch and Ward colleagues of these years as "some of the most intrepid . . . social workers whom I have ever known."¹¹

It is perhaps difficult for a later generation to recapture the affinity which such men felt between their reformism and the surveillance of literature, but to them it was very real. In 1900 the Rev. Mr. James Eells characterized the Watch and Ward Society as "a kind of enlightened civic conscience" and added: "There are a great many agencies for reformation. This Society attempts to prevent the need for reformation."¹² In the same year Mrs. Edwin D. Mead compared the work of the Watch and Ward with the movements for libraries, playgrounds and model tenements and found they all were engaged in "saving through prevention."¹³ Robert A. Woods in 1903 praised its "profound contribution to the work of every uplifting agency in this city" in fighting the "temptations" which formed "a very serious attack from the rear" upon the reformers. The Watch and Ward, he said, was "a sort of Moral Board of Health."¹⁴ On another occasion Dr. Francis Peabody also made this

⁹ Control of the Watch and Ward was in the hands of a ten-member Board of Directors which perpetuated itself by co-option of new members and appointed the President, Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer. The effective day-to-day control was in the hands of the full-time secretary. See "The Preambles and Bylaws," *Annual Report, 1889-90* (Boston, 1890), p. 13.

¹⁰ *My Neighbor*, XXXIV (April 1925), 3.

¹¹ Raymond Calkins, Belmont, to Paul Boyer, March 12, 1961.

¹² *Annual Report, 1899-00* (Boston, 1900), p. 26.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹⁴ *Annual Report, 1902-03* (Boston, 1903), p. 48.

analogy with municipal hygiene. He described the sewer workers needed by a large city, concluding:

That is the way this little Society operates in our midst. It is quietly, unobtrusively working underground, guarding us from the pestiferous evil which at any time may come up into our faces, into our homes, into our children's lives.¹⁵

In 1911 newly retired President Eliot of Harvard offered the ultimate tribute to the Watch and Ward when he described it as "a thoroughly scientific charity" because it "investigates the causes" of social evils and "undertakes to prevent these evils by drying up the sources of immorality and crime."¹⁶

Perhaps the author of an obituary tribute to Dr. Allen best reconstructed the reasoning which could lead a social reformer to become involved in literature censorship:

Those who injured others for their selfish gain aroused his burning indignation. It was this passion for justice which led him to organize and serve the Watch and Ward Society. . . . He would do what he could to see that everyone had his rightful heritage of a clean and wholesome environment.¹⁷

That is it in a nutshell. At the heart of the social justice movement were the dual convictions that the source of human misery lay in man's environment and that these environmental evils could be rooted out by men of goodwill. From these assumptions it was an easy step to literature suppression. Books and magazines formed a part of the environment just as did slums, rats, garbage, watered milk, saloons and prostitutes—and if all these social blemishes were valid subjects for control or eradication then certainly an organization dedicated, among other things, to regulating the community's reading matter was also on the side of progress!

Throughout the early years of the twentieth century, as the Progressive movement grew and prospered, the Watch and Ward Society maintained its close identification with the reformers. In 1911 the annual report noted proudly that the annual public meeting had been attended by "many of prominence as workers or supporters in social and other reforms."¹⁸

As President Eliot's warm support would suggest, the Society drew its chief support from the wealthy and socially prominent of New England.

¹⁵ *Annual Report, 1897-98* (Boston, 1899), p. 43.

¹⁶ *Annual Report, 1910-11* (Boston, 1911), p. 36.

¹⁷ *My Neighbor, XXXIV* (April 1925), 3.

¹⁸ *Annual Report, 1910-11* (Boston, 1911), p. 19.

Among the charter officers were Edward Everett Hale, Phillips Brooks and the Presidents of Amherst, Yale, Brown, Dartmouth, the University of Vermont and Colby College. The contributors list in a typical year (1888) reveals a heavy preponderance of such names as Abbott, Cabot, Coolidge, Eliot, Endicott, Farnsworth, Greenough, Holmes, Lawrence, Lowell, Pickering, Sewall, Thorndike and Wigglesworth.¹⁹ The Brahmin house organ, *The Boston Evening Transcript*, strongly supported the Watch and Ward.²⁰ When Founder Allen said in 1885, "We have been specially gratified at the manner in which our work, in this most difficult department [book and magazine surveillance], has been regarded by the community," all evidence indicated that his sanguinity was justified.²¹

This gilt-edged support for the Watch and Ward further reveals its close affinity with the wider currents of reform in Boston, since the reform movement was itself the product of some deeply felt fears within the Brahmin circles. The old Yankee leaders of Boston were upset by the growing numbers of immigrants who revealed distressingly little awareness of the shadowy but powerful lines of social control which bound the city upon which they had descended. As a recent student of Boston immigration has noted, it was in the closing decades of the nineteenth century that the Brahmins "ceased to be the undisputed arbiters of the public good."²² The Brahmin response was to institutionalize the social authority which theretofore had been informal and taken for granted. The proliferation of upper-class Boston reform organizations in this period reflects this Brahmin concern. The Watch and Ward Society was wholeheartedly supported by the upper-class reformers not only because it fitted into their philosophy of environmental amelioration, but also because it was another means of institutionalizing the challenged Brahmin social authority.²³ The Watch and Ward played its role well. The "evils" which it sought to control proved almost always to be limited to the newer immigrant areas of Boston. The Watch and Ward's President in 1901, the Rt. Rev. Mr. William McVickar, told the annual meeting:

¹⁹ *Annual Report, 1888-89* (Boston, 1889), p. 21.

²⁰ On October 16, 1890, for example, the *Evening Transcript* said of the Watch and Ward: "The substantial results of work during the last three months justify its urgent appeal for a more generous support."

²¹ *Annual Report, 1894-95* (Boston, 1895), p. 6.

²² Barbara Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 57.

²³ Richard Hofstadter has suggested that the original Mugwump reformist impulse came from the insecurity of an old elite displaced by a new plutocracy in a status revolution; *The Age of Reform*, Vintage ed. (New York, 1955), chap. iv. It would seem that in Boston this aristocratic insecurity was occasioned particularly by the immigrants who did not readily fit into the old authority patterns.

There are other streets in Boston beside Beacon Street and Commonwealth Avenue . . . and these spots, these localities, these purlieus—may I say, these “slums” of Boston?—are the danger spots . . . which threaten your better neighborhoods; and this Society is the agency to which the people of this city must largely look for their disinfection, if not obliteration.²⁴

Along with its upper-class character, the early Watch and Ward Society also reflected the strongly Protestant nature of Boston reformism in this period. Bishops and ministers of the Episcopal, Congregational and Methodist churches dominate the lists of officers and directors. For many years the annual fund-raising meeting was held in various Protestant churches of Boston. As Dr. Allen observed in 1895, “Clergymen of all denominations . . . have . . . expressed their entire approval of our course.”²⁵

Finally, the pervading mood of the Watch and Ward in these early years was optimistic. Hints of uneasiness do appear, as in the Rev. Mr. McVickar’s hesitant use of the feared word “slums,” but by and large the Watch and Warders remained cautiously confident that they would be successful in asserting their authority and preserving the Boston they knew. The Rev. Mr. McVickar probably caught the mood in 1901 when he added soothingly: “I am sure I need not try to tell Bostonians how good a place Boston is. . . . [T]his Society . . . has had something at least to do in making the cleanliness, the respectability, and quiet wholesomeness of Boston.”²⁶

Thus, the end of the nineteenth century was a time of social reform in Boston, and the Watch and Ward Society was one of the organizations spawned by the reformist spirit. Fifty years later, in 1929, the Middlesex County District Attorney, speaking at a trial in which the censorship activities of the Watch and Ward Society had been bitterly assailed, said scornfully:

It is inconceivable, with all the misery that exists in every city, that contributors, instead of bestowing funds on the poor and unfortunate, consider it their duty to contribute to a private organization that hires paid snoopers to watch over the morals of the general public.²⁷

It was the voice of a new generation which did not remember the days when the Watch and Ward Society had been looked up to as a leader in the fight against misery, crime and social injustice.

²⁴ *Annual Report, 1900-01* (Boston, 1901), p. 32.

²⁵ *Annual Report, 1894-95* (Boston, 1895), p. 6.

²⁶ *Annual Report, 1900-01* (Boston, 1901), pp. 30-31.

²⁷ *Boston Herald*, December 21, 1929.

Unfortunately for its niche in history, the Watch and Ward Society outlived the years of genteel, optimistic, *fin de siècle* reformism, and found itself confronting the America of the Roaring Twenties. It is almost to resort to cliché to say that the 1920s were years of great fluidity and change in American life, values and mores, yet this must be the point of departure. In 1923 Henry Seidel Canby described the decade as a time of "rapidly changing social conditions" with

the country drifting to the towns, transportation made easy, the clutch of environment upon the individual loosened . . . , a period of disturbing revelations by science which have confused our sense of right conduct, all emphasized by the relaxations and reactions of a vast war.²⁸

In 1919 the Rev. Mr. Calkins told the Watch and Ward: "Everything is becoming new. . . . This world is on the move. It is only a question of what we are moving towards."²⁹

The literary people of America reflected this mood of change and flux. Theodore Dreiser, Eugene O'Neill, Sinclair Lewis, Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald and others produced novels and plays which were far different from the typical prewar literary fare. For many Americans, rejection of these new trends in literature simply formed part of a broader negative response to the turbulence of the twenties. In 1929, for example, a rally held at Ford Hall Forum, Boston, to oppose book censorship met with a heated public reaction. One civic leader denounced the "radicals who are flaunting the censorship laws of the city" and urged that "someone charter a ship and send that crowd to Russia." A spokesman for the Veterans of Foreign Wars agreed that "The Forum speakers and radicals should be deported." A woman representing the Massachusetts Public Interests League (a group whose ambitious program included opposition to "bureaucratic and socialistic legislation and . . . the breakdown of American institutions and our civilization") said her League "deplores such meetings."³⁰ These violent responses to a meeting protesting censorship suggest that for many people literary freedom, political radicalism, religious impiety and social iconoclasm were all lumped together, and the lump was decidedly suspect. Book censorship provided one concrete means of reacting to this amorphous change. Concluding his catalogue of the upheavals of the twenties, Canby noted: "Indignantly we see

²⁸ *The Literary Review of the New York Evening Post*, December 22, 1923.

²⁹ *Annual Report, 1918-19* (Boston, 1919), p. 21. For a discussion of this aspect of the twenties see William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932* (Chicago, 1958), Prologue and chap. ix.

³⁰ *Boston Herald*, April 18, 1929. See also the editorial "Wasteful Clowning" in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 17, 1929.

change occurring visibly all about, some of it for the worse and all of it different, and helplessly call the police to distinguish between right and wrong." The solemn banning of specific titles thus became a ritualistic means for expressing disapproval of the broader changes in society which were so vast as to defy control by any individual or small group of individuals. This view of censorship is strengthened by the fact that the more familiar forms of "immorality" in Boston, notably the notorious burlesque at the venerable Old Howard Theatre, continued relatively unmolested.³¹

This tendency to censor the undesirable or frightening was re-enforced by the impressive example of the United States Government. During World War I civil liberties had been drastically curtailed to quash criticism of the war effort. The severe 1918 Sedition Act was of fresh memory. The panicky use of censorship was also a significant element in the "Red Scare" raids of 1920 carried out by the Justice Department. Upwards of 300 men in the Boston area participated in the great raids of January, 1920 which netted 800 to 1,200 "radicals." Confiscation of books and other literature was an important object of these raids. The instructions issued to local officials by the Justice Department stated that "all literature, books, papers and pictures on the walls of the meeting place" should be confiscated. Judge George W. Anderson, in a case arising from the raids, reported: "Private rooms were searched in omnibus fashion, trunks, bureaus, suitcases and boxes broken open; books and papers seized . . . I doubt whether a single search warrant was obtained or applied for . . ." ³² The implications of the wartime Espionage Act and the Red Raids seemed plain: Unpopular, minority opinions threaten America; books and printed matter form an important part of this danger; citizens are justified in using illegal or extralegal means to combat the threat. As these lessons sank in, the temptation to censor the unfamiliar or the unpopular was intensified. Replying to a letter protesting censorship, Mayor Malcolm A. Nichols of Boston said:

Since the war we have had a continuation of seditious propaganda, financed in part from foreign sources, and actively or passively countenanced by people who may be well intentioned but do not realize what the propaganda really means. We have, moreover, an epidemic of indecency in various publications, and on the stage which constitute a most perplexing problem.³³

³¹ See Chafee, *The Censorship in Boston*, p. 9.

³² Zechariah Chafee Jr., *Free Speech in the United States*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1954), p. 207. All the information about the Red Raids has been taken from this source.

³³ Quoted in Chafee, *The Censorship in Boston*. The date and addressee of the letter are not cited.

Speaking in opposition to censorship in 1929, Professor Zechariah Chafee Jr. of Harvard said: "This is simply the culmination of a series of acts which began with the deportation raids of 1920."³⁴

When all this has been noted, a problem remains. Why was censorship so severe in *Boston*? Presumably the impact of the rapidly changing twenties, and of the government's behavior, was about the same throughout the land. Yet it remained for Boston to achieve real distinction in the field of censorship. For the answer, one must seek to understand wherein public opinion in Boston differed from that of the rest of the country, and here the position of the Roman Catholic Church, the faith of most Bostonians in the twenties, becomes decisive.

Early in 1927, the Vatican launched a widely publicized war on immoral literature. One of the stated aims of this campaign was "to invoke the aid of the Bishops and diocesan clergy in reading and banning books whose number is too great to permit detailed examination by the authorities of the Holy See."³⁵ The Papal campaign received enthusiastic support in Boston. The official diocesan weekly, *The Pilot*, said in August of 1927: "His Holiness awakened the conscience of the world to a moral disorder of which it was apparently oblivious."³⁶ Earlier in the summer *The Pilot* had said:

Some . . . seem unaware that there is any prohibition at all in the matter of reading the moral offal that passes for the best sellers of the day. They think that because a book is not on the Index they are allowed to read it, forgetful of the fact that most of the evil literature they read is forbidden by the natural law. . . .³⁷

Why did the Boston diocese react so warmly to the immoral literature campaign?

In the first place, the majority of Boston's Catholics in the twenties had Irish antecedents, and many looked admiringly to Ireland and Irish ways. The Irish Free State at this time was passing through a particularly virulent wave of censorship. In 1926 the Irish legislature created an "evil literature" investigating committee whose recommendations led to the establishment of a Censorship of Publications Board with absolute powers to ban books and periodicals from circulation throughout Ireland. This act was attacked by Heywood Broun in *The Nation* as "the most cruel and silly censorship law which any civilized country has ever

³⁴ *Harvard Crimson*, October 9, 1929.

³⁵ *New York Times*, May 11, 1927.

³⁶ *The Pilot*, August 20, 1927.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1927.

known."³⁸ This action undoubtedly had its effect upon the Irish of Boston.

Secondly, the leadership of the Boston diocese in the twenties was unusually suspicious of the new and unfamiliar. In 1929, for example, William Cardinal O'Connell, the popular primate of Boston, said to a conference of Catholic college students:

What does all this worked up enthusiasm about Einstein mean? . . . I have never yet met a man who understood in the least what Einstein is driving at, and . . . I very seriously doubt that Einstein himself knows really what he means.³⁹

He continued by suggesting that perhaps Einstein's real purpose was the destruction of Christianity. In support of Cardinal O'Connell, *The Pilot* asked editorially: "If this wonderful theory [of Einstein's] is too far away from the average human being, what is the good of it?"⁴⁰ (The same sentiments would perhaps have been echoed by a majority of Americans in 1929, yet the Cardinal's pointed comments while speaking in his official capacity are significant for an understanding of the thinking in Boston.)

Finally, the Catholic leaders of Boston encountered little resistance from the older Protestant circles of Boston to dissuade them from a campaign of censorship. With a few exceptions, the Brahmins were themselves caught up in the suspicious atmosphere which favored censorship as a weapon against "radicalism" and change. The well-known social philosopher, Groucho Marx, speculating to a *Harvard Crimson* reporter in 1929 as to why the wealthier, more highly educated groups in Boston did not fight the "preposterous censorship," concluded that the answer lay in the fact that "the Cabots and that crowd are so afraid of a left wing they won't go near one, even if it's on a chicken."⁴¹

It should be noted that *The Pilot* devoted much of its energies to encouraging Catholics to rediscover the wealth of their own literature, which was described as possessing "an essential beauty deeper and sweeter than anything that ever flowed from a tainted pen":

Catholic artists in poetry and prose have sounded the depths and heights of life with a surer understanding than the decadent intelligentsia who have drawn an evil trail across the pages of literature.⁴²

By implication, however, this involved a rejection of non-Catholic liter-

³⁸ "It Seems to Heywood Broun," *The Nation*, CXXIX (October 2, 1929), p. 345. For the Irish censorship see Norman St. John-Stevas, *Obscenity and the Law* (London, 1956), pp. 179-87.

³⁹ *The Pilot*, April 13, 1929.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* ⁴¹ *Harvard Crimson*, October 3, 1929. ⁴² *The Pilot*, November 2, 1929.

ature. Between 1927 and 1929 a series of editorials appeared in *The Pilot* attacking the literature of the day as "chaos," "rubbish," "cheap," "filthy," "gruesome," "seamy," "pernicious," "decadent" and "offal."⁴³ In August of 1929 *The Pilot* drew the obvious conclusion: "The easiest way to avoid bad books is to read only Catholic books."⁴⁴

Boston in the 1920s was thus particularly vulnerable to censorship. In one of its attacks upon current authors *The Pilot* said: "They must be restrained, and this is the difficult office of the censor."⁴⁵ In such an atmosphere, it is not surprising that the Watch and Ward Society continued the literature censorship which had formed part of its activity in the pre-war reformist era. Shortly before World War I an organization known as the Boston Booksellers Committee had been established under the aegis of the Watch and Ward. It consisted of three officials of the Watch and Ward and three co-operative booksellers selected by Mr. Richard J. Fuller of the Old Corner Bookstore. This group judged all "questionable" books and notified the booksellers which titles had been rejected. Book reviewers of the Boston papers co-operated by declining to review books rejected by the self-appointed Booksellers Committee. The District Attorney's office rendered an informal advance decision on doubtful cases to aid the Committee in reaching a decision. Any bookseller who had the temerity to sell a banned book faced legal action by the Watch and Ward Society. In the atmosphere of the time such action was likely to go against the bookseller. For example, a Municipal Court judge found *An American Tragedy* obscene in 1927 and in a Superior Court appeal in 1929 this verdict was unanimously upheld by a jury composed of two machinists, two clerks, a hatter, a treasurer, a painter, an automobile washer, a shipper, two salesmen and a janitor—and their decision was in turn sustained by the Massachusetts Supreme Court.⁴⁶ In fact, however, the power of the Watch and Ward rested as much upon its residual social authority as upon the threat of prosecution. One bookseller of the twenties has recalled: "When the Watch and Ward threatened to prosecute, you followed their advice because even if you won the case you were presented by the newspapers as favoring the purveying of filth."⁴⁷ It was indeed a

⁴³ *Ibid.*, July 23, 1927; August 24, September 14, October 19, November 2 and November 16, 1929.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, August 24, 1929.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, November 16, 1929. Another important religious force in Boston in the late twenties was the young Christian Science Church which reportedly employed repressive measures to keep from circulation certain books dealing with Mrs. Eddy. See the four-part series by Henry R. Mussey, "The Christian Science Censor," *The Nation*, CXXX (February 5, February 12, February 26 and March 12, 1930).

⁴⁶ *New York Times*, April 23, 1927; *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 16, 1929.

⁴⁷ Interview with Mr. Maroney of the Old Corner Bookstore, Boston, March 9, 1961.

tight control which the Watch and Ward, operating through the Booksellers Committee, exercised throughout the early years of the decade. A favorable writer in *World's Work* in 1925 put the situation succinctly: "If the bookseller won't sell and the reviewer won't review, the book might as well never have been written. . . ." ⁴⁸

Records of the Booksellers Committee are not available and it is impossible to know the extent of its book suppression. Fuller said in 1925 that the committee had banned about "half a dozen" books a year and asserted that it actually exercised a certain moderating influence on the pro-censorship spirit in Boston:

This Committee is even kinder than the courts might be, for we consider the book as a whole and we consider the author's motive in writing the story, and the probable effect it will have upon the public. We are neither prudish nor prurient. . . .⁴⁹

Indeed, Arthur Garfield Hays, the American Civil Liberties Union attorney who was involved in a number of censorship cases in Boston, has written of the Rev. Mr. J. Frank Chase, influential Executive Secretary of the Watch and Ward Society from 1907 until his death in 1926:

I have felt that perhaps none of us did justice to . . . Chase. We had supposed he was the most effective self-appointed custodian of Boston's morals. Yet a year after his death we realized that perhaps he had exercised a certain restraining influence.⁵⁰

Thus, the pattern seems superficially simple: Boston was particularly susceptible to censorship in the twenties and the Watch and Ward Society provided the institutional apparatus through which censorship was exercised. In fact, however, the entire situation was very unstable. As has been noted, the Watch and Ward Society, a Protestant, Brahmin organization, had come into existence as part of the movement to establish Brahmin hegemony over Boston's immigrants. By the 1920s the immigrants were in the majority and the Irish had gained political control of the city. The Watch and Ward, however, had made little effort to reflect Boston's changing complexion in its leadership. The same men who had been active in the 1890s as enthusiastic middle-aged reformers, now grown old, continued to control the organization. Substantially the same names

⁴⁸ Cameron Rogers, "A Booksellers' Censorship," *World's Work*, L (June, 1925), 219. For a more critical view of the Booksellers Committee see A.L.S. Wood, "Keeping the Puritans Pure," *American Mercury*, VI (September 1925), 74-78. A brief and balanced summary of the system is included in the feature "Book Banning Issue Burning in Boston," *New York Times*, July 3, 1927.

⁴⁹ Rogers, "A Booksellers' Censorship," p. 220.

⁵⁰ Arthur Garfield Hays, *Let Freedom Ring* (New York, 1937), p. 185.

appear on the contributor lists. In fact, due to the impressive largess of Mrs. Martha R. Hunt, who left the Watch and Ward \$101,849.09 in 1911, the Society was almost independent financially. In short, by the 1920s the Watch and Ward had become an ingrown group of elderly Brahmins exercising wide social control in a city dominated by Irish Catholics. It was acting as Boston's censor though lacking any organic ties to the dominant social group of the city. This curious situation precipitated certain erratic behavior by the Watch and Ward which in turn touched off sharp reactions.

First, within the Watch and Ward the old assurance of unquestioned social authority quite justifiably drained away. In 1929, when the Society was under severe attack, it issued a statement which included the plaintive plea: "This organization was founded by such men as Edward Everett Hale and Phillips Brooks. Some of Boston's best citizens have been in its service. . . . It is entitled to be treated with some respect."⁵¹ The optimism of earlier years gave way to a gloomy pessimism in which success was by no means certain. In 1924, for example, the Society imported the Rev. Mr. Clifford Twombly of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, who delivered a strident harangue on the rising tide of evil. "We need the mighty organized help of the Christian men and women of the churches," he cried, "if America is to win this Holy War, for we are now in a hand-to-throat grapple with evils that seek to pollute the whole stream of American life. . . ." ⁵²

As the Watch and Ward lost confidence in itself, the idea of coercive social control became increasingly appealing. The concept of a rigid social conformity imposed by an authoritarian elite, though implicit in the Watch and Ward approach from the beginning, had earlier been masked by the rhetoric of social reform. Now it rose sharply into full view. The enthusiasm of the Watch and Ward's Secretary in describing how the government had imposed morality upon the wartime military camps, at the 1919 annual meeting, reveals the direction in which the thinking of the Society's leadership was moving:

[T]he machinery, the methods and motives of the Federal forces were crushingly strong and wisely used for local good. Reforms which had been advocated by this society for ten years were easily forced upon the authorities. . . . All this regime was supported by a public opinion which would have annihilated anyone opposing it.⁵³

The significant words are "crushingly strong," "forced" and "annihilated."

⁵¹ *Boston Herald*, December 25, 1929.

⁵² *Annual Report, 1923-24* (Boston, 1924), p. 32.

⁵³ *Annual Report, 1918-19* (Boston, 1919), p. 10.

At the same meeting President W.H.P. Faunce of Brown University, averring that the war had taught that "virtue" was necessary for "national efficiency," inquired: "If we could insist on character in khaki, could we not demand character in evening dress?"⁵⁴ In his 1924 speech, the Rev. Mr. Twombly went beyond the realm of wishful speculation and became more specific:

There ought, I believe, be a Law Enforcement Committee in every church . . . in union with the Police, or better still, in union with some Central Christian Law Enforcement Body. . . .⁵⁵

Twombly went on to comment on the good fortune of New England in already possessing its "Central Christian Law Enforcement Body": the Watch and Ward Society.

This preoccupation with force and violence even reached the point of reporting "casualties"—Watch and Ward agents injured in the line of duty. In 1919 the attrition was particularly heavy:

[O]ne was shot through the lower leg, one was assaulted with a loaded gun pointed at his heart, one had his cheek bone laid open by a brick thrown in a dark cellar, and one was struck with a fist in the eye and had his glasses broken.⁵⁶

Thus, alongside the traditional gentlemanly, upper-class approach of the Watch and Ward, typified by the quiet and efficient Boston Booksellers Committee, this newer element—the fascination with force and coercion, the urge to suppress other opinions simply because they were nonconformist—began to appear, sometimes spectacularly. The two most memorable instances are the *American Mercury* case of 1926 and the Dunster House Bookshop case of 1929.

In September 1925, the *American Mercury*, under the editorship of H.L. Mencken, published an article entitled "Keeping the Puritans Pure" which "exposed" the Watch and Ward Society and ridiculed its Secretary, Chase.⁵⁷ Six months later, Boston newsdealers were warned by the Watch and Ward Society not to sell the April 1926 issue of the *American Mercury*. When a Cambridge newsdealer was prosecuted and fined for selling a copy of the prohibited issue, Mencken journeyed to Boston where he sold a copy of the banned magazine to the Rev. Mr. Chase before a large crowd in front of the Park Street Church (where the Watch and

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁵⁵ *Annual Report, 1923-24* (Boston, 1924), p. 31.

⁵⁶ *Annual Report, 1918-19* (Boston, 1919), p. 14.

⁵⁷ A.L.S. Wood, "Keeping the Puritans Pure," *American Mercury*, VI (September 1925), 74-78.

Ward had been founded half a century before). Mencken was arrested and taken to the Municipal Court on Chase's complaint, but was promptly acquitted by Judge James P. Parmenter.⁵⁸

The ostensible reason for Chase's attack on the *Mercury* was that the April issue contained a story about a prostitute, but many agreed with Mencken's charge that it represented an "irresponsible and obviously vengeful" attempt to use the power of the Watch and Ward to silence an annoying critic.

The Dunster House Bookshop was a small Cambridge establishment catering to Harvard students and faculty. The owner was James A. DeLacey, a former Yale librarian. In October 1929 a Watch and Ward agent was dispatched incognito to DeLacey's shop to attempt to purchase a copy of a new and shocking British novel entitled *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. At first both the clerk and DeLacey himself refused to meet the request, but when the agent persisted DeLacey agreed to try to obtain a copy. By such tenacity the Watch and Ward ultimately obtained the Lawrence novel, and the luckless DeLacey and his salesman were dragged to court, found guilty and heavily fined.⁵⁹

Such incidents reveal the degree to which the latent "vigilante" strain in the Watch and Ward was forced to the surface as the group's social authority evaporated. In the Dunster House Bookshop case the Watch and Ward agent had not only acted as an *agent provocateur* but had given DeLacey a false name when he was negotiating for the book. In defending such techniques the Watch and Ward, in a statement appearing over the signature of the president, the Rev. Mr. Raymond Calkins, denied that a more straightforward approach should have been used, arguing that "no efficient state detective" would have acted otherwise.⁶⁰

As these changes in the spirit of the Watch and Ward Society are noted, one is reminded of the phrases which Richard Hofstadter has used to characterize the Prohibition movement:

[T]he skeleton at the feast, a grim reminder of the moral frenzy that so many wished to forget, a ludicrous caricature of the reforming

⁵⁸ Judge Parmenter's decision comprises Appendix I of H. L. Mencken's four-page pamphlet, "To the Friends of the *American Mercury*, A Statement by the Editor" (n.p., 1926).

⁵⁹ The Watch and Ward version of this case may be found in: *The Dunster House Bookshop Case, A Statement by the New England Watch and Ward Society* (Boston, 1930), while a more critical treatment is: Gardner Jackson, "My Brother's Peep," *The Nation*, CXXX (January 15, 1930), 64, 65.

⁶⁰ *Boston Herald*, December 25, 1929. The Rev. Mr. Calkins has modified his position with the passing years. With reference to the book censorship of the twenties he recently wrote that the Watch and Ward was "on debatable territory." Raymond Calkins, Belmont, to Paul Boyer, March 18, 1961.

impulse, of the Yankee-Protestant notion that it is both possible and desirable to moralize private life through public action.⁶¹

As the coercive tendencies within the Watch and Ward became more pronounced, the people of Boston grew increasingly leery of the power which it exercised. Mencken, after his acquittal in 1926, promptly filed a countersuit against the Watch and Ward Society, charging illegal restraint of trade. On April 14, 1926 Judge James M. Morton of the Superior Court of Suffolk County issued an injunction prohibiting the Watch and Ward from further molesting the harried *Mercury*. In addition, Morton dealt with the more general issues raised by the Watch and Ward censorship. He outlined the procedure followed in the banning of books and magazines, and concluded:

It is my judgement that this is clearly illegal. The defendants [the Watch and Ward] have the right of every citizen to come to the courts with complaints of crime. . . . But they have no right to impose their opinions on the book and magazine trade by threats of prosecution if their views are not accepted.⁶²

Thus as an outgrowth of the "irresponsible and obviously vengeful" behavior of the Watch and Ward in the *American Mercury* case the system of advance censorship exercised by the Watch and Ward through the Booksellers Committee was struck down. The following year the new District Attorney, William J. Foley, wrote to the Booksellers Committee terminating "any arrangement now existing between you and this office under which you have been able to procure the opinion of this office in advance as to any given book. . . ." ⁶³

If the *Mercury* case crippled the censorship apparatus of the Watch and Ward, the Dunster House Bookshop case destroyed any remaining social authority it possessed. Ironically, the Watch and Ward won the case, in the sense that the defendants were found guilty and fined, but in the long run it emphatically lost. Not only the defense attorney, but also the prosecuting District Attorney of Middlesex County, Robert T. Bushnell, and the Superior Court Judge, Frederick Fosdick, used the courtroom as a forum from which to attack the Watch and Ward Society. Bushnell threatened to prosecute the Society if it employed such methods in the future; Judge Fosdick said he had "no cordiality" for the Watch and Ward and the defense attorney called the Watch and Ward agents "falsifiers, procurers and deceivers."⁶⁴ Boston newspapers, particularly the

⁶¹ Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, p. 289.

⁶² Appendix II, Mencken, *To the Friends of the American Mercury*.

⁶³ Foley to Boston Booksellers Committee, April 13, 1927, quoted in *New York Times*, July 3, 1927. ⁶⁴ *Boston Herald*, December 21, 1929.

Herald, attacked the Society in front-page articles, editorials and biting cartoons. "Its agents are given to excess," said the *Herald*. "They acquire the professional, fanatical touch."⁶⁵ The Watch and Ward, admitting that the case had aroused "a storm of criticism and satirical comment," fought back and presented its version of the case in a lengthy pamphlet. Nevertheless, one senses that the spirit of the Society had been broken. Annual contributions, which had averaged around \$8,000 in the twenties, dropped precipitously to \$3,180 in 1931.⁶⁶ Disillusion as well as the Depression was taking its toll, and the Watch and Ward Society receded more and more deeply into the shadows of the past.⁶⁷

The repudiation of the Watch and Ward Society was not, however, an attack upon censorship per se. It was rather that the censorship initiative was shifting to conform to the realities of Boston's social and religious configuration. As the twenties drew to a close censorship power was slowly transferred from the Watch and Ward Society to various municipal authorities more closely linked to the majority leadership of Boston. As the Watch and Ward, with its patrician, Protestant tradition, was rejected, the Catholic Church became increasingly active in this area. The continuing attacks of *The Pilot* on modern literature took positive form in 1929 when the Boston diocese launched a "Catholic Literature Campaign" under the direction of Rev. Francis Phelan. He traveled from church to church throughout the diocese establishing "Reading Clubs" devoted to the reading of Catholic literature. Father Phelan argued that "It is not a question of censorship . . . but simply a question of direction touching a matter of conscience,"⁶⁸ yet the result was a greater proclivity for censorship among the municipal authorities of Boston. In 1927, after District Attorney Foley had terminated the quasi-official status formerly enjoyed by the Watch and Ward Society, he proceeded to ban a number of books himself, of which the most notable was *Elmer Gantry*.⁶⁹ By 1929 this list had grown to about sixty titles, including those by the well-known authors mentioned at the beginning of this article. *The Pilot*, which had remained significantly silent on the activities of the Watch and Ward Society, strongly supported the police, the District Attorney, the mayor and other

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Annual Report, 1931-32* (Boston, 1932), p. 30.

⁶⁷ The durable Society still survives, however, as "The Citizens Crime Commission." It has, in fact, recently shown definite signs of life in an area in which it has been interested since the earliest years: illegal gambling. It was investigation by the Commission in 1961 which led to a nationwide CBS television program, "Biography of a Bookie Joint," allegedly revealing police connivance in Boston gambling operations. This in turn resulted in a great furor in Boston, with the Governor of the State calling for the resignation of the Boston Police Commissioner. "Bookie Probe Pushed," *Christian Science Monitor* (New England ed.), December 12, 1961.

⁶⁸ *The Pilot*, November 2, 1929. ⁶⁹ *New York Times*, April 13, 1927.

officials in their censorship ventures. *The Pilot* supported the *Elmer Gantry* ban and condemned the book four days after Foley's action.⁷⁰ This led Sinclair Lewis' publisher to write:

There is some indication that the action of the District Attorney, a nice young Irishman who took office last January, is backed by the opinion of the Catholic Church, although of course the book itself is not considered an attack on that church. Their paper . . . has printed an editorial against the book and his action in regard to this book and even in regard to books in general is popular with a considerable section of the voters.⁷¹

When a production of O'Neill's *Strange Interlude* was banned by the mayor, *The Pilot* editorialized: "As far as the Catholics of Boston are concerned they are plainly disgusted with [the play] and commend the fearless stand of the municipal authorities. . . ."⁷²

The apogee of Boston's censorship thus was reached as the censorship initiative passed from the hands of the Brahmin-oriented Watch and Ward Society into the hands of representatives of the new majority. Bitterness and a sense of declining authority led the Watch and Ward into occasional excesses, while inexperience and perhaps a certain giddiness in the exercise of new-found power led to similar extremes on the part of the new censors. As Elmer Davis wrote perceptively in *Harper's Magazine* in 1928:

Old and new share the responsibility for the great crusade against current literature which has been going on in the past year [in Boston]; the Puritans forged the sword and the Irish are wielding it. . . . Now that the Protestants have lost control of the secular arm, Boston, which was chastised with whips, is likely to be chastised with scorpions.⁷³

Throughout the twenties, a steady stream of criticism was directed against Boston's censorship. How much influence did this criticism have? The extreme censorship of the late twenties did, indeed, soon abate. A pamphlet published by the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Committee in 1938, while pointing out that some informal censorship still existed, acknowledged that censorship was less of a problem and noted that throughout the decade there had been no prosecutions of "any book

⁷⁰ *The Pilot*, April 17, 1927.

⁷¹ Donald Brace, New York, to Sinclair Lewis, April 22, 1927. *From Main Street to Stockholm, Letters of Sinclair Lewis 1919-1930*, Harrison Smith, ed. (New York, 1952), p. 240.

⁷² *The Pilot*, September 28, 1929.

⁷³ Elmer Davis, "Boston, Notes on a Barbarian Invasion," *Harper's*, CLVI (January 1928), 143-44.

published by an established publishing house." ⁷⁴ One feels, however, that this resulted not from any change of attitude within Boston brought about by anticensorship agitation, but rather from the gradual dissipation of the factors which had made the whole nation vulnerable to censorship in the twenties and of the unique conditions which had made Boston a center of censorship. The mood of the country changed—the new trends in literature became more familiar; the Depression brought more urgent concerns; the memory of the Espionage Act and the Red Raids faded—and this changing mood was reflected in the Massachusetts Legislature. In 1930 the Obscenity Statute was liberalized by the provision that a legal obscenity judgment must henceforth be based on an evaluation of the entire work, rather than specific words or passages.⁷⁵ Within Boston, the first fervor of the "Catholic Literature Campaign" waned and, as the censorship mantle which the municipal authorities had inherited from the Watch and Ward began to fit more comfortably, fewer excesses resulted. These are the factors which made possible a decline in Boston's censorship, not the contemporary attacks of critics. Indeed, if the criticism had any effect at all it was a negative one. It is true that occasional bright flashes mark the anticensorship campaign. H.L. Mencken, after his acquittal in the *American Mercury* case, told a Harvard audience, "The best thing about liberty is that it is such a charming thing to fight for."⁷⁶ And Clarence Darrow, at the Ford Hall anticensorship rally of 1927, said, "What we need is a Watch and Ward Society for liberty, without which life is not worth the living."⁷⁷ Despite such inspired comments, the bulk of the output of the opponents of censorship was tinged with the very narrowness which it condemned. Just as the censorship spirit grew out of the fear of "radicalism" and change, so the anticensorship sentiment frequently appeared to arise from an elitist distaste for the masses. In 1930 the critic Walter Prichard Eaton attributed Boston's censorship and general decline to the influx of "people of different blood and different faith from the Puritan originals."⁷⁸ In 1926 the *Harvard Crimson* suggested editorially that,

⁷⁴ Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts, *Censorship in Boston* (Boston, 1938).

⁷⁵ Chafee, *Censorship in Boston*, p. 5. For a comprehensive treatment of the legal and legislative developments in Massachusetts regarding censorship, see Sidney S. Grant and Samuel E. Angoff, "Massachusetts and Censorship," Part I, *Boston University Law Review*, X, No. 1 (January 1930), 36-61; Part II, *ibid.*, X, No. 2 (April 1930), 147-94 and by the same authors, "Recent Developments in Censorship," *ibid.*, X, No. 4 (November 1930), 488-509.

⁷⁶ *Harvard Crimson*, April 8, 1926.

⁷⁷ *Boston Herald*, April 17, 1929.

⁷⁸ W.P. Eaton, "New England in 1930," *Current History*, XXXIII (November 1930), 168-73. The general tenor of the article is one of hostility toward the Irish.

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after all, censorship should only be expected of a city populated, in part, by a class which "reads the tabloids, goes to the moving pictures and never thinks."⁷⁹

This attitude characterizes much of the anticensorship activity of the twenties, as illustrated by the Ford Hall "Free Speech" rally of 1927. The rally was attended by 700 people, including the indefatigable American Civil Liberties Union attorney, Arthur Garfield Hays; Morris Ernst (an outspoken anticensorship figure); Clarence Darrow; Percy Marks; Oswald Garrison Villard, of *The Nation*; and Margaret Sanger. Presiding as "Chief Roastmaster and Master of Revelries" was the dignified Harvard professor, Arthur M. Schlesinger. In the words of the *Boston Herald*, censorship was "lampooned, ridiculed and pilloried." Students, costumed to resemble characters in banned books, paraded the hall carrying placards bearing the titles of the books, with the word "Suppressed" superimposed upon them. Margaret Sanger, forbidden to speak in Boston, appeared at the head table with a gag over her mouth. In a skit called "The Suppressed Book Shop," the "owner" refused to sell such books as *Mother Goose* ("Do you realize the things that are in that book? Take Jack and Jill. . . . [T]hey went up the hill ostensibly to get a pail of water and then tumbled down. Think of the conclusions that can be drawn!") but was eventually arrested for selling an obscene geometry book (". . . . all sorts of triangles"). Along with such witty barbs, however, a tone of intellectual condescension was in evidence. When one "customer" in the skit was asked why she wanted to buy a book she replied, "I want to be intelligent, even if I do live in Boston." When the "owner" was "arrested" he hastily put up a sign reading "Moved to Cambridge"—a pointed reference to the contrast between intellectually emancipated Harvard (where such books as *An American Tragedy* were being assigned in courses) and benighted, backward Boston. When Clarence Darrow spoke he philosophized, "The only way to look at life is to look at the whole thing as a huge joke," and proceeded to quote Voltaire: "Fools are serious so intelligent men can laugh."⁸⁰

The effect upon the Boston citizenry of this approach to the censorship problem was not favorable. The *Boston Herald* gave front-page billing for several days to what it called "The Ford Hall Frolic" and prominently reported hostile reactions, of which a few were quoted earlier.⁸¹ The vehemence of these reactions undoubtedly reveals much about the individuals quoted, but they also reflect the nature of the anti-

⁷⁹ *Harvard Crimson*, April 6, 1926.

⁸⁰ *Boston Herald*, April 17-19, 1929. The full description of the rally is in the April 17 issue, from which the Darrow quote is taken.

⁸¹ See earlier, p. 9.

censorship campaign. Censorship was being effectively lampooned and satirized, but a substantial number of Bostonians appear to have felt they also were targets of ridicule. The day after the Ford Hall Rally, the attorney for the defendant in the *American Tragedy* trial, then in progress, requested a new trial on the grounds that the public and the jury had been prejudiced against his client by newspaper reports of the "Frolic." ". . . Mr. Friede is the victim of his friends," he said, "or if not, is the victim of those people at Ford Hall."⁸²

Perhaps the most striking example of this mixture of anticensorship sentiments with scorn for the people of Boston is an article by Charles Angoff which appeared in December, 1925 in the magazine which was soon to become a symbol of the anticensorship crusade, *The American Mercury*. Entitled "Boston Twilight," Angoff's article mentioned Boston's censorship as one evidence of the city's decay, and blamed it all on "the Irish-Catholic anthropoids [who] have no more interest in ideas than a guinea-pig has in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* or a donkey in Goethe's *Faust*." They were, he said, "immigrant morons" who "spread everywhere, multiplying like rabbits." Except for servants, policemen and "low politicians," Angoff continued, "The Irish Catholics have given Boston nothing. . . . One thing is certain; the invasion of these Barbarians made [Boston's] further growth impossible, and its renaissance will not take place until they are exterminated."⁸³

The result of this pollution of the anticensorship campaign with strains of academic superiority, Nativism and Know Nothingism was to plunge the issue into a maelstrom of bitterness and social tension. Boston's District Attorney began to speak of "the wealthy book publishing corporations" as he defended his book banning.⁸⁴ A *Boston Herald* reporter went out of his way to stress the appearance of the individuals present in the courtroom at the opening of the Dunster House Bookshop trial: "Fashionably gowned society women, a few members of the Harvard faculty, some of the students and a group of the so-called intelligentsia."⁸⁵ Similarly, the *Boston Post*, in defending censorship, asserted: "It does not need a literary genius or a college professor to tell whether a book tends to exert an evil influence on young people."⁸⁶ In the same vein, *The Pilot* denounced the "self-styled intelligentsia" who "may be competent judges of art but . . . are not always sage guides in morality."⁸⁷ As the anticensorship position thus came to be identified with the privileged

⁸² *Boston Herald*, April 19, 1929.

⁸³ Charles Angoff, "Boston Twilight," *American Mercury*, VI (December 1925), 439-44.

⁸⁴ *New York Times*, July 3, 1927.

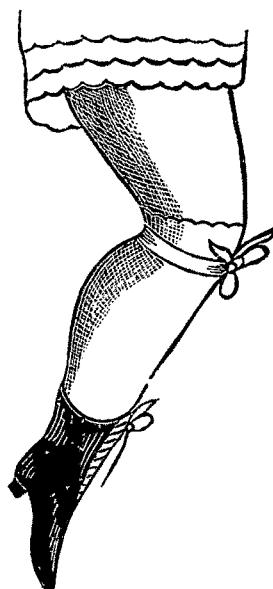
⁸⁵ *Boston Herald*, December 20, 1929.

⁸⁶ *Literary Digest*, XCIII (April 2, 1927), 31-32.

⁸⁷ *The Pilot*, September 28, 1929.

groups of society, censorship, paradoxically, seems to have become a kind of "right" which the newer and less affluent groups sought to maintain in the face of anticensorship "encroachments" by the wealthy and educated!

Responsibility for this curious development must rest, at least partially, with the opponents of censorship. Frequently they failed to recognize, or to admit, that both they and the censors were caught together in the spiritual chaos of the twenties which had given rise to the censorship. They treated censorship as merely a product of the ignorance of specific social groups and remained blind to the deeper problems, both national and local, which gave rise to Boston's censorship. In this sense, the issue of censorship became, for both the censors and their critics, an escape from a real confrontation with the problems which the turbulent decade presented.



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Mark Twain: Audience and Artistry

KENNETH ANDREWS HAS NOTED THAT "EVERY BOOK [MARK TWAIN] EVER wrote, except *The Prince and the Pauper* and *Joan of Arc*, was constructed with its prospective sale as the important condition of its composition."¹ Most Twain students, aware of the gleeful reports of money earned and copies of books sold that are sprinkled throughout Twain's letters, would not disagree with this statement; but very little has been said about the ways that Twain, with deliberate calculation, went about constructing his books so that they would appeal to their prospective customers. Usually, critics and biographers have conceded that since his books were sold "by subscription only," and since subscription books had to be 600 to 700 pages long, Mark Twain desperately dragged into his own books anything he could use as "padding."

Thus the exigencies of subscription publication have been blamed for the long excerpts Twain "borrowed" from other authors in *Innocents Abroad*, *A Tramp Abroad*, and most notably in the last parts of *Life on the Mississippi*. But there is more to the story; those three words "by subscription only" hold the key, I believe, to more than the mere bulk of Twain's major travel books. They prompted several of the humorist's most familiar literary devices and techniques. The author who was overwhelmingly concerned with sales and who was a subscription-book publisher himself could not have been ignorant of the tastes of the special audience to whom subscription books—mid-nineteenth-century American style—made their appeal.

The post-Civil War period saw the rise of this phenomenal Hartford-centered business: from 1861 to 1868, for example, one contemporary source calculated that Hartford subscription houses alone had made

¹ *Nook Farm: Mark Twain's Hartford Circle* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 156-57.

\$5,000,000 by selling 1,426,000 copies of only 30 different titles.² Obviously, the literary-minded were not the market for these books; publication by subscription no longer meant the subsidization of works of literature like *Paradise Lost*, or of scholarship like Johnson's *Dictionary*.

Instead of the urban, literate reader, the subscription book aimed at enticing the common man, the masses, the rural, semiliterate, usually Midwestern customer who had rarely bought a book before. A deluge of book-agents (one contemporary account estimated the number at 50,000 annually)³, the forefathers of today's encyclopedia salesmen, swarmed through the small towns and the rural areas of the country with a prospectus—a hundred or so sample pages from the work offered, with strips of the various bindings available pasted inside the cover, and with blank pages in the back on which customers wrote their orders. Agents were forbidden to sell to bookstores; and by 1897, A. D. Worthington & Co., publishers of Mary A. Livermore's *The Story of My Life*, cited in the prospectus two U. S. Circuit Court decisions in Ohio and Pennsylvania which gave subscription publishers the right to sue booksellers who offered subscription works "in the trade."⁴ Because of the animosity of the regular trade, a war of words took place in the 1870s that helps to pinpoint the aims of the subscription publishers and to characterize the audience of the subscription book.⁵

The Trade Circular Annual for 1871 pointed out that subscription books "are often absolutely worthless, and this is not only true with regard to the nature of their contents. . . . Beyond their title, there is nothing attractive about them." In 1872, *Publishers Weekly* moaned that one of these ugly ducklings sold for "five dollars, when the reading matter it contains, if worth anything, would make about a dollar-and-a-half book in the regular trade."⁶ More superciliously, the *Literary World*

2 "Subscription Books," *Trade Circular Annual for 1871* (New York, 1871), p. 110.

3 "Subscription Books," *New York Herald-Tribune*, October 28, 1874, p. 8.

4 Prospectus for Mary A. Livermore, *The Story of My Life or The Sunshine and Shadow of Seventy Years* (1897), in the Coe Library, University of Wyoming.

5 In addition to articles cited in footnotes herein, the subscription-regular trade war was carried on in the following: "Subscription Books," *Publishers Weekly*, III (March 1, 1873), 217-18; "Subscription Books Again," *ibid.* (March 15, 1873), pp. 262-63; "Letter to the Editor: Subscription Books," *ibid.*, pp. 263-64; "Subscription Books in the Regular Trade," *ibid.*, IV (September 6, 1873), 239; "The Trade and Subscription Books," *ibid.*, XVII (April 24, 1880), 425; "Subscription Books," *ibid.*, XIX (May 7, 1881), 510; "'Sold Only by Subscription,'" *ibid.* (May 21, 1881), 548-49; "Two Views of Book Canvassing," *Critic*, XXV (July 21, 1894), 44. A. L. Vogelback, "The Publication and Reception of *Huckleberry Finn* in America," *American Literature*, XI (1939), 266-67, cites two articles on the subject in the *Chicago Tribune*, June 10, 1882, and July 16, 1882, p. 5.

6 "The Subscription Book Trade," *Publishers Weekly*, II (July 25, 1872), 94.

announced in August 1874 that "subscription books cannot possibly circulate among the better class of readers, owing to the general and not unfounded prejudice against them. . . . An author . . . who resorts to the subscription plan. . . . descends to a constituency of a lower grade and inevitably loses caste."⁷ (The author, in other words, had a choice that Charles Dudley Warner aptly summarized in an 1874 letter to Helen Hunt Jackson: "I think if you were to see your dainty literature in such ill-conditioned volumes, you would just die. There is no doubt, however, that 'by subscription' is the only way for the author to make any money.")⁸

In their defense, the subscription houses insisted that they were not damaging the regular trade because they were not selling to its customers. Elisha Bliss of the American Publishing Company proclaimed that "in the little towns where there are no book stores the book agent induces people to buy. . . . In that way, a nucleus is formed for hundreds of thousands of little libraries throughout the country, which would never have existed except for the book agent. . . . There is a large field covered with people that have no opportunity to buy books except in the way we sell them."⁹ A Rev. John Todd was delighted in 1872 because he found subscription books supplied to "mechanics and farmers. . . in places wholly unexpected, and where, a few years ago, a new book would very seldom be found."¹⁰ James S. Barcus eulogized "the rank and file of book salesmen that go up and down the highways and byways carrying good tidings of knowledge and erudition to the masses."¹¹ And finally, F. E. Compton has recently observed that this special audience was "far removed from bookstores, physically or spiritually, and most of them would never have bought a book if the subscription business had not 'sold' them the idea and brought the book to them."¹²

It is fairly easy to tell what these "mechanics and farmers" wanted in their books, or more to the point, what the subscription publishers thought they wanted. Size was an important factor; the book had to contain what Bret Harte called "the intrinsic worth of bigness. . . which commends itself to the rural economist, who likes to get a material return for his money."¹³ Or as a writer for *The Nation* put it, "The rural-district reader likes to see that he has got his money's worth even

⁷ S. R. Crocker, "Subscription Books," *Literary World*, V (August 1874), 40.

⁸ Andrews, p. 122.

⁹ "Subscription Books," *New York Herald-Tribune*, October 28, 1874, p. 8.

¹⁰ "Book Publishing and Book Selling," *The American Publisher*, I (January 1872), 4.

¹¹ James S. Barcus, *The Science of Selling* . . . (New York, 1917), p. 7.

¹² F. E. Compton, *Subscription Books* (New York, 1939), p. 36.

¹³ "Review of *Innocents Abroad*," *Overland Monthly*, IV (January 1870), 100.

more than he likes wood engravings. At least, such is the faith in Hartford; and no man ever saw a book agent with a small volume in his hand." ¹⁴ Almost always, the prospectuses played up the number of pages by using bold-face type or italics or capital letters to announce the size of the book: the prospectus for *The Curse of Drink or, Stories of Hell's Commerce*, edited by Elton R. Shaw, even increased its size by comparison. "THE COMPLETE BOOK," it advertised, "CONTAINS OVER 550 LARGE PAGES (equal to 800 pages of the usual sized book)." ¹⁵

And the subscription reader, unmindful of literary frills, wanted fact, not fiction. He bought autobiographies and biographies and travel narratives, legal and medical do-it-yourself books, family Bibles and religious commentary—but few novels. In a list of books which the American Publishing Company offered for sale in 1885, for example, there were 32 works of nonfiction and only 17 of fiction, including children's books and the humorous works in which this company specialized.¹⁶ The proportion generally was even more strongly balanced in favor of factual writing. "Mighty few books that come strictly under the head of *literature* will sell by subscription," ¹⁷ Mark Twain once told Joel Chandler Harris; so nonfictional narrative was of primary interest.

Usually, the subscription-book reader wanted topical material, and subscription-book publishers exploited his interest. They were guilty, one of their number admitted, of "flooding the country with flashy books produced overnight on some spectacular event." ¹⁸ Right after the Civil War, dozens of books like *The American Conflict*, *The Great Rebellion*, *Four Years in Secessia*, *The Secret Service, Underground*, the *Pictorial Field History of the Civil War*, *The Spy of the Rebellion* and *A Personal History of Ulysses S. Grant* rolled off the presses. When Mormonism became a popular topic, *The Exposé, or Mormons and Mormonism*, *The Mormon Wife*, *The Past, Present and Future of Mormonism*, "Tell It All: The Story of a Life's Experience in Mormonism" and *Lament of a Mormon Wife* promptly appeared. Between the time of Stanley's commission to find Livingstone in 1869 and the first few years of the 1870s appeared *The Last Journals of David Livingstone, Africa and Its Ex-*

¹⁴ "Review of *Innocents Abroad*," *The Nation*, IX (September 2, 1869), 194-95.

¹⁵ In the Coe Library, University of Wyoming, in a collection of thirty-seven prospectuses which I have examined.

¹⁶ In the prospectus for Albert D. Richardson's *Personal History of U. S. Grant* (1885) in the Coe Library, University of Wyoming.

¹⁷ *Mark Twain's Letters*, ed. Albert B. Paine (New York, 1917), I, 402. The reviewer for *Old and New*, IX (March 1874), 386, pointed out that *The Gilded Age* was "the first instance, so far as we know, of a story-book issued 'by subscription.'"

¹⁸ Compton, p. 37.

plorers, or Livingstone Lost and Found and Livingstone's Life Work. In the midst of the Nares, Nordenskiöld, *Polaris* and *Jeannette* polar expeditions of the early 1870s, subscription houses published *Our Lost Explorers*, *The Frozen Zone and Its Explorers* and a reprint of Kane's *Arctic Exploration*. Even as late as 1901, subscription publishers dashed off "memorial" volumes at the deaths of McKinley and Victoria.

Finally, the subscription-book reader apparently expected an odd mixture of sensationalism and moralizing that could both shock and elevate readers who were not very different from the Grangerfords and Shepherdsons interrupting their feud to listen to a sermon on brotherhood. Beginning with the *Life* magazine review of *Huck Finn* many critics have commented on the murders, lynchings and blood baths that take place in Twain's supposedly "humorous" books; but it was a quality of many subscription volumes. Scalpings, massacres, amputations and beheadings, gruesomely illustrated by cheap artists, sprinkled the pages of Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi*. Those "memorial" volumes to McKinley, which were to contain complete biographies of the President, had prospectus material chosen almost completely from chapters dealing with the assassination: pictures of the fatal shots, very approximate likenesses of Emma Goldman and Czolgosz, medical diagrams showing where the two bullets penetrated McKinley's body. Although Mary Livermore's *The Story of My Life* contained very few chapters concerned with her schoolteaching activities on a Southern plantation, over half of the prospectus pages were chosen from these chapters, which depicted the brutality of the overseer and included a full-page illustration of a slave being whipped to death. Twain himself calculated that the banning of *Huckleberry Finn* by the Concord Public Library would double its sales. But there were, paradoxically, proprieties—hypocritical though they might have been—that the reader expected to be followed. The most sanguine book might be justified on the grounds that it was "Historical," "Accurate," "Realistic" or "Edifying." Thus the cover of the prospectus for Buffalo Bill's *Story of the Wild West* (1888) might picture the scalping of Yellow Hair (in three colors, including red for blood) as long as it insisted on its historical importance. George Bidwell's *Forging His Chains. . . With the Story of . . . the So-called £1,000,000 Forgery on the Bank of England and a Complete Account of His Arrest, Trial, Conviction, and Confinement for Fourteen Years in English Prisons* (1888) was a very "moral" book, its publisher insisted in the prospectus, because it taught the evils of the life the autobiography related. The average nineteenth-century American's taste allowed him, along the same lines,

to read every last detail of Mrs. Stowe's account of Byron's incest as long as he canceled his subscription to the *Atlantic Monthly* immediately afterward; he could wallow in all the lurid details of the Beecher-Tilton affair as long as he maintained a pious air himself. And the instruments of popular culture, including the subscription-book publisher, allowed him to titillate his urge for sensationalism and provided him at the same time with a self-righteous excuse.

Twain's reaction to these subscription requirements was in part probably innate; he, too, like his audience, was small-town Midwestern in his upbringing, originally Calvinistic in his religion (though he confessed once that *Fanny Hill* "charmed" him), and he professed a natural preference for history and biography over fiction. As a copywriter for *Following the Equator* phrased it, "the medium he employs oftenest is the simplest—a plain American-English. He sees like an American, thinks like an American, feels like an American, reasons like an American, is American, blood and bone, heart and head, and this is the secret of [his] great success."¹⁹ Or, as the Syracuse *Daily Standard* put it, "The eyes with which he sees are our eyes as well as his. . . . And thus the book becomes a transcript of our own sentiments."²⁰

But, more important, there is strong evidence that he constructed his subscription books consciously to appeal to the tastes of a reader much like himself.

Certainly it is true that Twain was constantly aware of the size of the ideal subscription book. All that he needed to do was to remind himself to read his contracts, most of which called for enough manuscript to make a 600- to 700-page book. Through the 1870s and 1880s, Twain snatched up material from other authors, from his own earlier published works, from notes and suggestions in his notebooks. By the time he began his third travel book, *A Tramp Abroad*, he had wrestled with the problem of size and length so much that he actually began composing that book not according to a formal narrative arrangement but rather by assembling anecdotal, episodic material which could later be placed upon a narrative thread. He reported to his publisher that he had written about 50,000 words, "but it is in disconnected form," he explained, "and cannot be used until joined together by the writing of at least a dozen

¹⁹ Prospectus for *Following the Equator* in the American Literature Collections, Yale University Library.

²⁰ Quoted in the 1872 prospectus for *The Innocents Abroad*, in possession of the present writer. This salesman's dummy contains eight pages of contemporary newspaper estimates of Twain, and all further uncited newspaper quotations are taken from it.

intermediate chapters." ²¹ To Howells, at about the same time, he wrote a revealing letter about two articles he thought were lost in the mails: "When a body is yoked down to the grinding out of a 600-page 8vo. book, to lose a chapter is like losing a child. I was not at all sure that I should use both of those chapters in my book, but to *have them around*, in case of need, would give that added comfort which comes of having a life-preserver handy in a ship which *might* go down." ²²

In recent years, Twain critics have spent considerable time pointing out and analyzing the ways that the humorist's writings followed an anecdotal, almost picaresque pattern. They have noted that he once mentioned to his wife a formula for speech-making which alternated humor with seriousness;²³ they have proposed its source in a technique of burlesque;²⁴ and they have argued that its apparent haphazardness reflects the "divine Amateur."²⁵ But the suggestions in these quotations about the composition of *A Tramp Abroad* indicate that one of the most typical of Twain's literary techniques was a structure to which subscription publication contributed enormously; it was the method whereby an epistolary journalist solved the problem of writing subscription-length books.

Even further, though, the way Twain worked statistical, expository and humorous material together was probably a result of his desire for audience appeal. Remember, the subscription-book readers wanted knowledge and information; they were not likely to make a pleasure excursion to Europe themselves, so the statistics and the descriptive material in the travel books satisfied their curiosity and gave them the vicarious thrills of looking down from the cathedral at Milan, of contemplating the Sphinx or of climbing the Matterhorn. (Even *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, its publishers insisted, was valuable because it "depicted the character of that period [the ante-bellum South] in such a realistic manner.") ²⁶ These were experiences outside the realm of the popular reader, and by skillfully alternating description and statistics with humorous passages Twain gave them information in doses small enough to satisfy without becoming boring.

²¹ Clemens to Frank Bliss, Heidelberg, July 13, 1878, quoted in Walter Blair, *Mark Twain & Huck Finn* (Berkeley, 1960), p. 164.

²² *Mark Twain-Howells Letters*, eds. Henry Nash Smith and William M. Gibson (Cambridge, 1960), I, 248. The "chapters" were "The Great Revolution in Pitcairn" and "The Recent Great French Duel."

²³ *The Love Letters of Mark Twain*, ed. Dixon Wecter (New York, 1949), pp. 165-66.

²⁴ Franklin R. Rogers, *Mark Twain's Burlesque Patterns* (Dallas, 1960), pp. 26-27.

²⁵ The phrase, originally Arnold Bennett's, has been quoted to the point of triteness.

²⁶ Prospectus for *Pudd'nhead Wilson* in the American Literature Collections, Yale University Library.

Twain's publishers exploited these values: *Roughing It* was advertised as "Designed to Amuse and Instruct";²⁷ a squib advertising *Innocents Abroad* announced that, "while running over with wit and humor. . . . it still teems with glowing descriptions, and with elegant and classical allusions." *A Tramp Abroad*, it was claimed, "will be found not only exceedingly amusing, but like its predecessors, brimfull [sic] of valuable information."²⁸

Newspapers, too, called attention to this alternation of humorous and informative writing when they reviewed his travel books. Of *Innocents Abroad*, the Newark *Register* commented, "It is a rare and wonderful combination. The humor is natural, never forced; the narrative is instructive . . ."; the New York *Express* noted, "truth is told to us in such winsome form, that we cannot but listen to it with agreeable sensations"; the Trenton *True American* summed it up with, "The work abounds in historical facts, descriptions of different countries and important personages, scenes and incidents, so bound together by wit, pleasantry and flashes of grotesque humor, as to make it one of the most readable and amusing books of the period." For *A Tramp Abroad*, it was the same. The Scranton *Free Press* mused, "People do not like to read a volume of travels because it is dry and prosy, but when all this knowledge is combined with sparkling wit the reading becomes a pleasure instead of a task"; the Cleveland *Herald* noted, "Mark Twain has the happy faculty of combining much valuable information with most amusing stories"; and the *Tolland County Leader* said that factual material "which if given by other writers would be dry and uninteresting is here fairly 'sugar-coated,' as none but Clemens knows how to do."²⁹

Twain himself pointed out the formula when he wrote a letter in 1876 to Dan DeQuille, who was planning to write a subscription book about the Comstock Lode. DeQuille also had some humorous newspaper sketches he proposed printing separately. Twain told his friend to work both batches into the same manuscript: "I'll show you how to make a man read every one of those sketches, under the stupid impression that they are mere accidental incidents that have dropped in on you unawares in the course of your novel." In the same letter he advised DeQuille, "Bring along *lots* of *dry statistics*—it's the very best sauce a humorous book can have. Ingeniously used, they just make a reader smack his chops in gratitude. We must have *all* the Bonanza statistics you can rake and scrape."³⁰ Both these injunctions have as their explicit bases not a

²⁷ Prospectus for *Roughing It*, in the possession of the present writer.

²⁸ Prospectus for *A Tramp Abroad* (1879) in the possession of Franklin Meine, Chicago.

²⁹ *Ibid.* ³⁰ *The Big Bonanza*, ed. Oscar Lewis (New York, 1947), pp. xviii-xix.

natural predilection on Twain's part for a literary form that imitates the rambling, associational order of the spoken language, but, instead, the man who is going to read the book. Statistics and sketches; exposition and humor; narrative and "accidental incidents"; it is exactly the formula that DeVoto said was "best adapted to his [Twain's] mind . . . a loosely flowing narrative, actually or fictitiously autobiographical—a current interrupted for the presentation of episodes, for, merely, the telling of stories."³¹ But, according to these suggestions to DeQuille, it was a narrative pattern that, because it balanced informal, reminiscent, autobiographical anecdotes with dry statistics, made Twain's travel books palatable to his readers.

DeVoto also pointed out (pp. 245-46) that there was a form of development in the technique:

[*Innocents Abroad's*] steady progress is accomplished by means of stories. Some of them are brief, unelaborated anecdotes, in no way different from the type out of which they proceed, but others already show Mark's perception that this form can be utilized for more intricate effects. . . .

This same framework produces "Roughing It," "A Tramp Abroad," "Life on the Mississippi," and "Following the Equator." The narrative interlude is organically developed in these later books; possibilities are more thoroughly realized. . . . Sometimes the intent is a mere mechanical joke . . . sometimes . . . it is a means for presenting in silhouette a lifetime or a civilization.

Improvement in the discrete anecdote was obviously more erratic than DeVoto suggested: the "Skeleton of a Black Forest Novel" and some of the Rhine legends in *A Tramp Abroad* were inferior to much of the anecdotal material in *Roughing It*. But nothing in *Innocents Abroad* equals some half-dozen yarns in *Roughing It*, and Twain never wrote better sketches than the "Blue Jay Yarn" and "Nicodemus Dodge." His craftsmanship in handling episodic material reached its highest point when he called upon reminiscences from his own youth and Western years, but refinement of the technique went beyond the increased exploitation of autobiographical materials.

Formal arrangement in each of the first three travel books was largely dictated by the material available to Twain beforehand. In *Innocents Abroad*, with a sustaining narrative available from start to finish, the stress of adding to the original material was least evident. In *Roughing It*, where travel narrative dwindled to the anticlimactic statistics on Virginia City mining and the factual reporting of the Sandwich Islands

³¹ Bernard DeVoto, *Mark Twain's America* (Boston, 1932), p. 245.

letters, and in *A Tramp Abroad*, where he wrote the mass of anecdotal material before thinking of a structural pattern for the book, the rigors of composition were more apparent. In order, *Roughing It*, *A Tramp Abroad* and *Life on the Mississippi* (after the "Old Times on the Mississippi" segment) were looser, more autobiographical, less unified than *Innocents Abroad*, simply because they depended less and less on a preconceived "narrative plank." But at the same time, the anecdotal material became more and more successfully integrated into the narrative movement, at least through *A Tramp Abroad*. In *Innocents*, most of the anecdotes were on an associational level, tied onto the narrative thread by only the most mechanical means. Thus Twain introduced the account of himself in his father's office with the corpse by the sentence, "It is hard to forget repulsive things. I remember yet. . ." The "Benton House" passage followed the statement, "We are stopping at Shepherd's [sic] Hotel, which is the worst on earth except the one I stopped at once in a small town in the United States." The story of the avalanche on Holliday's Hill proceeded from a description of the Great Pyramid to a brief mention of a bluff on the Mississippi above Selma, Missouri, to the sentence, "In still earlier years, than those I have been recalling, Holliday's Hill, in our town, was to me the noblest work of God." In a large share of *Roughing It*, as Professor Henry Nash Smith has shown, most of the anecdotes related in some way to the narrative pattern describing "the process by which the tenderfoot narrator is transformed into the old timer, the vernacular character." Only the story of the camel who ate the manuscript in Syria was of the artificial, associational sort. And in *A Tramp Abroad*, too, most of the anecdotes contributed to the burlesque. Even the "Blue Jay Yarn" and the "Nicodemus Dodge" story exploited the distinction between appearance and reality that underscored the spoofing of a "walking tour" by two inspired idiots incapable of realizing that they were not walking at all. *A Tramp Abroad* would have been a much better book if Twain had only written more anecdotes, had possessed a larger stock of "chapters" to thread onto the narrative plank.

So the process worked both ways: although successive travel volumes increasingly lost cohesiveness and unity as Twain concentrated on smaller units of composition, those units—sketches, tales, yarns and anecdotes—improved both intrinsically and in the ways Twain blended them into the books. Though the patchwork arrangement may have had the oral tale and Twain's newspaper apprentice work as its origin, it was the subscription-length book which forced its refinement and adaptation to sustained works.

Twain was aware, too, of the topical interests of the subscription

audience, and his choice of subject matter was frequently dependent on the timeliness of his material. In a letter of July 22, 1869, to Elisha Bliss, Twain complained about delays in the printing of *Innocents Abroad* which he felt would damage the value of the book: "I have ceased to expect a large sale from a book whose success depended in a great measure upon its publication while the public were as yet interested in its subject."³²

Roughing It, which Henry Nash Smith notes "Twain conceived of writing . . . in the first place because he believed his experience of the mining boom provided him with a subject that would interest his readers,"³³ was published during a vogue of Western books, including Bret Harte's, John Hay's, Joaquin Miller's, Clarence King's, and among subscription volumes, Richardson's *Beyond the Mississippi*, Mrs. Frances Victor's *The River of the West*, Mrs. Fanny Kelly's *Narrative of My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians* and Stephen Powers' *Afoot and Alone*. Indeed, there were so many books dealing with Western travel and adventure between 1869 and 1872 that Twain feared the sales of *Roughing It* would be damaged because its material was "too hackneyed."³⁴

This same desire for topicality influenced the humorist's fiction. In *The Gilded Age*, his use of graft and corruption was, Albert Kitzhaber has suggested, "no more than an attempt—and a successful one—to get a good sale by capitalizing on current news."³⁵ The Pomeroy scandal, Tweed's conviction, the Credit Mobilier, the failure of Jay Cooke, all were current events that would stimulate interest in Warner's and Twain's novel. In the Preface to the London edition, Twain felt the necessity of pointing out to his English audience that the book dealt with the current American problem of the "shameful corruption which has lately crept into our politics, and in a handful of years has spread until the pollution has affected some portion of every State and Territory in the Union."

Tom Sawyer, too, was written, as Walter Blair has indicated, in the wake of a number of books "satirizing some of the excesses of Sunday

³² Clemens to Elisha Bliss, Elmira, July 22, 1869, typescript in the Mark Twain Papers, General Library, University of California, Berkeley; copyright © 1963, the Mark Twain Company.

³³ "Introduction," *Roughing It* (New York, 1959), pp. xi-xii.

³⁴ *The Love Letters of Mark Twain*, p. 166.

³⁵ "Mark Twain's Use of the Pomeroy Case in *The Gilded Age*," *Modern Language Quarterly*, XV (March 1954), 56. Though Twain's and Warner's novel and Henry Adams' *Democracy* were the major attempts to utilize the topic in fiction, it was constantly before the public in newspapers, magazines and nonfictional prose. See Lisle A. Rose, "A Bibliographical Survey of Economic and Political Writings, 1865-1900," *American Literature*, XV (1944), 381-410.

School fiction,"³⁶ by such writers as Thomas Bailey Aldrich, C. B. Lewis, James M. Bailey and Robert Burdette. "Old Times on the Mississippi" appeared in concert with many articles and books exploring the South and the Mississippi Valley. Parts of *Huckleberry Finn* were written during the "bloody shirt" campaign of 1880 and exploited the lynchings, murders and other Southern pastimes that, in Blair's words, "Northern newspapers, predominantly Republican, somehow found . . . newsworthy."³⁷ Consistently, then, Twain was aware of and adapted to his purposes themes and topics that, although they were not of literary interest to most of the major writers of his generation, had captured the popular imagination.

Mark Twain's strange mixture of sensationalism and moralizing is one of his most singular—and most puzzling—characteristics. The peculiar juxtaposition of grisly humor, using death, mutilation and putrefaction for its source, and highly respectable (and often maudlin) bursts of moral propriety constitutes one of the most incongruous aspects of Twain's writing. The problem of explaining the writing of *1601* and "Some Thoughts on the Science of Onanism," on the one hand, and the moral indignation of the outburst against Titian's "Venus" in the last chapters of *A Tramp Abroad*, on the other, will certainly not find a pat solution in an examination of Twain's subscription audience; nevertheless, there are some interesting correlations.

The fact that physical violence can, and in American literature frequently does, act as a sublimation for sexual violence is a common enough idea; so is D. H. Lawrence's belief that Victorian literature "tickled the dirty little secret" of pruriency. At any event, the public—and especially the subscription-book reader—liked sensationalism. It even made best-sellers out of many sensational (and sensual) books that were wise enough to "point a moral" at the conclusion.³⁸ In other words, there was a time-tested formula that allowed the writer for a popular audience to include the morbid, the gruesome, even (though not in Twain's case) the lascivious in his writing as long as he also insisted on the didactic function of his material.

³⁶ "On the Structure of *Tom Sawyer*," *Modern Philology*, XXXVII (August 1939), 79.

³⁷ *Mark Twain & Huck Finn*, p. 224. Louis J. Budd, "The Southward Currents Under *Huck Finn's Raft*," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (September 1959), 222-37, uncovers much material in books and magazines of the late 1870s and early 1880s on topics relating to the Redeemed South (see especially p. 226, n. 13). Even as late as *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894) Twain was insisting that the material about fingerprinting was "absolutely fresh, and mighty curious and interesting to everybody" (*Mark Twain's Letters*, II, 591).

³⁸ See, for example, the chapter "Sentiment and Sensation in the Sixties and Seventies" in Frank Luther Mott's *Golden Multitudes* (New York, 1947), pp. 143-48.

From the story of the corpse in his father's office from *The Innocents Abroad*, through the tales of Slade in *Roughing It*, the account of the glacier yielding up frozen bits and pieces of the members of an early climbing expedition in *A Tramp Abroad*, to the wholesale carnage of *The Prince and the Pauper*, *Huckleberry Finn* and *The Connecticut Yankee*, Twain manifested an almost adolescent curiosity for the macabre, the grotesque and the morbid. Even as late as *Following the Equator*, he quoted gory descriptions of native home-remedies (including self-amputation by fire) and his publisher devoted a full-page illustration to a kangaroo decapitating a man. The illustrations and contents chosen to go into Twain's prospectuses reinforce the idea that both author and publisher expected physical violence to appeal to an audience perhaps not too far removed from the one that viewed the death of Boggs in *Huck Finn* by "squirming and scrounging and pushing and shoving to get at the window and have a look." Whatever theory one might advance to explain the psychological basis of Twain's fascination, the subscription publication of his books could only reinforce the idea that it made good, marketable copy.

It is important, too, that Twain almost never publicly sermonized against his popular audience. The persona of Mark Twain preferred Tahoe to Como, chromos to the Old Masters, and rural American food to European cuisine; he railed against all the values Henry James became aware of in Paris, and—with only a few exceptions—wrote satire that intended, in Dixon Wecter's words, "to captivate the groundlings."³⁹ Twain, it is true, was a "groundling" himself, from Missouri both by birth and by temperament; and Fred L. Pattee correctly suggested once that Twain "measured not by appearance or by tradition, but by intrinsic worth."⁴⁰ Even if he did so from the innate bases of his own mind, he was a groundling with some literary aspirations that his fulminations against appearances and tradition seriously undercut. Consider in close contexts two of Twain's most famous statements concerning his own art: "Humor must not professedly teach, and it must not professedly preach, but it must do both if it would live forever. . . . I have always preached. . . . If the humor came of its own accord and uninvited, I have allowed it a place in my sermon, but I was not writing the sermon for the sake of the humor. I should have written the sermon just the same, whether any humor applied for admission or not."⁴¹ The other statement is his famous letter of 1889 to Andrew Lang:

³⁹ "Mark Twain" in Spiller *et al.*, *Literary History of the United States* (New York, 1953), p. 922.

⁴⁰ *A History of American Literature Since 1870* (New York, 1915), p. 56.

⁴¹ *Mark Twain in Eruption*, ed. Bernard DeVoto (New York, 1940), pp. 202-3.

The thin top crust of humanity—the cultivated—are worth pacifying, worth pleasing, worth coddling, worth nourishing and preserving with dainties and delicacies, it is true; but to be caterer to that little faction is no very dignified or valuable occupation, it seems to me; it is merely feeding the over-fed, and there must be small satisfaction in that. . . .

Indeed I have been misjudged, from the very first. I have never tried in even one single instance, to help cultivate the cultivated classes. I was not equipped for it, either by native gifts or training. And I never had any ambition in that direction, but always hunted for bigger game—the masses.⁴²

Though this statement is defensive, having been prompted by the hostile English reception of *A Connecticut Yankee*, the two remarks together nevertheless suggest that Twain was able to objectify his attitude into a tenet of audience-appeal. It was a quality, too, which publishers and newspapers called attention to. *Innocents Abroad* and *Roughing It* were both advertised as "Particularly adapted to Family Reading," therefore presumably implying, as the New Jersey *National Standard* claimed for *Innocents*, "its morals are of a high tone." Or, as the *New Jersey Journal* unctuously phrased it, *Innocents Abroad* was "pure in morals, and just the thing for fire-side reading."

Thus strange mixtures in tone constantly crop up in Twain's subscription books, mixtures that run all the way from the starker bloodletting to downright prudery. However difficult this anomalous combination becomes to the critic or the psychoanalyst, it played upon two of the expectations of the subscription audience.

Other forces pulled Twain in the opposite direction; the desire for literary as well as popular acclaim made the humorist "feel the aspirations of an artist, to crave deeper approval than had come to the cracker-box humorists like Sam Slick or Jack Downing."⁴³ His strivings for narrative unity and structure, for example, might be attributed to the tug the other way. When Howells advised Twain during the writing of *Tom Sawyer*, "Don't hurry the writing for the sake of making a book,"⁴⁴ he was pointing up the conflict between literary and subscription standards. Twain was too sensitive about his own reputation not to be aware that the animosity of the regular trade was as strong toward a subscription-book author as it was toward the book itself. In the 1880s Twain was to receive several personal attacks on this very score: the Chicago

⁴² *Mark Twain's Letters*, II, 527.

⁴³ Dixon Wecter, "Mark Twain," *Literary History of the United States*, p. 922. As early as 1865, he was calling the profession of humorist an "unworthy & evanescent" one. See *My Dear Bro, A Letter from Samuel Clemens to his Brother Orion* (Berkeley, 1961), p. 8.

⁴⁴ *Mark Twain-Howells Letters*, I, 90.

Tribune pointed out that *The Stolen White Elephant* had been "placed in the hands of a respectable publisher instead of offering booksellers a premium on dishonesty in order to obtain for their shelves copies of a book 'sold only by subscription'"; when Twain made fun of the banning of *Huck Finn* by the Concord Public Library, the Boston *Advertiser* raised questions as to whether "his impudent intimation that a larger sale and larger profits are a satisfactory recompense to him for the unfavorable judgment of honest critics, is a true indication of the standard by which he measures success in literature";⁴⁵ and in 1886, John Wanamaker printed an advertisement in the *Philadelphia Press* commenting on Twain's sale of Grant's *Memoirs*. The "unfortunate manner of publication," Wanamaker claimed, had made the family of Grant, the book-buying public and the bookstores all "losers." "And who are the gainers? Book-pedlers and book-pedler publishers; nobody else."⁴⁶ Even earlier, though, Twain couldn't have ignored the subscription-trade book war of the 1870s, and he certainly would not have failed to notice that Howells, his literary court of last resort, had turned down the idea of publishing his campaign biography of Hayes with the American Publishing Company.⁴⁷ As he depended more and more on Howells' pronouncements about him in the *Atlantic* book reviews, Twain was obviously yearning for the critical approval of those "honest critics."

So even though Twain could announce significantly in 1877 that James R. Osgood (a trade publisher then) was "the best publisher who ever breathed, and that [Osgood] could have every thing he owned," he also told Howells two years later, after six years of relative literary failures, "I want to make a book which people will *read*."⁴⁸ It wasn't just the problem of income, either; Twain was aware of the two distinct audiences, one of whom he had not reached, even with Howells' help, and the other which he reached all too well by painting himself striped and turning cartwheels. But he loved that audience, too, and needed its approval just as much as he did the approval of those "honest critics." The letter to Andrew Lang followed by over a decade a comment Twain made to Howells about the public reception of his drama, *Ah Sin*: "Nearly every time the audience roared," he moaned, "I knew it was over something that would be condemned in the morning (justly, too) but must be left in—for low comedies are written for the drawing-room, the kitchen & the stable, & if you cut out the kitchen & the stable the drawing-room

⁴⁵ Vogelback, pp. 265-67.

⁴⁶ Herbert Feinstein, "Mark Twain & The Pirates," *Harvard Law School Bulletin*, XIII (April 1962), 11.

⁴⁷ See *Mark Twain-Howells Letters*, I, 145.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 208, 250.

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The I.W.W. and the Brainworkers

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY HAS SAPPED OLD FAITHS AND PROLIFERATED NEW "ideologies." We live in an age in which traditional formulations of human purpose are "in crisis," in an inflation of new "ideologies" which debases all of them. The job of honest men, we have been told, is the job of Sisyphus, to live with "absurdity." If one could make a précis, in the form of a single cartoon, of much of the cultural criticism of our mid-century, a grim picture indeed would be drawn. We mark time, an aimless crowd on a formless plain, distrusting or ignoring old signposts, picking indubitable but silly flowers at our feet, and looking up occasionally for signs of mushroom clouds on the horizon. Commitment to some system that makes the universe an abode of significance for human kind seems to be essential for civilization; it is part of what we mean by "culture." In this perhaps overextended sense, "ideology" encompasses everything from totemism to Platonism, from primitive magic to Pauline theology. But in the West the ancient religious synthesis has been decaying for centuries, and the great secular substitutes of the Enlightenment have also turned to dust in the advanced circles of Sartre and Kafka readers or skeptical positivists.

The ruin is particularly apparent in Marxian socialism, that hybrid of Christian apocalypse and Enlightenment science. Even in those societies where the Marxist vision has become the new orthodoxy—the "backward" or "catching-up" nations—a subtle alteration has appeared. Even there, socialism has become more and more a pragmatic mechanism for capital accumulation and economic growth than a grand Hegelian explanation of man's alienation and destiny. In Western Europe and America the socialist vision has faded to little more than an imprecise nostalgia in the minds of apostates.

In America, of course, Marxism never attracted many believers, perhaps because the conditions and expectancies of life for most Americans never seemed to warrant a desertion of the faith of the Founding Fathers. But socialism did attract, even here, a vigorous minority, a self-conscious

vanguard, during the decades before the First World War. Later, in the 1930s, more thousands of Americans were titillated by a totalitarian version of the ideology. Perhaps the last considerable rally of true believers and half-taught catechumens occurred during the 1948 Progressive Party crusade. But in more recent years the movement has all but collapsed.

Central to the Marxist ideology, of course, is the class struggle tenet, once defended by all of the socialist denominations, from anarcho-syndicalists to pedantic German Social-Democrats, as the very heart of the system. It was the social epiphenomenon of a dialectic reality that guaranteed the historical inevitability—and the "science"—of socialism. What happened to the doctrine is a familiar story. Lenin embalmed it in a political elitism, a mystique as opaque to common sense as the Trinity or the General Will, giving it thus a dogmatic toughness to withstand for decades the pressure of fact.¹ Other less fierce socialists stubbornly preserved the doctrine, conserving it in much the same way that a tortured Victorian conserved the Garden of Eden and the Fall against the assault of the Darwinians. For many Social Democrats before the First World War the class struggle, however interpreted and defined, remained a central article of faith. It is still preserved lovingly by a few stubborn Marxists such as John Strachey. The underlying social dialectic is still churning away according to right doctrine; only the accidents of history, such as trade unionism and the Welfare State, have suppressed its reality like a social aspirin.²

For less devoted believers, history destroyed the exhilarating plausibility of the 1848 *Manifesto* and the later *Das Kapital*. Instead of increasing poverty and a heightening of the class struggle came the prodigious growth of the white collar classes and the *relative* decline in the numbers and the importance of the proletariat. Also political amelioration and the growth of practical trade unions more than masked reality; they played havoc with the Marxists' predictions. It is clear now that technology and applied science, more than any other single cause, has made the argument of the *Manifesto* obsolete. Productive technique made possible the change of input ration between labor costs and capital investment that built the economic platform on which our armies of technicians, insurance salesmen, diaper service operators, advertisers and IBM clerks now stand. The armies of clock punchers with nothing to lose but their chains declined in importance. As a result, the class struggle

¹ The "elitism" of Leninism is recognizable in most of Lenin's papers dealing with the problems of tactics, particularly *What Is To Be Done?* in *Selected Works* (Moscow, 1947), I.

² John Strachey, *Contemporary Capitalism* (New York, 1956).

and its basis in "surplus value" seems to explain nothing any more of critical importance. It is precisely those problems on which the corpus of Marxist scriptures say almost nothing that are most crucial to the contemporary world, such problems as the control of political and economic administration, social "planning" and human "alienation" in the new machine societies.

However, the faithful Marxists of a past generation held fast to their belief in the class struggle as defined by surplus value and tried to rescue it from the mounting contradictions of history. They never entirely abandoned the reality principle. The Revisionists of Germany, of course, come to mind. But even the essentially unrevolutionary spokesmen of orthodoxy—Karl Kautsky, for example—closed ranks against that heresy. In the United States the Socialist Party was not averse to recruiting lawyers, clergymen, farmers and other bourgeois elements into its crusade, but it hewed to class struggle fundamentalism in at least the philosophical preambles to its campaign platforms. Other socialists recognized the new and disturbing strategic importance of scientists and technologists but assumed that these persons must also, perforce, be proletarians. But it was the somewhat unlikely Industrial Workers of the World, shortly after the First World War, that made the most explicit *theoretical* connection between the scientist and the old-style proletarian and tried the most self-consciously to adapt science and industrial technology to Marxist orthodoxy. The story of this I.W.W. attempt to blanket the scientist and technologist into the class struggle has more than a mere antiquarian significance. Though the I.W.W. failed, it made the first attempt; its "theoreticians" recognized the importance of the new classes of "know-how" for any radical transformation of society under Marxist auspices. The I.W.W. also experienced the first frustrations in trying to educate scientists and engineers to their newly discovered class interests.

The I.W.W. appeared in 1905, the creation of a heterogeneous group of radical labor leaders and socialists from both the Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party. It intended the overthrow of capitalism through the agency of militant, "class conscious" unionism. But its first mediate task was the wooing of the proletariat away from the conservative and pragmatic American Federation of Labor. In its brief twenty-year *floruit* it suffered a number of purges and schisms that eliminated the "political actionists" and turned the organization over to the "syndicalists." Before the First World War the I.W.W. appeared to many observers, sympathetic and unsympathetic, as a growing power among the unskilled, immigrant workers in such industries as steel and textiles. It became infamous, a set of frightening initials that signified sabotage, soapbox agitation, "free

speech fights," blatant sacrilege and irrepressible guerrilla warfare against all middle-class values. Refined by its purges and schisms, the I.W.W. became the American version of anarcho-syndicalism, its whole program summed up in two slogans, "One Big Union" and "The General Strike."³ With the coming of the war in 1917, the I.W.W. became the principal target of patriotic and antiradical hysteria. Federal, state and local governments bludgeoned the organization with prosecutions under old and new laws, and vigilantes attacked the organization without the benefit of any law. The I.W.W. barely survived the war. Many of its leaders languished in jail or, like William D. Haywood and others, fled the country to Russia or Mexico. To make matters worse, the new Communist Party began to lure members and leaders away. The left wing of the Socialist Party, the nucleus of the new Communist Party, seemed to be riding the wave of the future, and many I.W.W. members were also drawn to this wave despite their prewar disdain for "politicos."

During its postwar difficulties the I.W.W. embarked upon a new program to adopt the scientist and engineer into the proletarian family and, at the same time, to educate the proletarians (old style) in some of the problems of management and expertise that they would face after the revolution. It made little difference to the I.W.W. that there was perhaps less and less likelihood of their ever having to face such technical responsibilities. Possibly the decision to convert the engineers really reflected the postwar weakness of the organization and a failure of nerve. After all, writing pamphlets to prove that civil engineers were really "workers" and involved in the injustice of surplus value was not likely to bring the Justice Department and the vigilantes down on the organization again. But if the new program merely concealed weakness, the leaders had not acted from that motive. They acted in earnest. For Marxist primitivists and activists they also built a considerable and surprising structure of intellection.

A few Wobblies⁴ first conceived the policy while imprisoned in Chicago's Cook County jail awaiting trial in 1918 under the wartime Espionage Act. The prisoners whiled away their time by conducting informal "educational meetings" in their cells, giving each other the benefit of their varied work experience. Facetiously they dubbed these meetings their "Industrial Congress" and talked of compiling some day a systematic "Industrial Encyclopedia" for workers. One of these prisoners,

³ The standard history of the I.W.W. is still Paul F. Brissenden, *The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism* (New York, 1919).

⁴ The origin of this popular name for I.W.W. members is unknown. One version attributes it to a Chinese restaurant owner in Canada who catered to an I.W.W. clientele. When criticized for this he replied, "I likee Eye Wobbly Wobbly". Stewart H. Holbrook, "Wobbly Talk," *American Mercury*, VII (January 1926), 62.

Ralph Chaplin, pursued the idea of research, education and a liaison with brain workers after he was released from prison on bail. Freed thus while awaiting the appeal of his case, Chaplin toured the country making speeches for the I.W.W. defense fund. During these peregrinations he met Howard Scott, the bohemian consulting engineer who was destined for a flash of fame a decade later as the founder of Technocracy, Inc. Even in 1918 and 1919, however, Scott was talking of his "Energy Survey" of America and arguing that production and distribution had become a slide-rule matter for engineers instead of the bankers and businessmen, those beneficiaries of an obsolete price system. Scott convinced Chaplin that the I.W.W. could use his services as head of a Research Bureau. He also shook Chaplin's simple faith in the I.W.W. class-struggle orthodoxy with trenchant criticisms of the I.W.W.'s program. Chaplin, though impressed, did not leave Scott's Greenwich Village apartment without some reservations. He felt uneasy about Scott's bohemianism, about his exotic remoteness from the proletarian, whose ideal image like Hairbreadth Harry in overalls appeared so regularly in the cartoons of the I.W.W. press. "All the time," Chaplin wrote, "he was discoursing so plausibly about tear-drop automobiles, flying wing airplanes, and technological unemployment, I was looking at the other side of the studio where an appalling phallic water color painting was displayed among blue prints and graphs on a big easel."⁵

Scott gravitated to the I.W.W. when two difficult problems faced the beleaguered organization: how to react to the ardent wooing of the Third International, or Comintern, of the Bolsheviks, and how to adapt the romantic sloganeering of the I.W.W. program to the real world of technology. The two problems were not unrelated. Certainly the triumphant Bolsheviks in Russia had been brought face to face with the difficult practical problems of technology and management. They had discovered also the appalling scarcity of blue prints and directives on these matters in the Marxist scriptures. The social upheavals of the postwar world, the Bolshevik revolution itself, gave all radicals the heady anticipation of imminent "world revolution." The agitation and sloganeering and prophecies were about to come to fruition. But the intoxication and the hard experience of the Bolsheviks also, paradoxically, raised a sobering question, "What do we do then?"

The I.W.W. press, beginning in 1919, became suddenly aware of these "practical" problems and full of sharp discussion on the inadequacy of old slogans, on the need for technical "know-how" and on the threat to orthodox Marxist theory in the new developments. What if the "general

⁵ Ralph Chaplin, *Wobbly: The Rough-and-Tumble Story of an American Radical* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 295-96.

social conflagration" broke out, asked one I.W.W. writer. The simple One Big Union idea, so concise for agitation, would obviously be too vague, even irrelevant, to help much in the actual management of the postrevolutionary chaos. Consequently, the I.W.W. should begin at once to compile and publish technical handbooks on American industries and should establish a "Bureau of Industrial Research."⁶ Another writer, presenting the same problem to I.W.W. readers, announced that happily a number of engineers and statisticians had already volunteered their services and advice to the I.W.W.—a reference undoubtedly to Howard Scott.⁷ Another sober essay on the present conditions informed members that "technical skill is the very pulse of industry," and exhorted them to "learn your industry."⁸ The Textile Workers Industrial Union of the I.W.W. organized "technical boards" to gather statistics, to study the technology of the industry, and to prepare textile workers for the responsibilities of industrial management.⁹

William D. Haywood and Tom Boyle, members of the I.W.W. Executive Board, showed little enthusiasm at first for Scott's ideas when Chaplin presented them and asked for the establishment of a "Research Bureau." Haywood, in particular, was a Marxist primitivist, an agitator par excellence, who could see little value in the strange new intellectualism. Chaplin, however, won over the Executive Board by arguing that a "High class educational program would add to the prestige of the I.W.W. while it was under attack from so many quarters," an argument that perhaps reveals a causal connection between the new program and the persecutions of the war months. In 1920 the I.W.W. convention established a research bureau and hired Scott as the first and only I.W.W. "Research Director."¹⁰

Scott and his disciples continued their barrage of critical articles in the I.W.W. press. Scott himself wrote a few of them under the modest byline of "Industrial Engineer." He criticized the I.W.W.'s reliance upon the tactic of sabotage and argued that such methods were self-defeating if the I.W.W. really intended to take over the means of production. Why take over wrecked or crippled equipment? Also, if the revolution was to come as the result of recurring crises in capitalism, then the withdrawal of efficiency and sabotage by workers would only succeed in slowing

⁶ John Sandren, "The I.W.W. Needs an Industrial Encyclopedia," *One Big Union Monthly*, I (November 1919), 42-44.

⁷ "The Industrial Encyclopedia," *One Big Union Monthly*, I (December 1919), 15.

⁸ Robert Bruner, "Get More Technical Knowledge," *One Big Union Monthly*, II (June 1920), 48.

⁹ "Are You Prepared to Manage Industry?" *One Big Union Monthly*, I (May 1919), 42.

¹⁰ Chaplin, *Wobbly*, p. 296.

production and delaying the crises. Scott also criticized the I.W.W.'s traditional emphasis upon organizing the unskilled workers. The I.W.W. had indeed romanticized the unskilled worker, especially the hobo migrant of agriculture, lumbering and nonferrous mining. Scott argued that realistic revolutionaries should rather agitate for such things as immigration restriction and the development of a more highly skilled working force, because the more highly skilled the labor force the more productive the system became and the more rapid and violent would be the crises.¹¹

If the Bolshevik success in Russia presaged the universal "Red Dawn," as so many radicals hoped in 1919 and 1920, and if the unsettled postwar world was tottering on the brink of revolution, the mastering of technical skill would indeed be urgent. But what then happened to the old class-struggle doctrine? Was not the real world suddenly "unmasked" to show the scientist and the engineer as the fulcrum of history rather than the class-conscious production workers? I.W.W. intellectuals had to address themselves to this serious problem of theory. One solution to rescue the old orthodoxy called for the rapid remaking of proletarians into technicians. This obvious response to the problem accounts for the many exhortations to compile industrial encyclopedias and to establish technical boards and to "learn one's industry." But probably not many I.W.W. intellectuals thought such a solution was an adequate one. The engineers, scientists, technicians themselves would have to be recruited to the right side in the class struggle. Only then would practical necessity and right doctrine be reconciled.

A number of I.W.W. writers took on the job. They had to demonstrate, if possible, that scientists were *really* proletarians. One writer sketched a history of technology through the evolution of mankind and correlated its development to the Marxist schema of history.¹² This ambitious I.W.W. sociologist discovered the "Law of Increasing Dependence," a law establishing an inverse relationship between division of work in society and individual independence. The law could be adapted easily to Marxist dialectics and thus account in an orthodox manner for the new importance of science and technology. It was a law useful of course in other ways as well. It demonstrated the fallacy of anarchism, a temperamental temptation of the typical Wobby.¹³

¹¹ *One Big Union Monthly*, II (October 1920), 6-10.

¹² Abner Woodruff, "The Law of Increasing Dependence," *One Big Union Monthly*, I (June 1919), 28-32.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Another I.W.W. writer attacked the I.W.W. activist who disdained the scientist and engineer as persons somehow allied with the class enemy.¹⁴ The work of scientific testing and invention in any industry had to be distinguished carefully from the accountancy work. The "bourgeois" sociologist, he claimed, erred by classifying the scientist as "middle class." Since the scientist and technician did "socially useful work," in the veritable Marxist meaning of the phrase, they must be distinguished from the bourgeois parasites who fatten on surplus value, who obtain a return on ownership claims rather than the usefulness of their labor. But the writer ends his argument rather lamely by insisting that these workers, whether bourgeois or proletarian, are "indispensable."¹⁵

Scott left the I.W.W. after only a few months of service, but his influence remained in some corners of the organization for years. In 1923 the Department of Education of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union published a curious pamphlet which urged continued missionary work among scientists and engineers. In this pamphlet two boyhood friends, one an engineer and the other a member of the I.W.W., meet and engage in a somewhat unlikely conversation. They chew over, almost word for word, the text of the preamble of the I.W.W. constitution with its brusque statement of the class-struggle doctrine. They then part and go their separate ways, agreed that greater cooperation from "technician down to laborers" will be needed to build the new society.¹⁶

Even the commercial press began to note changes in the stance of the I.W.W. The new program impressed one reporter, as he obtained it in slightly garbled form, as evidence of an unexpected practicality among these American backwoods Bolsheviks. "One's conception of the visionary type of mind that directs these radical forces gives way to a conception of decided practicality, as he observes the close attention to the minutiae of industrial organization and operation."¹⁷ Another writer for a national magazine described the program, or a variant of it, with perhaps his tongue in his cheek, as a new I.W.W. "conspiracy." I.W.W. informants had revealed to him their elaborate plan. They intended to hire or recruit efficiency engineers to make a study of some selected industry. With the data from this investigation in their hands they then intended to approach the managers and say, in effect, "We can increase your production by, say, sixty percent. How about dividing the increased profits with us?" Wobblies argued that by using such an approach in all

¹⁴ Bruner, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁵ George Cannata, "Technique and Revolution," *Industrial Pioneer*, I (February 1921), 49-51.

¹⁶ *What Is The I.W.W.?* (Chicago, 1923).

¹⁷ C. S. Watkins, "Present Status of Socialism in the United States," *Atlantic*, CXXIV (December 1919), 825.

industries they could eventually seize the means of production "not by mere right of ownership but by the right of knowing what to do with them." If such tactics failed to deliver the actual "legal" ownership of the means of production into the hands of the workers, it would make no practical difference. As the Wobbly spokesmen said, "Huh! It don't matter who owns these things if we use them. What do I care who owns the cigar if I smoke it?"¹⁸ This plan, however garbled in the retelling for a national middle-class audience, still reveals the I.W.W.'s sudden adulation for technological "know-how," its great emphasis upon efficient production.

This technocratic tinkering with Marxist theory happened, of course, in a dark and remote corner of American history with no one looking. Much of the impetus probably came from the force of contemporary American pragmatism. One can see in it, for example, more than a hint of Veblen. In fact, a kind of triple play is at work, from Veblen to Scott to the I.W.W. Some of the ideas also seem to preview the later criticism of persons such as A. A. Berle or James Burnham who emphasize the decay of traditional property arrangements and the rise of "management." The I.W.W. profit-sharing "conspiracy" actually assumes an argument to be made years later by A. A. Berle on the new "efficiency" or "enterprise" sanctions for managerial prerogatives that have succeeded the traditional "property rights."¹⁹ Hence, the I.W.W. experiment was not only obscure and short-lived; it was also premature. In 1924 the organization underwent another schism that stirred the members to a great deal of ideological hairsplitting of a more traditional kind. A few years later the Communist Party and the Comintern gave up their initial wooing of the I.W.W., and, from the new and ferocious "Third Period" line, began to throw brickbats at the I.W.W., calling it a "Social Fascist" misleader of labor. The I.W.W., in reply, devoted considerable intellectual energy it could ill afford to this scholastic dispute. During the early years of the Great Depression the I.W.W. marshaled its waning strength to compete, quite unsuccessfully, with the Communists in organizing the unemployed. The I.W.W. hence forgot its early flirtation with engineers, and the organization settled into a kind of posthumous existence, becoming a kind of old man's philosophical society. Only much later, in 1952, did the I.W.W. revive in new garb its old interest in science and technology. The *Industrial Worker*, the hardy weekly newspaper of the organization, published a long article that explored the possibility of attaching the I.W.W. to the coat-tails of the science fiction cult. The romantic scientists—or scientific romantics—who wrote for the science fiction mar-

¹⁸ C. W. Wood, "I.W.W.'s Plan to Strike," *Collier's*, LXX (September 23, 1922), 5-6.

¹⁹ A. A. Berle, *Power Without Property* (New York, 1959).

ket oftentimes, said the I.W.W. writer, described futuristic, interplanetary societies that were refreshingly un-capitalistic. Because of that radical and technocratic orientation a *rapprochement* might be possible.²⁰

Many causes account for the I.W.W.'s failure to achieve the radicalization of the new technology. The I.W.W., for example, showed considerable innocence in planning a reception for engineers and their like. Had a physician, by outlandish chance, known anything about the I.W.W. blandishments and had he been as untypical of his profession as Scott was of his, the I.W.W. could have offered him only a "red card" of membership in a phantom "Health Service Workers' Industrial Union." Here the radical physician would have become a comrade of such other "health service workers" as janitors, garbage collectors and street cleaners. Such a plan shows sincere democratic motives on the part of the I.W.W. but not much sophistication in what sociologists call "status considerations." But the I.W.W. never had such a particular problem to face because nobody in the courted classes responded. It is doubtful, of course, whether very many realized that they were being courted.

But the I.W.W.'s futile attempt is significant in at least a small way. Wobblies were among the first radicals in the Marxist camp to recognize the critical importance of technology in any program to remake society by socialist revolution. The I.W.W. also demonstrated unwittingly the unreality of trying to incorporate the scientist and engineer into the classical "class-struggle" orthodoxy of the *Manifesto*, or the simplified Marxist gospel according to the preamble to the I.W.W. constitution. Science had indeed become critically important and the I.W.W. had alertly noticed the fact. But it was less obvious that scientists were simple proletarians who would see their class interests defined by the class-struggle doctrine of the Marxists.

One can think of possible ways in which an alteration of theory might have been attempted, to permit it to explain the new social facts somewhat more adequately. As the *Political Economy*, *Anti-Duhring* and other Marxist texts suggest, the ideology is, in one possible interpretation, a technological philosophy of history and social change. If the "modes" and the "forces" of production, including technology, determine, "in the last analysis," the whole "superstructure" of society, then it would seem entirely possible to fit the new technology into the system. Perhaps had the I.W.W. uncovered a Lenin in its ranks it could have made the revisions in a subtle enough manner to avoid bringing down the whole edifice of Marxism, superstructure and all. The Wobbly Lenin could

²⁰ *Industrial Worker* (Chicago), August 29, 1952, p. 3.

have explained the obvious conservatism of scientists and engineers, for example, as Lenin himself had explained the even more embarrassing conservatism of the working classes: technologists as well as workers were being "bought off" with the ill-gotten gains of imperialism. Or other class-struggle explanations were possible. The desperate capitalists, in their "last phase," cleverly played off not only workers against workers but also workers against technologists to delay the revolutionary day of reckoning. But perhaps no one could have done the job of theory satisfactorily, and it might have made no difference anyway.

Some Wobblies saw intuitively the social changes that were making their simple class-struggle myth a bad copy of reality, and they tried within their powers of intellect to save the theory. Non-Marxists have also recognized—how, indeed, could it be ignored?—the changes wrought by science and technology. Most of the thought devoted to the problem, however, has been critical rejection rather than "ideology." The criticism of the humanistic intellectual has produced what C. P. Snow in a widely discussed essay has called the "two cultures." If not rejecting, the thought on the human and social implications of technology has been simple-minded fascination and celebration, of the Jules Verne or early H. G. Wells variety. The great Victorian critics, the T. S. Eliot wastelanders, the occultists and Vedists and Zen Buddhists, have attacked technology for its crushing of the human spirit. But the critics in this particular tradition show a dearth of programmatic thought, the intellectual urge to mold or master. It would seem today that the problem of the troubled I.W.W. is still a problem for all radicals, or liberals, who advocate programs of social change based on social and economic analyses and a presumed knowledge of human needs and the direction of history. Science is still crucial—more so than ever—but no ideology in the best or worst sense is lying around to deal with it adequately.



C A R L B O D E
University of Maryland

Columbia's Carnal Bed

IN THE WINTER OF 1961-62 I APPEARED AS A WITNESS FOR THE DEFENSE IN two cases brought against Henry Miller's novel, *Tropic of Cancer*. By that time the book had been in print for more than a quarter of a century, though it had just been published in the United States, and I wondered after the trials whether *Tropic* represented any kind of American tradition. I was the more interested because one of the judges had picturesquely pronounced it foreign filth. In particular, I wondered whether *Tropic's* concentration on sex, usually expressed in the bluntest terms, had any historical antecedents. Were there early twentieth-century *Tropics*; were there nineteenth-century ones? I decided to do some exploration beginning with the nineteenth century and to take up twentieth-century materials at a later time.

The problems were not small. The first was the long-established taboo on the study of sex. Many an American scholar still feels hesitant about discussing sex; many a reader still greets an exposition of it with an automatic sneer. The second problem derived from the first: it was the paucity of previous scholarship. There was almost nothing in print dealing with sex in explicit physical terms. There was a good deal of scholarly writing on nineteenth-century sentimental love; this research reported that hearts and violets were scattered everywhere. Yet I could see how scholars might have found only sentimental love to write about, for the books on sex or with much sex in them would ordinarily be hard to come by. They would belong to the half-world of American culture. Few would be copyrighted, fewer would come from a major publishing house. Whether scientific or sensual in approach, they would be apt to be printed either privately or by a minor publisher. When they appeared they would be circulated surreptitiously. At the end of their career they would usually have been read to tatters or dropped in a trash can.

Even if they survived, the scholar seldom saw them. Sometimes they drifted into private collections, to be seen only by the collector's best friends and to be dispersed, no doubt, on the collector's death by his

embarrassed widow. More often they fell into public hands, which held them gingerly. The typical public library had, and still has, a few rows of erotica locked up in a glass case. Even our national library, the Library of Congress, does little better. It continues to segregate works on sex in its "Delta" collection, which is opened fully only to the serious student—if he ever appears. I know of at least one trustee of the Kinsey Institute who has told me he was turned down. The best collection is housed at the Kinsey Institute itself, or more properly the Institute for Sex Research. It has its gaps and weaknesses but its potentialities are unequalled. Its facilities, moreover, are designed to be used.

In spite of the handicaps facing the scholar, a certain amount of information on sex in the nineteenth century can be gleaned. Some of it deals with birth control, which was a prime concern to the social reformer. The specter of an over-populated and starving world, conjured up by Mathus' writings, made a considerable impression. The response of several nineteenth-century social thinkers was to turn to the idea of voluntary birth control as the answer. The earliest response of any importance to the American scene was that of Robert Dale Owen, a Scottish-born sociologist who was later elected to Congress from Indiana. His *Moral Physiology* was published in London and New York in 1831. Eager for the new utopia, he described the social and economic advantages of birth control as he saw them. His basic premise in the book is that the instinct for reproduction is "a master principle" and all social planning must take it into account. He agrees with Malthus about the dangers of over-population but rejects his doctrine of "moral restraint" as unrealistic, even inhuman. Contraception, not continence, is Owen's answer.

He tries to clear the ground of the arguments he hears against a knowledge of birth control. It will not make a woman a prostitute. It will not degrade a decent girl, who is surely "no whit the better for believing, until her marriage night, that children are found among the cabbage leaves in the garden." For married men and women he says emphatically, "In no case can it be mischievous." Instead, as a matter of fact, it will be a demonstrable good. It will bring into the world only the children of loving, willing parents. Owen is equally positive about the merit of birth control for the unmarried person. Premarital chastity is no problem, for Owen follows Benjamin Franklin in defining it as "temperate satisfaction . . . of those desires which are natural to all healthy adult beings." And he follows his father, Robert Owen, in defining it also as "sexual intercourse *with* affection" (prostitution being sexual intercourse without it). Taking this generous view, Owen commends sexual inter-

course as something close to a panacea. Not the least of its advantages is that it will reduce what the nineteenth century usually referred to as "onanism," or masturbation.

In spite of their tendentious nature Owen's views are theoretical rather than practical. There is no particular method of birth control that he describes or endorses warmly. He rejects the method of abstinence and ends up by giving qualified approval to coitus interruptus. But if he is vague about contraception, this is by no means true of his most controversial follower, Dr. Charles Knowlton.

Knowlton, who was born in 1800 and died in 1850, took his medical degree at Dartmouth College in 1824. In 1831 the subject of birth control was suggested to him by his reading of *Moral Physiology*. The book persuaded him of the value to mankind of some good check on conception but he failed to find it in Owen. As a result he investigated and discovered that there was none described anywhere. He set his mind to the problem and finally arrived at a method that satisfied him. This he proceeded to embody in a little book prepared during the summer of 1831 and published anonymously the next year under the urbane title of *Fruits of Philosophy*. It created a minor riot. Other editions, his own and pirated, appeared in the United States and England both. Attacks were made on the book and on Knowlton as well. Not long after it reached public notice he was fined in court at Taunton, Massachusetts, and then jailed for three months in Cambridge. According to Professor Norman Himes, who in 1937 edited the only modern reprinting of *Fruits*, there were several other prosecutions which resulted in hung juries. In England the book apparently escaped the attention of the prosecutor until the term of 1877-78. Then in a widely heralded case, *Regina v. Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant*, the Crown was defeated and the sales of the book multiplied.

The announced aim of this incendiary publication is "to recommend . . . a simple, cheap, and harmless method of preventing conception." In the first of his five short chapters Knowlton attacks what he takes to be the two main arguments against providing information for birth control. One is that it leads to illegal intercourse. He denies that chastity can be weakened by a mere method. The other is that it is contrary to nature. In rebuttal he points out that all civilization is "against nature." When we set up a lightning rod we go against nature. And so on. Turning from rebuttal to positive arguments for birth control, he asserts that it will combat prostitution by expediting marriage for the young. It will cut down on poverty, ignorance and crime. It will prevent the spread of inherited disease. Used selectively it will improve the human stock. It

will reduce abortion and infanticide. And it will be a godsend to the sickly mother.

Knowlton's second chapter is largely given to a detailed description of the male and female sex organs. It also includes some speculations on how generation takes place. The fourth chapter, to skip the third for a moment, discusses the signs of pregnancy. It is factual in the main and includes information on the growth of the foetus. The fifth chapter has opinion as well as information. In it Knowlton inveighs against intemperate intercourse and also against "onanism." He concludes with some remarks on sterility and impotence.

It was the third chapter which excited the bitterest public hostility. The very title could raise the public's hackles: "Of Preventing Conception without Sacrifice of Enjoyment." Here Knowlton unveils his method of control and gives detailed directions for using it. What he proposes is douching with a syringe and he even prescribes the ingredients, alum and vinegar among them, for an effective solution. He notes the pitfalls which human nature puts in the way of any kind of contraception and argues that his method avoids them all except for the woman's having to get out of bed to douche.

Knowlton's little work may be called definitive; at any rate I have found nothing that goes beyond it in the rest of the nineteenth century. I suspect that its title alone caused it finally to drop out of sight. It had little competition. Birth control aside, however, there were a few other works which described the physiology of sex. Probably the most popular was one alleged to be by Aristotle. It came down to the nineteenth century from the eighteenth century and before. A representative edition is the one printed in 1831 in "New-England." It is a 247-page duodecimo, *The Works of Aristotle . . . Containing . . . his Complete Master-Piece*. It first anatomizes the male and female sex organs and then discusses generation and pregnancy. Following the "Master-Piece" itself are three other essays of which the most important is the "Experienced Midwife."

The *Aristotle*, the *Fruits of Philosophy* and *Moral Physiology* all are distinguished by a kind of scientific tone. The opposition they generated came from the subject: they treated sex with an explicitness the times refused to tolerate. They are in their way books of fact. There were also occasional books which mixed fiction with the fact. They apparently appeared more often after the Civil War than before.

Typical of this sort is *Satan in Society*, written by Nicholas F. Cooke under the pseudonym of "A Physician." It was entered for copyright in 1870 with the imprint of Edward Hovey of New York. The title gives the book away though its avowed purpose is propriety itself. The book is

said to be designed to train the young and counsel the mature. There is a whole chapter on male masturbation, complete with a vivid picture of the typical masturbator; there is another on female masturbation, with a corresponding picture of the miserable female. There are uplifting chapters on wholesome marriage and on woman's role in the world. There is a chapter condemning prostitution. At the end there is a motley collection of "Conjugal Aphorisms."

Cooke's technique is one of attack and sensationalism. He is against a good many things. He is against co-education ("the wrongful commingling of sexes in the Public Schools") because of the sexual opportunities it affords; against abortion ("it is . . . criminal"); against wicked physicians ("pimps of Satan") who advise on sex; and against sex for the elderly. Finally, he is against any birth control except abstinence and perhaps the rhythm system. His writing is exclamatory, his tone smug. In various passages he colors his prose to excite his reader. His is the kind of book which has an underlying prurience absent from Knowlton's and Owen's work and absent from the *Aristotle*. It is the kind of book which can be bought today, in lurid covers, at drugstores and magazine stands.

Another physician, Alice Stockham, published two books which are a blend not of sex and sensation but of sex and oriental mysticism. She bestowed esoteric titles upon both. The first was *Tokology*; that was apparently (I have not seen it) a manual which, in the author's own words, taught "possible painless pregnancy and parturition" and also dealt with other matters affecting female health. The second was *Karezza: Ethics of Marriage*, "Karezza" meaning "to express affection in both words and actions." Dr. Stockham published it herself, as she had the first book, in 1896. The thesis of *Karezza* is that "sexual science . . . teaches that there are deeper purposes and meanings to the reproductive faculties and functions than are understood and taught by most people." In applying the thesis Dr. Stockham drew on East as well as West; oriental overtones can be heard throughout *Karezza*. As the result of being in India, she had acquired an unusual awareness of the difference between an Eastern and a Western civilization, and she felt that the disciplined passivity of the East had much to recommend it. She speaks respectfully of karma and makes other references to Eastern religious ideas. The most significant of these for the thesis of the book is that we can learn to control any physical function of ours and any organ.

This idea is the basis for her conviction that sexual intercourse can be controlled while going on. "Karezza," she asserts, "consummates marriage in such a manner that through the power of will, and loving thoughts, the final crisis is not reached, but a complete control by both husband and

wife is maintained throughout the entire relation." Dr. Stockham does not fail to be specific. The immediate object of Karezza is "the complete but quiet union of the male and female organs." The consequence of attempting such union is that "in the course of an hour the physical tension subsides, the spiritual exaltation increases, and not uncommonly visions of a transcendent life are seen and consciousness of new powers experienced." At the highest a mystic, mutual trance is achieved.

Still another physician published the pamphlet *The Psychical Correlation of Religious Emotion and Sexual Desire* in 1897. However, while Dr. Stockham turned to Asia for her inspiration, Dr. James Weir Jr. turned to Europe. There, since the nineteenth century was drawing to its end, he found an already mature scholarship on his subject. His writing shows the marks of his research into anthropology and psychology; he refers to numerous European authorities, among them Krafft-Ebing. Weir uses such terms as "libido" and impresses the reader with his sophistication. His thesis was extremely controversial but he presented it without being defensive. He argues, as the title of his book indicates, that a close relation exists between sexual and religious feeling. They spring from the same source; they have the same effect. Furthermore, one is often convertible into the other. To Dr. Weir man's primary interest is in sex, however, not in religion. When man is too young or too old for sex, religion is ready to take its place. It is the adolescent who usually experiences "salvation," or the old man or old woman. Just as there are differences according to age, there are differences according to gender. In our culture, woman generally turns to religion for compensation more than does man. This is because woman has fewer sexual opportunities. The marked cases of religious ecstasy have mostly been observed in woman. In evidence Dr. Weir culls many cases from the lives of female saints. They clearly show, he suggests, that the love of God and the love of man look very much alike.

Some of the works I have discussed have more weight than others. All have certain limitations. All are surpassed by a book not yet mentioned, *The Truth about Love*. To the best of my knowledge it has no peers in nineteenth-century culture. Its author was David Goodman Croly and the book is distinguished by his candor of mind and honesty of approach. Born in 1829, Croly became a journalist and newspaper editor. In the world of ideas he showed himself to be as daring as Dr. Knowlton. He invented the word "miscegenation" and publicly endorsed the idea, saying that what the American needed to bring him to the peak of perfection was a strain of Negro blood. He founded a magazine which he called *The Modern Thinker* and gave it views to match. While he was managing

editor of the New York *World* he composed his most notable work. *The Truth about Love* found a publisher in David Wesley & Co. of New York. The first edition came out in 1872; the second, with the language softened in spots, was issued later in the same year. The book, which runs to 285 pages, is an extended dialogue between the author and over two dozen others. These include a Philosopher, a Religious Moralist, a Strong-Minded Woman, a Sentimentalist, a Physician, a Wanton, a Positivist, a Catamite and a Platonist. Addressing themselves to the author they give him the opportunity to make replies of unparalleled frankness.

Croly announces at the outset, "I propose to discuss fairly and without any reserve the relation of the sexes and the passion of love." He hopes in doing this, he adds, to serve humanity. He strikes the notes of candor and calmness from the very first pages. When one of his early questioners, a Young Man, exclaims, "Teach me how to solve this terrible riddle of passion and principle," Croly reassures him: "Calm these agitations." And he goes on to give some frank advice. Croly's reassurance is based on his belief in the goodness of human nature and of the universe. Yet it is not an unqualified belief, for he sees much that has been stunted or blighted. He looks at the America of his time, so grossly rich and self-indulgent. "If there is no check put upon the career of wealth in this country," he warns, "the year 2000 will see the inhabitants of the larger cities . . . launched upon a career of debauchery such as the world has never before witnessed."

As Croly surveys the contemporary scene he assesses the helps and hindrances to sexual expression. To him the problem of sex is universal; it plagues the young, the middle-aged and the old. The manifestations of it are many but a general relief for them all can be found. He thinks that relief lies in "a new religious faith founded upon the facts of nature." In other words, he wants a religion of sane sexuality. In the face of American puritanism he maintains that the sex act is itself good. It is not only health-giving, it is "speaking physically, a moral act."

Young unmarried persons should have all possible sexual "opportunities suited to their state of life and physical power." (On hearing this the Reformer cries out "Heavens! what a notion!") Croly boldly denies one of the main tenets of the American sexual creed in the course of talking with the Physician. "There is no honor in being a virgin; it is a burden to most young girls; it is the one thing of which they are most anxious to be rid." But denying the tenet point-blank will not destroy it; if anything it will cause the multitude of readers to reaffirm its validity. Croly is ready, in consequence, to settle for what he regards as the next best thing. If our culture still demands virginity from the bride, he sug-

gests that we welcome all means to make it merely technical. Accordingly, any gratification which stops short of intercourse ought to be encouraged. • He wants the parents of the young to "permit kissing, embracing, waltzing, and even novel-reading." If society will allow such liberties to young persons, then it can preserve its musty custom of virginity and also help them to escape both the perils of pregnancy and the evils of onanism.

Croly has not much less startling things to say about married love. For the married man or woman he does not advocate adultery; he thinks the marriage bond should be kept intact. But he concedes that it may become irksome. Remarkably enough for a nineteenth-century man, he spends as much time on the problems of the mature female as he does on those of the male. This is partly because he believes that hers are more pressing. In spite of the fact that "women are more conscious of sex than men are," their sexual adjustment is rarely satisfactory. "I believe," Croly says, "if the facts were known, that five women out of six do not experience physical pleasure when they have relations." Among the causes a frequent one is fear of pregnancy. To cut down the chances of a woman's having unwanted children, Croly strongly advocates birth control. The best device for it he thinks is the syringe.

If youth and maturity have their difficulties, so does old age. Croly feels sorry for the elderly person. Sex is a "perennial fire in the veins": it still troubles many a venerable man, many a gray-haired woman. Now, however, sexual satisfaction is far harder for them to come by than when they were younger. This is one reason why they should have taken advantage of all the sexual opportunities of their youth. When in the dialogue the Old Maid says, "Have I not done well to preserve my virginity?" the author answers bluntly, "No, you have not done well."

In this society without enough outlets for sex, what should the people do? Croly has some suggestions. The most electrifying is that prostitution should be regarded as a proper vocation for a woman, just as legitimate as shopwork or hat-making. If not more legitimate; for Croly asserts that the prostitute has greater value for society than the parson. "If every church in the city of New York was shut up for the next six months, very little harm would result"; on the other hand, if the brothels were closed we would see "the most frightful outrages." His other suggestions, like the one about prostitution, are based on his belief in the maximum of sexual activity. But it must be normal, heterosexual activity. He rejects onanism. And he has nothing but detestation for homosexuality. When the Catamite speaks up and asks plaintively, "But why not say a word for me?" the prompt answer is "Out of my sight—you horror!"

In his determination to speak the truth as he saw it nobody went be-

yond Croly. Yet the other writers I have described, with the exception perhaps of the author of *Satan in Society*, strove to speak frankly and truly too. If we agree that writing is generally designed either for pleasure or for instruction, those writers patently tried to instruct. They wanted to teach us something. What, however, about the writers whose purpose was to entertain? Were there any writers of works with a warmer tone, works designed to titillate rather than to teach? Was there literary erotica available to Americans?

From Colonial days on, there was always a trickle of imported works. After the Civil War and especially near the end of the nineteenth century, a few more of the foreign classics of sex were shipped in. The works of Ovid, Boccaccio and John Cleland are variegated examples. Yet there were not many, apparently. Nor does there seem to have been much other prose and poetry of an erotic nature. In poetry we can find only at intervals a work like *Cupid's Own Book of Amorous Poetry*, which was compiled by an anonymous editor and issued in 1850 in New York by one Elton, Publisher. It draws mainly from the lustier of British love lyrics. Dryden's "Pains of Love," for instance, Rochester's "The Inconstant" and some sprightly verses by Herrick are among those reprinted. Here is a typical selection:

To Corinna

I only begg'd to kiss your hand,
You said your lips I might command;
Should I now ask those lips to kiss
Would you not grant a greater bliss?

Any verse more daring was a rarity, whether classical or not, whether foreign or American. Professor Robert Walker, when examining over six thousand volumes of native nineteenth-century verse for social content, saw only a single volume of erotic poetry. It was *Psalms of the Race Roots* by John William Lloyd, who specialized in portraying sexual union in ornate metaphorical terms.

Erotic American prose was somewhat less scarce. In his slapdash *An Unhurried View of Erotica* (1958) Ralph Ginzburg can cite a handful of prose titles. These include *Sodom in Union Square*, allegedly by an ex-police captain from New York, and *The Secret Services and Duties of Major Lovitt*. Here and there we can find a hint of more. Lists of obviously erotic works are advertised in a gamy weekly called the *New York Clipper*. The Institute for Sex Research owns one number, for March 22, 1856; it advertises little books, priced at a quarter, written by someone calling himself Charles Paul de Kock. Among them are *The Mysteries of*

Venus, The Bar Maid at the Old Point House and *The Adventures of a French Bedstead*.

The only striking example of mid-nineteenth-century pornography in prose at the Institute is an anonymous novel, *The Libertine Enchantress*, published in New Orleans in 1863. On it Dr. Kinsey has penciled the notation that it is very rare. The stuff of the story is erotic episodes; the treatment is purposefully prurient. There are two variations from the pornographic norm, however. One is that the heroine, Lucinda, sees the sexual transactions instead of taking part in them. Led into voyeurism as a little girl, she engages in it till maturity. Throughout the book key-holes and knotholes appear regularly for her to peek through. She remains physically a virgin until her marriage, in the final pages, to her Frederick. The other variation is the tone of benediction at the end. Lucinda concludes her sensational observations with: "We led a happy life. We had a number of fine children. Now that we are old, Frederick and I love each other as well as we ever did in our lives."

More marginal instances are to be found in the gothic romances of George Lippard, led by *The Quaker City* (1844). In their day these books were a sensation but there are only patches of prurient material in them. His heroines, and bold anti-heroines, are shown to have ample bosoms (milk-white) and limbs (marble); there are episodes leading up to seduction and attempted rape; there is a hectic flush to some of the writing. And yet both the general aim and general effect are less than pornographic. Even near the end of the century, when printing and publishing boomed, relatively little pornography seems to have appeared. By that time there should have been, for example, many a feverish story of Negro slave-girls whipped and violated. All I have found at the Kinsey Institute, and I have not found anything elsewhere, is a novel dated 1892 and centering on the experiences of a male slave rather than a female. The author is anonymous.

Paul, the hero of *The Story of a Slave*, is a handsome, modest mulatto. Looking back on his youth before the Civil War, he tells the story of how he and the beautiful Miss Virginia, daughter of his owner, became lovers. His account is moderately erotic. There are some filmy garments and heaving breasts. There is some bold action, particularly Virginia's seizing the initiative while Paul shies away. At the climax of the story she exclaims, "Take me, take me," and Paul does. There are also some midnight bedroom scenes. Much of the erotic effect is blunted for the reader by the clumsy writing. The dialogue, with Paul at times speaking like a law book, is stilted indeed. For instance: Virginia, afraid she is pregnant, tells Paul, who hints at abortion. When she says that this would be close

to murder, he replies in the most wooden of accents, "No physiological conditions are present as yet which could possibly admit a shadow of justice in such a charge." Incidentally, she is not pregnant and near the conclusion of the novel marries a callow planter. She still has Paul make love to her; she says in fact that she would rather be Paul's mistress than the planter's wife. As the book ends, she bears the planter's child, however, and leaves the plantation.

Although *The Story of a Slave* came out in 1892, its atmosphere and style are both old-fashioned. A generation and more separate it from the *Maidenhead Stories* printed in Chicago only two years later. These are hardcore pornography. The scene is a supper given by a set of lusty young fellows who are members of a secret fraternity at "Smith College." The book starts with the seduction of the one remaining virgin in the group, Frank Eaton. Then, in the tradition of the *Decameron* and *Heptameron*, each member of the fraternity tells a salacious story. There are fifteen stories in all, all concerned with sexual gymnastics, among them a few perversions. The tone is sly; the style is studded with such coy circumlocutions as "quivering instrument" and "mossy dales."

The *Maidenhead Stories* are as lubricious as American pornography of the time apparently could become. Yet they have an amateurish turn to them, reminiscent of stag-night monologues. They pale beside the professional scandalousness of the best foreign importations. They must have found it hard to compete with, for instance, *The Bagnio Miscellany*, which was published in London in 1892 and reached America by devious means.

The miscellany, attributed to "Miss Lais Lovecock," runs to a hundred pages and contains three items. The first is Lais' own story; the second is a set of "Dialogues between a Jew and a Christian," the Jew being an old villain and the Christian a young bawd; and the third is "The Force of Instinct," a story about the sexual adventures of a Miss Wharton under the tutelage of her resourceful maid, Betty. The first is technically the best.

The tale told by Miss Lais is purest pornography. Her mounting sexual experience is described from the time she enters a girls' school until she reaches what can only be called the fullest maturity. She goes from one encounter to another and relates them with relish. She lingers lovingly over each detail. Her introduction to life begins at school with flagellation and girlish lesbianism and then goes on to other perversions and practices including experimentation by one, two or three persons. The multiple exercises are extremely imaginative. However, Lais does not neglect the simple sexual act of coupling; many an episode of that is

described. As a matter of fact, she does not go as far in her perversity as she might. In her story bestiality and sodomy are absent and there is no male homosexuality whatever.

The point of view is female, if not feminine, and this adds to the lubricious effect. Yet in a curious way the story seems almost pastoral. Its world of sex is so simple, basically, as to be primitive. The weather is always summer; intercourse can go on within doors or without. Disease, discovery, disgrace: these when they exist at all are negligible details, to be dismissed in a sentence. Any discomfiture, indeed, in this amoral atmosphere is minor. The lives of both sexes are untroubled, the appetites wonderfully hearty. When Lais and the other wantons make love they are in transports. The men give them an ineffable experience; the girls show, flatteringly, that they appreciate it to the full. When the pleasure of love reaches a climax they faint with ecstasy. Then they recover to faint again.

Lais' adventures are set forth in a neat, graphic style. The vocabulary is unmistakably clear. The author's aim is plainly to be as explicit and salacious as possible, and he succeeds. The set of dialogues which follow are considerably less effective. And the concluding story, "The Force of Instinct," is not as full of spirit as the first; perhaps the author's invention flagged. Yet the account of Miss Wharton's instruction in debauchery has its memorable moments. For the reader of erotica "The Force of Instinct" has another virtue: it includes an informal guide to further reading. Toward the end of this story the heroine's maid tells her about some of the classics of pornography. She names with praise *Fanny Hill*, *The Spirit of Flagellation*, *The Memoirs of a French Lady of Pleasure* and other real or imagined epics of the bed. The maid adds that they are all illustrated.

No doubt there has always been pornography, to a larger or smaller extent. If we can judge by what remains, however, little appeared in nineteenth-century America. It is certainly appropriate for us to ask why, but we can only speculate about the answer. For here we touch on a major problem of human behavior; the relation of sex to its supposed stimulants. Did Americans fail to produce much pornography in those days because they were so well satisfied sexually that they felt no need for titillation? Or were they so busy conquering a continent that they had little time for reading about sex? Did sexual license have to wait for an era of luxury? This, incidentally, was David Croly's impression. Looking back at Rome and Byzantium and then contemplating America of the Gilded Age, he decided that the older and richer a country grew, the more its moral fiber slackened. Or was the hand of New England puri-

tanism still heavy on America, repressing sexual activity and weighting sex with sin?

We can see that in the nineteenth century serious books about sex were almost as rare as pornography. Today the scientific book is seldom interdicted; the serious literary work remains open to attack. For we still do not know what pornography is and we still quarrel about its effects. The courts themselves are confused about it. Does *Tropic of Cancer* arouse lustful desires and perhaps lead to lustful acts? Currently some judges and juries are saying yes; more are saying no. But the issue is far from decided, and the notes offered in this essay are only notes.



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James Baldwin's Quarrel with Richard Wright

ONE OF THE BEST STATEMENTS WE HAVE OF THE DILEMMA OF THE NEGRO writer in America may be found in James Baldwin's review of the *Selected Poems* of Langston Hughes. After taking Hughes severely to task for failing to transform his private experience as a Negro into art, Baldwin concludes: "Hughes is an American Negro poet and has no choice but to be acutely aware of it. He is not the first American Negro to find the war between his social and artistic responsibilities all but irreconcilable."¹ This statement goes to the heart of the quarrel between Baldwin and Wright, for Wright's failure, as Baldwin sees it, lay in a confusion of his social and artistic responsibilities, a distortion of artistic truth into protest and propaganda. When Baldwin was asked recently to explain his comment on Hughes, he ignored the literary implications and spoke only about how it feels to be a Negro in America: "to be a Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious, is to be in a rage almost all the time. So that the first problem is how to control that rage so that it won't destroy you."² Wright would certainly have agreed with the first part of Baldwin's statement, for Wright's whole career as a writer was devoted to expressing the violent rage and outrage of the native son who is doomed to be an outsider. But Wright would have earnestly rejected Baldwin's solution—"the first problem is how to control that rage"—as pusillanimity and compromise with reality.

It is interesting to note that Norman Mailer in *Advertisements for Myself* accuses Baldwin of a similar pusillanimity: he is fated to remain

¹ James Baldwin, "Sermons and Blues," *New York Times Book Review*, March 29, 1959, p. 6.

² "The Negro in American Culture," *Cross Currents*, XI (1961), 205. This is the text, with minor editing, of a symposium that was originally presented over WBAI. The participants were James Baldwin, Emile Capouya, Lorraine Hansberry, Langston Hughes and Alfred Kazin; Nat Hentoff was the moderator.

a charming minor writer because he is incapable of saying "Fuck you" to his readers (not one of Mailer's own failings).³ But it is here precisely that the great temptation for the writer lies:

to simplify the issues under the illusion that if you simplify them enough, people will recognize them; and this illusion is very dangerous because that isn't the way it works. . . . As a writer, you have to decide that what is really important is not that the people you write about are Negroes, but that they are people, and the suffering of any person is really universal.⁴

Baldwin's quarrel with Wright, then, centers on the large issues of the intention and aim and values of the writer. Although both feel the inevitable rage of being a Negro in the United States, their ways of dealing with this rage are radically different. One makes fiction out of the rage itself, brutal, pure, violent and unconstrained, while the other tries to penetrate and analyze that rage and convert it into a recognizable human emotion.

In an essay on Wright written after his death in Paris in 1960, Baldwin tries to set forth their relationship. There is a remarkable blending of compassion and fierce candor in this essay and the portrait that emerges is a deeply ambivalent one: in his later years (he died at 52) Wright became a lonely, isolated, embittered and misunderstood man,⁵ fre-

³ Norman Mailer, *Advertisements for Myself* (New York, 1959), pp. 471-72. Baldwin answers Mailer and discusses their friendship in "The Black Boy Looks at the White Boy," *Nobody Knows My Name* (New York, 1961), pp. 216-41 (first published in *Esquire*, May 1961). There are some curious echoes of this essay in the relation of Rufus and Vivaldo in *Another Country* (New York, 1962), and Baldwin shows himself quite capable in this book of uttering every conceivable obscenity to his reader. But I think Mailer's comment still applies in the sense that Baldwin does not mean to taunt or flout his reader; his obscenities are not designed "pour épater le bourgeois" as some of Mailer's are.

⁴ "The Negro in American Culture," p. 205.

⁵ Wright's own defiant description of his personal life has an ill-concealed note of despair in it:

I'm a rootless man, but I'm neither psychologically distraught nor in any wise particularly perturbed because of it. Personally, I do not hanker after, and seem not to need, as many emotional attachments, sustaining roots, or idealistic allegiances as most people. I declare unabashedly that I like and even cherish the state of abandonment, of aloneness; it does not bother me; indeed, to me it seems the natural, inevitable condition of man, and I welcome it. I can make myself at home almost anywhere on this earth and can, if I've a mind to and when I'm attracted to a landscape or a mood of life, easily sink myself into the most alien and widely differing environments. I must confess that this is no personal achievement of mine; this attitude was never striven for. . . . I've been shaped to this mental stance by the kind of experiences that I have fallen heir to. (*White Man, Listen!*, New York, 1957, p. 17)

This passage also reflects the pernicious influence on Wright of French existentialism, seen at its worst in the novel *The Outsider* (New York, 1953). Wright is self-consciously representing himself as "L'Etranger." This is a far cry from the bitter rootlessness and

quitting the existentialist cafes of St. Germain where he was made to feel his utter estrangement from the new generation of American and African Negro writers and intellectuals. It is with deeply mixed feelings that Baldwin speaks his eulogy for Wright:

In the meantime, the man I fought so hard and who meant so much to me, is gone. First America, then Europe, then Africa failed him. He lived long enough to find all of the terms on which he had been born become obsolete; presently, all of his attitudes seemed to be historical.⁶

Baldwin's relation to Wright was complicated by Baldwin's own sense of the older writer as his mentor and spiritual father, from whom he needed to revolt in order to prove his own manhood and integrity and skill. He became Wright's protégé early in his career and it was Wright's support that helped Baldwin win his first writing fellowship. But the two were never destined to become friends. There was first the wide difference in age: Baldwin was born in 1924, Wright in 1908, and when they first met Baldwin was an aspiring writer of twenty and Wright a very successful novelist of thirty-six. This difference in generations is very significant. Wright's spiritual and intellectual outlook was molded by the Depression: he worked for the Federal Writers' Project, he was a member of the Communist Party,⁷ and he shared in the acute social and political consciousness of the times. His novel, *Native Son* (1940), vies with *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) as the most characteristic expres-

isolation of Wright's autobiography, *Black Boy* (New York, 1945). Nelson Algren comes to a similar conclusion about Wright in his *Paris Review* interview (No. 11, Winter 1955). By refusing to admit that he writes out of passion, out of his belly, he made a tragic mistake. "He's trying to write as an intellectual which he isn't basically . . . he's trying his best to write like a Frenchman" (pp. 51-52).

⁶ James Baldwin, *Nobody Knows My Name: More Notes of a Native Son* (New York, 1961), pp. 188-89. But Baldwin sees in some of the stories of *Eight Men* (Cleveland, 1961) "a new power and a new tone," evidence that Wright "had survived, as it were, his own obsolescence. . . ." (p. 189.) This statement needs to be qualified by the fact that most of the stories in *Eight Men* are old pieces previously published. There is also, however, Wright's last novel, *The Long Dream* (Garden City, 1958), which shows unmistakable signs of a new sensitivity and awareness.

⁷ Wright tells us in the preface to *Black Power* (New York, 1954, p. xi) that he was a member of the Communist Party from 1932-44, but left the party because he was convinced that Marxist Communism was changing the world in a manner that granted the Negro even less freedom than he had before. If Wright's report in *The God that Failed* (ed. Richard Crossman, New York, 1949) is any guide, he felt the conflict between party discipline and his own will almost from the beginning and refused to submit to party dictation. Wright's novel, *The Outsider*, gives a full account of his disillusion with communism that is very close to Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (New York, 1952). There is, by the way, a story in *Eight Men* called "The Man Who Lived Underground" (first published in 1944) that must have influenced the conception of *Invisible Man*. "The Man Who Killed a Shadow" in *Eight Men* also deals with the theme of the Negro's invisibility.

sion of that period. Baldwin, however, came to maturity at the very end of the Depression and during the war years. He is also a product of a very different environment from Wright's. He was born and brought up in Harlem, while Wright was born in Natchez, Mississippi, and lived in the South for a good part of his earlier life (he did not go to Chicago until 1934). For Baldwin the South is the Egypt of his ancestors, a place that will always be remote and mythical, but for Wright the South was the living reality of his life even when loosely transposed to the South Side of Chicago.

The open quarrel between the two came in Paris in the spring of 1949 after Baldwin had published an essay called "Everybody's Protest Novel" in the first issue of *Zero*.⁸ At the end of this essay, and almost as an after-thought, Baldwin adds a few damaging remarks about *Native Son*. Wright immediately felt betrayed by his spiritual son and a conflict arose between the two that could never be healed. To Baldwin the cause of this conflict is very simple:

I had used his work as a kind of springboard into my own. His work was a road-block in my road, the sphinx, really, whose riddles I had to answer before I could become myself. I thought confusedly then, and feel very definitely now, that this was the greatest tribute I could have paid him. (*Nobody Knows My Name*, p. 197)

It is just because Baldwin took Wright so seriously that the conflict he describes had to take place. Baldwin himself acknowledges:

In *Uncle Tom's Children*, in *Native Son*, and, above all, in *Black Boy*, I found expressed, for the first time in my life, the sorrow, the rage, and the murderous bitterness which was eating up my life and the lives of those around me. His work was an immense liberation and revelation for me. (*Nobody Knows My Name*, p. 191)

This reads like the crucial discovery of the hero of the *Bildungsroman*, where the revolt of the son from the values of the father is the central act of the book. Without any hypocrisy, Baldwin constantly testifies to the power of Wright as a novelist and as a spokesman for the Negro, and to the impact on him of *Native Son*:

Now the most powerful and celebrated statement we have yet had of what it means to be a Negro in America is unquestionably Richard Wright's *Native Son*.

⁸ *Zero*, I (Spring 1949), 54-58. This essay was reprinted in the June issue of the *Partisan Review*, XVI (1949), 578-85. In *Zero* Baldwin's essay follows immediately after Wright's "The Man Who Killed a Shadow," a brutal and violent story in the mood of *Native Son*.

We have yet to encounter . . . a report so indisputably authentic, or one that can begin to challenge this most significant novel.⁹

Baldwin's attack on *Native Son* is, therefore, deeply premeditated and deliberate; he uses it to define his own position as a novelist and critic, which is opposed to the values of naturalism and the naturalist view of reality.

In "Everybody's Protest Novel" the attack on *Native Son* is merely a brief appendix to a long and impassioned argument about the sentimentality and untruth of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Uncle Tom, the only real black man in the novel, "has been robbed of his humanity and divested of his sex" in order that he may be clothed in the humility and forbearance necessary for his salvation. Since as a black man he will inevitably be damned, one can only arrange for his soul by making him into a simulacrum of a white man. Through a chain of argument about the nature of a literary character and the nature of reality, Baldwin arrives at the startling conclusion that Bigger, the ironic "native son,"

is Uncle Tom's descendant, flesh of his flesh, so exactly opposite a portrait that, when the books are placed together, it seems that the contemporary Negro novelist and the dead New England woman are locked together in a deadly, timeless battle; the one uttering merciless exhortations, the other shouting curses. (*Notes of a Native Son*, p. 22)

Both Mrs. Stowe and Richard Wright have refused to deal with man in his wholeness and complexity, but have been content to create stereotypes with a carefully defined social role.¹⁰

In this larger sense neither writer has tried to grapple with the nature of reality and the truth of human experience. Because "literature and sociology are not one and the same," the protest novel fails as a novel in the same measure as it succeeds as propaganda. Bigger Thomas is ult-

⁹ James Baldwin, *Notes of a Native Son* (Boston, 1955), pp. 30-31. In *Another Country* the three books that Eric has with him in France are *An Actor Prepares*, *The Wings of the Dove* and *Native Son* (p. 195).

¹⁰ Wright's first published book was called *Uncle Tom's Children* (1938; enlarged 1940) and its epigraph shows his preoccupation with the "Uncle Tom" theme:

The post Civil War household word among Negroes—"He's an Uncle Tom!"—which denoted reluctant toleration for the cringing type who knew his place before white folk, has been supplanted by a new word from another generation which says:—"Uncle Tom is dead!"

If the Southern rural Negroes of these stories are not cringing, they are certainly cowed and beaten and full of despair. In the sense that they believe in a reality in which violence and prayer are the only means of protest—both equally futile for life on this earth—they are indeed Uncle Tom's children.

mately a failure as a character because he is a monster, a being deprived of all the attributes of human consciousness:

For Bigger's tragedy is not that he is cold or black or hungry, not even that he is American, black; but that he has accepted a theology that denies him life, that he admits the possibility of his being sub-human and feels constrained, therefore, to battle for his humanity according to those brutal criteria bequeathed him at his birth.

(*Notes of a Native Son*, pp. 22-23)

It is this dependence of the novel on a set of abstract and impersonal ideas or principles, the subordination of art to ideology, that Baldwin is arguing against, whether it be the New England Calvinist philanthropy of Mrs. Stowe or the outraged sense of social justice of Richard Wright.

The very power of *Native Son* as a novel and its tremendous popular success served Baldwin as a way of defining his own ideas. He refers to this novel many times in his essays. In "Many Thousands Gone" he relates it to the traditional American story of "an unremarkable youth in battle with the force of circumstance"; in this case not merely poverty but color, "a circumstance which cannot be overcome, against which the protagonist battles for his life and loses" (*Notes of a Native Son*, p. 31). Bigger Thomas is foredoomed to failure and the pattern of chapters in the novel—Fear, Flight, Fate—makes this clear: the murder is a natural outcome of Bigger's fear, a way of exorcising that fear, a momentary triumph. But Bigger cannot win, and his flight and capture and death sentence are all part of a web of fate in which he is caught from the start. In the inevitable unfolding of events from that first sadistic killing of the rat, there is no way out for Bigger. It is in this sense of a pre-ordained pattern set upon the living reality that *Native Son* resembles *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, although in the latter the web of fate is presented in theological terms.

To Baldwin the chief weakness in *Native Son* both artistically and humanly is its "unrewarding rage," and the most severe criticism he can level against Wright is that the violence in his work is "gratuitous and compulsive." Wright never examines the causes of this violence in the human soul, so that it remains merely brute violence and Bigger is merely subhuman and a monster. At its root in Wright "it is the rage, almost literally the howl, of a man who is being castrated." Thus, when Bigger "is found hacking a white woman to death, the very gusto with which this is done, and the great attention paid to the details of physical destruction reveal a terrible attempt to break out of the cage in which the American imagination has imprisoned him for so long" (*Nobody Knows My Name*, p. 188).

But Bigger for all of his rage remains only a social symbol without the consciousness of a human being, and therefore without any complexity or dimension:

Bigger has no discernible relationship to himself, to his own life, to his own people, nor to any other people. . . . It is remarkable that, though we follow him step by step from the tenement room to the death cell, we know as little about him when his journey is ended as we did when it began; and, what is even more remarkable, we know almost as little about the social dynamic which we are to believe created him.

(*Notes of a Native Son*, pp. 34-35)

In this respect *Native Son* is a failure even as a social novel, for it gives the impression that the Negro has no real society and tradition about which one can write. A necessary dimension of life has been cut away, "this dimension being the relationship that Negroes bear to one another, that depth of involvement and unspoken recognition of shared experience which creates a way of life" (*Notes of a Native Son*, p. 35). This is a necessary limitation in all protest novels, of which *Native Son* is the most famous example in Negro literature.

The heart of Bigger's rage is not merely his hatred of whites but his self-hatred. He does not really become a Christlike martyr for the Negro race, which he can redeem ritually by his act of murder. The truth of the matter is that he kills because of his own fierce bitterness at having been born a Negro. At the end of the novel Bigger "wants to die because he glories in his hatred and prefers, like Lucifer, rather to rule in hell than serve in heaven" (*Notes of a Native Son*, p. 44). This is a powerful and heroic solution, but not a human one. Baldwin is preoccupied throughout his essays with this problem of the Negro's self-hatred, and in his tender and ambivalent eulogy for Wright he sees that lonely, exiled figure as someone who has deliberately cut himself off from the present complexities of the Negro problem, because "his real impulse toward American Negroes, individually, was to despise them" (*Nobody Knows My Name*, p. 212). This statement must have cost Baldwin great anguish to make, but it is part of his unflinching assumption that the Negro's hatred of the white man is always a manifestation of self-hatred. "Negroes in this country . . . are taught really to despise themselves from the moment their eyes open on the world. This world is white and they are black."¹¹

¹¹ James Baldwin, "Letter from a Region in My Mind," *New Yorker*, November 17, 1962, p. 65. Wright's attitude to his own hate is very complex and deserves to be quoted at length. The last section of *Eight Men* is a long essay called "The Man Who

There are some splendid descriptive pages on the Harlem race riot of 1943 which support this conclusion. The underlying cause of this riot was the ghetto's chronic need to smash something: "Most of the time it is the members of the ghetto who smash each other, and themselves" (*Notes of a Native Son*, p. 111). Pure hatred like Bigger's is not viable because hate in such an extreme form is really a suicidal wish that destroys the man who hates. The race riot in Harlem in 1943 did not express any permanent attitude of blacks to whites but was merely a temporary escape valve for the frustrations of both Negroes and whites. The Negro's real relation to the white American prohibits "anything as uncomplicated and satisfactory as pure hatred. In order really to hate white people, one has to blot so much out of the mind—and the heart—that this hatred itself becomes an exhausting and self-destructive pose" (*Notes of a Native Son*, p. 112). In terms of his real psychological situation the Negro in America always faces a choice between the complicated alternatives of love and hate, he is always put in the position of having to decide between "amputation and gangrene." One is forced to make the choice that Bigger refused to make: to accept life as it is and to fight injustice without either hatred or despair.

In this sense the Negro problem is part of a more general injustice of man to man, perhaps a reflection of the capacity for evil in the nature of things that the innocently optimistic American refuses to see. Violence has an enormous primitive appeal because it seems so simple and final a solution to the problem of injustice: "And who has not dreamed of violence? That fantastical violence which will drown in blood, wash away in blood, not only generation upon generation of horror, but which will also release one from the individual horror, carried everywhere in

Went to Chicago," which may be thought of as a sequel to Wright's autobiography, *Black Boy* (1945)—it was first published in 1945 with the title "Early Days in Chicago." Here Wright tries to define the strange interrelations of color-hate and self-hate:

Color-hate defined the place of black life as below that of white life; and the black man, responding to the same dreams as the white man, strove to bury within his heart his awareness of this difference because it made him lonely and afraid. Hated by whites and being an organic part of the culture that hated him, the black man grew in turn to hate in himself that which others hated in him. But pride would make him hate his self-hate, for he would not want whites to know that he was so thoroughly conquered by them that his total life was conditioned by their attitude; but in the act of hiding his self-hate, he could not help but hate those who evoked his self-hate in him. So each part of his day would be consumed in a war with himself, a good part of his energy would be spent in keeping control of his unruly emotions, emotions which he had not wished to have, but could not help having. Held at bay by the hate of others, preoccupied with his own feelings, he was continuously at war with reality. He became inefficient, less able to see and judge the objective world. And when he reached that state, the white people looked at him and laughed and said:

"Look, didn't I tell you niggers were that way?" (pp. 213-14)

the heart" (*Nobody Knows My Name*, p. 213). One must reject the romantic and heroic appeal of violence just because it is so simple and so personal and so unsatisfactory to the larger claims of justice. In one of his most eloquent passages, Baldwin refuses to separate the Negro past from the history of the human race, or to consider the Negro's fate apart from man's fate:

Which of us has overcome his past? And the past of a Negro is blood dripping down through leaves, gouged-out eyeballs, the sex torn from its socket and severed with a knife. But this past is not special to the Negro. This horror is also the past, and the everlasting potential, or temptation, of the human race. If we do not know this, it seems to me, we know nothing about ourselves, nothing about each other; to have accepted this is also to have found a source of strength—source of all our power. But one must first accept this paradox, with joy. (*Nobody Knows My Name*, p. 213)

Baldwin's fundamental argument against Wright, then, is that he has refused to accept this paradox. Both Wright and the naturalists utterly reject such a noble and charitable view of man's potentialities, while Baldwin cannot accept the will-less paradigm of *Native Son*—Fear, Flight, Fate—or the Dread, Dream, Descent, Despair, Decision sequence of *The Outsider* as an accurate description of reality.

Baldwin wants to get rid of Bigger Thomas not because he is not vividly real and present, but because he is only one part of a larger reality. There is, in fact, one incident in *Notes of a Native Son* in which Baldwin shows himself remarkably like Bigger. In 1942 he had been working in defense plants in New Jersey and discovering with shock and outrage the realities of race relations. On his last night in New Jersey, he went to the movies in Trenton with a white friend. After seeing "This Land is Mine" they went on to the "American Diner," where they were refused service—the ironies of the names are all underscored by Baldwin. This refusal set off a sort of hysteria in him, "like a physical sensation, a click at the nape of my neck as though some interior string connecting my head to my body had been cut." He went blindly into "an enormous, glittering, and fashionable restaurant in which I knew not even the intercession of the Virgin would cause me to be served" (*Notes of a Native Son*, pp. 95-96). He then experienced that sense of blind rage and impotence that Bigger felt in the presence of Mary and the Daltons, and suddenly hurled a half-filled water-pitcher at a white waitress with intent to kill. Luckily, with the aid of his friend, he was able to escape unscathed, but the incident preyed on his mind and he drew from it a conclusion exactly opposite to Wright's:

I could not get over two facts, both equally difficult for the imagination to grasp, and one was that I could have been murdered. But the other was that I had been ready to commit murder. I saw nothing very clearly but I did see this: that my life, my *real* life was in danger, and not from anything other people might do but from the hatred I carried in my own heart. (*Notes of a Native Son*, pp. 97-98)

This incident supports very well Baldwin's thesis that the Negro's hatred for the white man is always self-hatred and always self-destructive.

But more important, I think, is the distinction he makes between his *real* life as a human being and his social and mythic and fantasy life as a Negro. There is a dangerous conflict between the two which can never be resolved. As Baldwin admits, "no American Negro exists who does not have his private Bigger Thomas living in the skull," but a "paradoxical adjustment" comes when the Negro is compelled "to accept the fact that this dark and dangerous and unloved stranger is part of himself forever." And Baldwin adds significantly: "Only this recognition sets him in any wise free. . . ." (*Notes of a Native Son*, p. 42). This is the sort of freedom that Bigger never had and Baldwin's insistence on this freedom constitutes one of his major themes. He is willing to accept the reality of being an American and to return from his exile in France (as Wright never did) to continue the search for his own identity. It is therefore no mere bravado when, in the preface to *Nobody Knows My Name*, he takes as a motto for his work the great Socratic dictum: "the unexamined life is not worth living." The same impulse lies behind his constant concern for "human weight and complexity" and the full human reality. It is from this vantage point that Baldwin launches his attack on the protest novel, which is, as I have been trying to show, really an attack on the assumptions of naturalism.

Baldwin's central beliefs about man and the purpose of the novel are surprisingly close to those of Faulkner's Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech; man is

something resolutely indefinable, unpredictable. In overlooking, denying, evading his complexity—which is nothing more than the disquieting complexity of ourselves—we are diminished and we perish; only within this web of ambiguity, paradox, this hunger, danger, darkness, can we find at once ourselves and the power that will free us from ourselves. It is this power of revelation which is the business of the novelist, this journey toward a more vast reality which must take precedence over all other claims. (*Notes of a Native Son*, p. 15)

In this statement Baldwin as a Negro resolutely affirms his concern with man, black or white, in all of his complexity. The hard, deterministic

world of *Native Son* denies this complexity and must be rejected. As a critic of naturalism Baldwin allies himself with Ralph Ellison, who, in his National Book Award speech, tried to define the sense of reality that governs his *Invisible Man* (1952):

Thus to see America with an awareness of its rich diversity and its almost magical fluidity and freedom, I was forced to conceive of a novel unburdened by the narrow naturalism which has led after so many triumphs to the final and unrelieved despair which marks so much of our current fiction.¹²

Neither Baldwin nor Ellison is a writer of despair: *Invisible Man* is a comic masterpiece like *The Adventures of Augie March* (1953), and its author, as Baldwin sees him, is "the first Negro novelist I have ever read to utilize in language, and brilliantly, some of the ambiguity and irony of Negro life" (*Notes of a Native Son*, p. 8).

Although the blackness of the human heart, the inability to love, the sense of emptiness and waste in modern life are Baldwin's major concerns in his novels, he ends not in despair but in a tragic paradox: "How's one going to get through it all? How can you live if you can't love? And how can you live if you *do*?" (*Another Country*, p. 340). But the possibility of love, no matter how brief or futile, defines the characters' being and makes war on the chaos of despair. Despite the fact that *Another Country*, Baldwin's latest and best novel, does not have the narrative compulsion of *Native Son*, it does have a turbulence and a passionate eloquence that Wright could never achieve, and the seriousness of its concern about love and chaos and the loss of innocence is foreign to Wright's work. Baldwin's earlier novels, *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953) and *Giovanni's Room* (1956), are sensitive and troubled, but it is not until *Another Country* that he speaks with full assurance in style and theme.¹³ It is, in its way, a remarkable novel, and it begins to realize Baldwin's powers as a writer of fiction; he has already given us a set of essays of incredible lucidity and intelligence.

¹² Quoted in Robert A. Bone, *The Negro Novel in America* (New Haven, 1958), p. 198.

¹³ *Another Country* is, in part, a very successful rewriting of the sterile and ingrown novel, *Giovanni's Room*. Some of its success comes from balancing the homosexual theme against the heterosexual and the androgynous; it is one kind of love in a world in which all kinds of love are equally difficult and perilous.



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Hawthorne's Optical Device

ONE WHO CONSIDERS SEVERAL OF HIS TALES AND SKETCHES TOGETHER CAN readily see that Hawthorne, as a writer of "romances," was singularly preoccupied with ocular perception. A number of scholars have explored the symbolic values inherent in his manipulation of light and color, but no one, I believe, has adequately related these literary phenomena to an over-all theory of optics which they illustrate.¹

It has long been recognized that Hawthorne made literary use of the proposition that a person's spiritual state is unerringly reflected in his physical appearance. Less notice has been taken of his interest in a corollary thesis: spiritual insight conditions eyesight. What a man is, this thesis affirms, determines what he sees.² Hence, what a man sees becomes a significant indication, a sensory indicator, of what he is. This paper intends to show that Hawthorne derived from the latter premise a most important and characteristic principle of his narrative technique; namely, his frequent practice of presenting the visual experiences of his personae as direct and final revelation of character. This optical principle accounts in part for the predominantly visual appeal of Hawthorne's writing. Furthermore, it supplies the central structural base for a number of his shorter stories and sketches.

¹ See Walter Blair, "Color, Light, and Shadow in Hawthorne's Fiction," *New England Quarterly*, XV (March 1942), 74-94; Robert W. Cochran, "Hawthorne's Choice: The Veil or the Jaundiced Eye," *College English*, XXIII (February 1962), 342-46; Malcolm Cowley, "Hawthorne in the Looking-Glass," *Sewanee Review*, LVI (Oct.-Dec. 1948), 544-63; Richard H. Fogle, *Hawthorne's Fiction: The Light and the Dark* (Norman, Okla., 1952); Roy R. Male, *Hawthorne's Tragic Vision* (Austin, Tex., 1957); F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (London, 1941), pp. 253-64; Leland Schubert, "Color, Light-and-Shade, Sound," *Hawthorne, the Artist* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1944), pp. 93-124.

² This idea, of course, is met in various guises in the writings of romantic idealism. It is expressed by Wordsworth in "Tintern Abbey": "Of all the mighty world of eye, and ear—both what they half create, and what perceive." Emerson, in "Experience," declares, "We animate what we can, and we see only what we animate. Nature and books belong to the eyes that see the sunset or the fine poem."

The world of Hawthorne's "romances" is a multi-dimensional world made up of the sphere of sense, realistically portrayed, and the invisible sphere of spirit, symbolically represented. Hawthorne's optics extends the science of vision over both of these spheres. Under his system, normal vision equips one to see not only the objects of the material world through the sensory eye, but also the truths of the spirit through imaginative insight. Hawthorne himself is the optometrist supreme of this fictional world, and some of his stories, in this point of view, are clinical reports of experiments in the measurement of eyesight. With scientific deliberation he observes his characters under carefully arranged conditions, and more often than not he discovers a vision fatally impaired or a blind spot beyond correction.

The primary controlled variable in Hawthorne's analysis of vision is light. Probably no author has examined characters under a greater variety of strengths and tints of light than he. His remarkable assortment of illuminators may be classified into three groups according to their sources and to the purpose to which Hawthorne puts them. The first of these is the unobstructed light of the sun, the morning sunlight, the clear daylight. Within this medium Hawthorne tests the accuracy of the sensory eye in appraising the material universe. In such light his characters walk firmly upon New England soil. Some of his most charmingly realistic pictures of New England are revealed in the morning sunlight: the crisp winter scene that greeted old Peter Goldthwaite when he raised the dust-covered window of his house and looked upon the village;³ the morning scene that reassured Bartram, the lime burner, as he and his little son walked apprehensively toward the kiln that had been left in the care of Ethan Brand. Here the morning sunshine, like the rattling stagecoach Hawthorne describes, supplies "that charm of the familiar and homely, which Nature so readily adopts into a scene like this" (III, 138). Morning sunlight is the light of what the world calls sanity, the light of rationality. "There is an influence in the light of morning," Hawthorne declares, "that tends to rectify whatever errors of fancy, or even of judgment, we may have incurred during the sun's decline, or among the shadows of the night, or in the less wholesome glow of moonshine" (IV, 135). Giovanni Guasconti, on the morning after his twilight impressions of Dr. Rappaccini's garden, was "surprised and a little ashamed to find how real and matter-of-fact an affair it proved to be, in the first rays of the sun which . . . brought everything within

³ "Peter Goldthwaite's Treasure," *The Complete Writings of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Old Manse Edition (Boston and New York, 1900), II, 225-27. Subsequent references in the text will be to this edition.

the limits of ordinary experience." In this light, Giovanni "was inclined to take a most rational view of the whole matter" (IV, 135-36). In Hawthorne's world, manifestations of the invisible underside of reality, like the figure in Edward Randolph's portrait, flee back, "spirit-like, at day-dawn" (II, 44).

A second class of illuminators under which Hawthorne studies his characters includes a wide assortment of artfully contrived half-lights. To achieve his desired effects, Hawthorne makes constant use of natural light phenomena, such as sunset, twilight, moonlight or starlight. Often he filters the sunlight by means of mist, fog, haze, cloud, smoke or distance. He withdraws his characters into shadow, into the shade of forests, into a cave or a dimly-lit room. Thus young Goodman Brown ventures into the forest at dusk, Richard Digby prefers to read his Bible in a dank cave, and Dr. Heidegger invites his ancient cronies into "a dim, old-fashioned chamber, festooned with cobwebs, and besprinkled with antique dust" (I, 308). Moreover, Hawthorne finds all means of artificial light useful to his purpose. The flicker of firelight, the timid candle, the glow of lanterns, the flare of torches and gas lights everywhere illuminate his pages. Notable are the firelight from Bartram's lime kiln in "Ethan Brand," the ceremonial fire at the witches' Sabbath in "Young Goodman Brown," the bonfire in "Earth's Holocaust," the perfumed, empurpled atmosphere of Aylmer's apartment and the red brilliancy, hurtful to the eyes, of the gas lamps in the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

In certain striking cases Hawthorne obtains a distorted lighting effect by radically adjusting, through a mechanical device, the viewpoint of a character. For instance, the Reverend Mr. Hooper of "The Minister's Black Veil" constantly wears a veil of black crepe, as does one of the lady guests at the Christmas Banquet. Old Peter Goldthwaite, holding up a bottle of wine, looks "through the liquid medium" and beholds a transformed world (II, 231). The cynic in "The Great Carbuncle" wears a formidable pair of iron-rimmed spectacles. Ethan Brand is startled at what he sees upon peering into the magnifying glass of a diorama. To complete Hawthorne's array of light control factors one must add numerous reflectors which he places strategically about his stage, such as mirrors, fountains, pools, a gleaming shield, a bejeweled sword hilt. All these together are the means and instruments whereby he achieves the multifarious half-lights that abound in his fictional world.

The significance of half-light in Hawthorne's theory of optics becomes apparent when one recognizes the symbolic relationship he perceives between half-light and imaginative insight. Throughout his writings this relationship is implied; it is nowhere more strikingly stated than in "My

Kinsman, Major Molineux": ". . . the moon, creating, like the imaginative power, a beautiful strangeness in familiar objects, gave something of romance to a scene that might not have possessed it in the light of day" (III, 311). For Hawthorne, the world under half-light is the world imaginatively conceived. Morning sunlight, it has already been suggested, represents the rational view and reveals the external appearances of things to the sensory eye. As sunlight is diminished or distorted, the power of the sensory eye is curbed, and the imaginative eye gains ascendancy.

Hawthorne alludes frequently to the treacherousness of half-light. In "Drowne's Wooden Image" he speaks of "the witchcraft of a sunny shadow, that might have deluded people's eyes . . ." (V, 106). In "Feathertop" he warns of "merely a spectral illusion, and a cunning effect of light and shade so colored and contrived as to delude the eyes of most men" (IV, 320). Of young Goodman Brown's impression of the writhing serpent on the staff of his night guide and companion, Hawthorne declares, "This, of course, must have been an ocular deception, assisted by the uncertain light" (IV, 105). It should be observed here that the deception Hawthorne notes is in reference to the sensory eye alone, for in such cases "deceptions" image forth or symbolize truths imaginatively derived. A notable illustration of this principle is to be found in *The Scarlet Letter*. As Hester and Pearl look with admiration upon the splendors of Governor Bellingham's mansion, attention is drawn to a magnificent suit of armor on display in the spacious hall. Hawthorne reports that the breastplate is "so highly burnished as to glow with radiance, and scatter an illumination everywhere about upon the floor" (VI, 149). When Hester, at Pearl's insistence, looks into this brilliant surface, she is startled to see that "owing to the peculiar effect of this convex mirror," the scarlet letter on her dress assumes "exaggerated and gigantic proportions," so that she seems "absolutely hidden behind it" (VI, 150). The narrator of "Earth's Holocaust," it will be recalled, explained that what prompted him to visit the great bonfire was a faith "that the illumination of the bonfire might reveal some profundity of moral truth heretofore hidden in mist or darkness" (V, 195). He might well have added, "or unnoticed in innocent, daylight brightness."

With much this same expectation Hawthorne moves his fictional characters into half-light. In the sunlight there may be little to distinguish them; their vision is normal. In the changing half-light, on the other hand, their peculiar eccentricities begin to emerge; and these eccentricities are signaled, in many cases, by extraordinary evidence produced by the imaginative eye. Thus, young Goodman Brown, seemingly an untroubled young husbandman when he takes leave of his three-months' bride, sees on that night the good folk of his village participating in

the witches' evil orgy. Obviously Brown's visual adventure reveals more about him than it does about the minister, or Deacon Gookin, or Goody Cloyse, for it is Brown who thereby becomes suspect. Richard Digby, in "The Man of Adamant," reading his Bible in the darkness of a ~~cave~~, "made continual mistakes in what he read, converting all that was gracious and merciful to denunciations of vengeance and unutterable woe on every created being but himself" (III, 234). The Reverend Mr. Hooper, "gazing through a medium that saddened the whole world," attained an "awful power over souls that were in agony for sin" (I, 57). Significantly, it was by veiling his eyesight that the minister achieved a special insight. The birthmark on Georgianna's cheek, Hawthorne tells us, made varied impressions "according to the difference of temperament in the beholders." Aylmer's "imagination was not long in rendering the birthmark a frightful object" (IV, 52). This visual distortion is the first assurance a reader gets of Aylmer's obsession; and the empurpled lighting in his laboratory supplies a peculiarly suitable atmosphere for the ill-fated, because shortsighted, experiment attempted there.

At this point it is advisable to consider a different sort of illuminators which appear from time to time in Hawthorne's fictional world, imparting to it a peculiar, unearthly glow. These "lights" are images characterized as possessing an inner, mysterious source of illumination. Such are the great purple blossoms in the center of Rappaccini's garden, which "made a show so resplendent that it seemed enough to illuminate the garden, even had there been no sunshine" (IV, 130); Owen Warland's butterfly, which "glistened apparently by its own radiance" (V, 322); the "fervid splendor" of the Great Carbuncle (I, 216); and the snow-image, which "gleamed and sparkled, and . . . shed a glow all round about her . . . glistened like a star" (III, 21). These are visible tokens of the wonders of Hawthorne's invisible world. Indeed, it is by virtue of the extraordinary light emanating from these images that Hawthorne confirms to his reader their symbolic nature; these are essences intelligible to the imaginative eye, not to the sensory eye alone.

A most spectacular instance of this phenomenon is to be found in Chapter XII, "The Minister's Vigil," in *The Scarlet Letter*. As Arthur, Hester and Pearl stand together at night upon the scaffold, suddenly the village is suffused with a strange and brilliant light. "So powerful was its radiance," Hawthorne reports, "that it thoroughly illuminated the dense medium of cloud betwixt the sky and earth" and "seemed to give another moral interpretation to the things of this world than they had ever borne before" (VI, 220). Hawthorne conjectures that the light must have come from a flaming meteor, and he accounts for Arthur's impression of the event in the following significant passage:

We impute it, therefore, solely to the disease in his own eye and heart, that the minister, looking upward to the Zenith, beheld there the appearance of an immense letter,—the letter A,—marked out in lines of dull red light. Not but the meteor may have shown at that point, burning duskily through a veil of cloud; but with no such shape as his guilty imagination gave it; or, at least, with so little definiteness, that another's guilt might have seen another symbol in it. (VI, 222)

Such luminous appearances are discernible in half-light or darkness, if at all; never in the morning sunlight. Arthur Dimmesdale's vigil took place on "an obscure night of early May," when "an unvaried pall of cloud muffled the whole expanse of sky from zenith to horizon" (VI, 210). The dusky twilight that suffused Rappaccini's garden when Giovanni first beheld it has already been remarked. Similarly the likeness of Mary Goffe, which "seemed to possess a radiance of its own" (III, 231), appeared to Richard Digby at sunset in his cave. Matthew and Hannah were almost hopelessly lost in mountainous mists and vapors when they chanced upon the Great Carbuncle; and Mrs. Lindsey, who witnessed the birth of the snow-image, did so at a time when the sun "had sunken so nearly to the edge of the world that his setting shine came obliquely into the lady's eyes" (III, 9).

Furthermore, these luminous images do not appear equally to the reader and to all the characters in a story, another testimony to Hawthorne's symbolic intention. Richard Digby, be it remembered, could not discern the angelic light that emanated from his visitant, for we are assured that "the more heavenly she was, the more hateful did she seem to Richard Digby . . ." (III, 235). Matthew and Hannah are rewarded with a near view of the Great Carbuncle, but the bespectacled Cynic, standing beside them, "would not be convinced that there was the least glimmer there" (I, 217). When, at Matthew's suggestion, the Cynic took off his glasses, the glory of the carbuncle struck him blind. Old Peter Hovenden, the materialist, had but to approach Owen Warland's butterfly to bedim its luster. Mr. Lindsey, who "had an exceedingly commonsensible way of looking at matters," saw nothing extraordinary at all in the snow-image (III, 119). Finally, Clifford Pyncheon, of *The House of the Seven Gables*, was fascinated and terrified while watching "the constantly shifting phantasmagoria of figures produced by the agitation of the water over the mosaic-work of colored pebbles at the bottom" of Maule's well. But whereas Clifford saw beautiful faces and at times a dark one, the innocent Phoebe, we are assured, saw "only the colored pebbles, looking as if the gush of the waters shook and disarranged them." Hawthorne explains this discrepancy as follows:

The truth was, however, that his [Clifford's] fancy—reviving faster than his will and judgment, and always stronger than they—created shapes of loveliness that were symbolic of his native character, and now and then a stern and dreadful shape that typified his fate. (VII, 222, 223)

By now a patterned procedure which Hawthorne follows in conducting his optical analyses is clear. From the familiar light of the morning sun, he leads his subjects into half-light, thereby stimulating them to respond in terms of imaginative insight. Should the resultant visual testimony prove inconclusive, Hawthorne contrives to bring into the presence of his subjects a luminous symbolic indicator of the very spiritual truth they blink. Not only is this method calculated to produce positive visual evidence, but it enables Hawthorne to effect an immediate dramatic projection of the results to his reader. After observing the curious inability of Richard Digby to read the Bible in his cave, after witnessing his dramatic rejection of the heavenly visitant, the reader can himself diagnose the fearful spiritual astigmatism that destroys the man. Similarly, the reader's judgment of Arthur Dimmesdale, Clifford Pyncheon, Goodman Brown and Ethan Brand is conditioned and refined by a first-hand knowledge of their visual eccentricities. Whereas Aylmer, one concludes, is the victim of spiritual myopia, the Reverend Mr. Hooper of the black veil suffers from spiritual hyperopia, a contrary malady. "The Great Carbuncle" may be aptly described as a report of a visual experiment undertaken en masse. In this story Hawthorne introduces the reader to several characters, each typifying a key human attitude, and then proceeds, by reference to the symbolic light of the Carbuncle, to plot the effect of attitude upon vision. Clearly Hawthorne's theory of optics supplies the structural base for this story, as it does, perhaps, for a number of his shorter stories, including "Young Goodman Brown," "The Minister's Black Veil," "The Man of Adamant," "The Snow-Image" and others.

Most of Hawthorne's characters, one concludes, are revealed to have defective vision in greater or less degree, and this fact leads to a consideration of the principles that underlie Hawthorne's theory of optics. Whole vision supposes eyesight complemented or balanced by insight. Defective vision results if either of these faculties overbalances the other. Certain of his characters are earthbound in their ability to see; their vision is one-dimensional; they suffer spiritual myopia or spiritual blindness. Other characters allow a warped insight to invalidate the testimony of the sensory eye. These suffer astigmatism or spiritual hyperopia. The exact nature of Goodman Brown's distress is not fully comprehended by the reader until Hawthorne returns Brown from his midnight revel

to the morning sunlight, for only then is his visual impairment made manifest. And the tragedy of the Reverend Mr. Hooper lies in the fact that his special insight, however powerful and efficacious it might have been, was not refracted by the sunlight of reality, which he denied.

These optical phenomena are of vital interest to Hawthorne, not because they are ends in themselves, but because they are symptomatic. Defective eyesight points to erratic insight, which in turn is indicative of some deeper-seated malady. Usually Hawthorne's visual defectives are in the grip of an overpowering obsession which can be traced to a form of what he considered the cardinal sin: pride. Just what causes this master malady Hawthorne does not make implicit in his stories. The Reverend Mr. Hooper voluntarily puts on the mask of black crepe, even as young Goodman Brown willingly accompanies his doubtful companion into the forest; but precisely what conditions, if any, necessitate these fateful actions is left for the reader to divine. " 'My love and my Faith,' replied young Goodman Brown, 'of all nights of the year, this one night must I tarry away from thee' " (IV, 102). And there the matter rests. The obvious parallel in this story to the Biblical account of the original sin (the suggested presence of the Evil One, the reference to the serpent, the temptation) would appear to be for Hawthorne himself an adequate explanation for the young man's mysterious and fateful adventure.

Some light is shed on this mystery, perhaps, by an examination of those of Hawthorne's characters who enjoy a happier visual balance. Upon the innocent, the childlike, the humble is bestowed a special boon of sight. A signal example is to be found in Mrs. Lindsey of "The Snow-Image":

... all through life she had kept her heart full of childlike simplicity and faith, which was as pure and clear as crystal; and, looking at all matters through this transparent medium, she sometimes saw truths so profound that other people laughed at them as nonsense and absurdity. (III, 20)

And it was Matthew and Hannah, the ingenuous newly-weds, who looked with impunity upon the mysterious brilliance of the Great Carbuncle. These characters view the world in the light of Eden before the fall: experience, Hawthorne implies, is almost certain to alter such a viewpoint. Perhaps Phoebe Pyncheon dramatizes this truth more poignantly than any other of Hawthorne's characters. In the chapter entitled "Phoebe's Good-bye," as she and Holgrave sit one evening in the Pyncheon garden, Phoebe tries to express a new wonder that she feels in the moonlight, and a new sadness:

"... I never cared much about moonlight before. What is there, I wonder, so beautiful in it, tonight?"

"And you have never felt it before?" inquired the artist, looking earnestly at the girl through the twilight.

"Never," answered Phoebe; "and life does not look the same, now that I have felt it so. It seems as if I had looked at everything, hitherto, in broad daylight, or else in the ruddy light of a cheerful fire, glimmering and dancing through a room. Ah, poor me!" she added, with a half-melancholy laugh. "I shall never be so merry as before I knew Cousin Hepzibah and poor Cousin Clifford. I have grown a great deal older, in this little time. Older, and, I hope, wiser, and,—not exactly sadder,—but, certainly, with not half so much lightness in my spirits! I have given them my sunshine, and have been glad to give it; but, of course, I cannot both give and keep it. They are welcome, notwithstanding!" (VII, 312, 313)

Holgrave assures her that what she has lost is never worth the keeping and that unless she is one of the "exceedingly unfortunate" there will come to her at some later date a sense of renewed youth and profounder joy—such growth is "essential to the soul's development" (VII, 313).

Georgianna, in "The Birthmark," takes a much grimmer view of the tragedy of human vision:

"Life is but a sad possession to those who have attained precisely the degree of moral advancement at which I stand. *Were I weaker and blinder it might be happiness.* Were I stronger, it might be endured hopefully. But being what I find myself, methinks I am of all mortals the most fit to die." (IV, 72)⁴

Certain of Hawthorne's characters are weaker and blinder than Georgianna; within this group are those few who retain the happiness of innocence. Others, if no blinder, are perhaps stronger, notably the Reverend Mr. Hooper, who endures hopefully. But the majority of Hawthorne's characters, one must conclude, suffer the same infirmity that Georgianna complains of: their attained moral strength is not great enough to fortify them against the devastating assault of a powerful, often distorted, insight derived from experience. And like Georgianna, Hawthorne is apt to measure their infirmities in terms of visual acuity.

⁴ Italics mine.



Notes

“Christianity in the Kitchen” or A Moral Guide for Gourmets

A UNIQUE BOOK IN CULINARY HISTORY—AND ONE OF THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE of its times—is *Christianity in the Kitchen* by Mary Tyler Peabody Mann (1806-77), which was published in Boston over a century ago, in 1857.

The author, wife of Horace Mann, was one of the three noted Peabody sisters who formed part of that militant and zealous group which animated the intellectual scene of New England during one of its most flourishing periods. Among their close friends they counted the abolitionist William Ellery Channing, Bronson Alcott, Emerson, Thoreau, Melville, Margaret Fuller and Nathaniel Hawthorne, who was later to marry the youngest of the three, the delicate Sophia.

The atmosphere, during most of their lifetime, as we know, was seething with proselyting fervor; and their watchword was Reform—both social and spiritual. They upheld and defended Causes, Principles and Ideals, in such vital matters as Abolitionism, Education, Temperance and Religion. It was a progressive intellectual society in the making; and teaching, preaching and crusading activity in general, was the norm.

Under the dynamic pilotship of her older sister, Elizabeth, at first; and later, because of her steadfast admiration for Horace Mann, whom she held in reverence before and after their marriage, Mary, in a less outward militant way, perhaps, also joined the ranks of crusaders.

While her husband, as president of Antioch College, and as a member of a committee appointed by the Ohio State Teachers' Association, was engaged in the task of attempting “to recommend some action respecting the use of intoxicating liquors, profane swearing and tobacco” in the schools and colleges of the state, Mrs. Mann, for her part, also was striving to reform society as regarded still another vice: intemperate eating habits. It was thus, undoubtedly, that her “physiological cook book” came to be written. With its Biblical overtones and Old-Testamental injunctions, it purported to serve as a moral guide to good eating.

A lengthy preface states the purpose, and clarifies the somewhat cryptic title of the book; for to Mary Mann good digestion was synonymous with virtue, and dyspepsia was on a par with sin. “Health is one

of the indispensable conditions of the higher morality," she writes, and, consequently, "there is no such prolific cause of bad morals as abuses of diet." As "God did not implant the sense of Taste in man . . . to impair the noble faculty of his soul," and as "we are to eat not to gratify our ignoble appetites, but to build up purely and devoutly those temples of the Holy Spirit which our bodies were designed to be," it is well that we should be warned that, as for all other moral transgressions, "a book of reckoning is kept for the offenses of the stomach." A dyspeptic hell is inevitably in store for those who cannot answer in the affirmative, and in all honesty, the question: "has my food always been innocent?" for "Nature's punishments are often slow, but sure." But dyspepsia will only "be banished from good society . . . when the gospel of the body is fully understood." In what she calls his "lucid intervals," a confirmed dyspeptic might do well to consult books such as Dr. Johnston's *Chemistry of Common Life*, and Liebig's *Letters on Chemistry*, among others; and Dr. Beaumont's *Table of Digestion*—from all of which Mrs. Mann quotes apt warnings. The proper application of studies such as these might ultimately save our diet-depraved society; for to follow the enlightened paths of science in matters of diet is "one of the first steps towards redeeming the race from its present degradation." If, on the other hand, the admonition for scientific diet is not heeded, "the loss of power, premature decay, and untimely death are inevitable."

Ill health, especially that induced by gastronomic abuses and excesses, is something to be ashamed of, Mrs. Mann avers; and dyspepsia, in her opinion, should be considered "disgraceful, like *delirium tremens*." Persons with good moral fiber and a proper sense of moral obligation should actually feel impelled to make public atonement for such sins. Mrs. Mann, with approval, cites the fact that "several years since, Dr. Sylvester Graham published an apology in the newspapers for having been sick."

Alarmed by the "criminal preparations" which gastronomic sinners take such pleasure in consuming, her entire book—beginning with the dire Biblical admonition: "There's death in the pot" (II Kings 4:40)—is devoted to the ideal of the ultimate saving of the human race by proper diet. By omitting all "deleterious ingredients" from breads, cakes, pies and puddings, such as "saleratus, soda; melted butter, lard, suet and other fatty substances, in combination with wheat and other farinaceous articles," and substituting in their stead the innoxious and ubiquitous potato, and pure cream, such foods will be rendered "innocent," and "Christian lovers of pastry need not think their gastronomic pleasures at an end." To be peremptorily excluded from one's diet, we can readily understand,

are "compounds like wedding cake, suet plum pudding, and rich turtle soups," which are "masses of indigestible material which should never find their way to any Christian table." Mrs. Mann does not offer a substitute for wedding cake, that pernicious substance which prompts her to say that "it looks ominous to see a bridal party celebrating nuptials by taking poison." On the other hand, we are happy to learn that potato pie crust "may be eaten with impunity," and that it is, therefore, "the only pastry that a good mother ought to put upon her table."

It would do the consciences of present-day housewives good to read, in these days of ready-mixes and "store" bread and cake, the recipes, so precisely expounded, so that "our daily bread" might dutifully be set upon the table. Good bread is the result of good kneading. Mrs. Mann advocates a minimum of two hours for that process, which is best accomplished by "pounding with a large wooden pestle or roller." But as the quantities of bread consumed were doubtless large, she anticipates difficulties in the use of that method by admitting that it would probably require "more time and strength than an ordinary cook can give." Should the ladies be inclined to follow her advice, however, there is the proverbial silver lining, for not only would the goodness of the bread so prepared be the reward, but "it would also prove an excellent exercise in gymnastics." Two hours should also be consumed in the beating of the eggs for cake, especially for spongecake, "the least injurious," and, obviously, her favorite. When the recipe calls for sixteen eggs—as does the one she gives for *Snow Cake*—and when she instructs the diligent cook to beat the whites "with a cork struck cross-wise upon a fork," and "without stopping once," the task assumes awesome proportions.

Her hints for culinary efficiency, in those gadgetless days, reveal genuine inventiveness. The most ingenious is the one for the fashioning of the jelly-bag: "Turn a four-legged stool up-side-down, and tie a square of flannel by its corners to each leg." A bladder is recommended for the storing of soup stock; and a piece of the same, wet in warm water, is good for tying over the cork of jelly jars. A red-hot shovel, held closely over a dish—of macaroni, for instance, to which a topping of cheese has been added—is excellent for browning. And the college president's wife is proud to be one of the first to disclose the "latest discovery: a German receipt" for washing colored articles. A few potatoes grated into cold water will hold the colors fast, and the starch of the potato will impart the required stiffness to silk or satin.

A hardy housewife of the 1850s, properly conditioned by her gymnastics at bread kneading, might remove, without flinching, the worms from raspberries, and carefully pick the insects from inside the macaroni,

as Mrs. Mann directs her to; but the author's meticulous instructions for the preparation of *Calf's Head* would probably prove too much even for a staunch consumer of her soul-uplifting recipes:

Soak the head for ten minutes in lukewarm water, powder it well with rosin, dip it into a large quantity of scalding water, and, holding it by the ear, scrape off the hair with the back of a knife. When clean, take out the eyes, cut out the tongue, remove the jaw-bone with the teeth, saw lengthwise through the skull without injuring the brains, which must be carefully taken out, and put for a few hours into lukewarm water to disgorge [that is, to rinse out the blood].

Sheep's Head seems somewhat simpler to prepare, although the cook still has to have steady nerves to "saw it in two, cut away the ends of the jaws and the uncovered part of the brain." The latter, boiled and cut into pieces, is a tasteful morsel; and presents a good appearance on the table when served under the head. Liver, of the corresponding variety, "will be an additional nicety," she informs us, in the dish. *Stewed Calf's Ears* can be attractively presented as follows: "Lay them on the warm dish, turn over the top of the ear so that it may form a round; put a piece of brain in the centre." . . .

The recipes just given are from the Appendix (French Cookery). Although Mrs. Mann strongly disapproves of the Gallic penchant for melted butter, lard and oil, she lauds their custom of skimming off "every particle of fat" before serving, a refinement which she claims one finds in the cookery books of no other people. The result is "an innocent gravy," of which she heartily approves. She also commends the use by the French of "heads, brains, cheeks, ears, tails and feet" of animals, which Americans tend to discard, or from which, fastidiously, they seem to shrink.

Mrs. Mann was living in primitive Ohio when she wrote her book, and so it is understandable that she should stress the advisability of gathering vegetables and salad greens early, "while the dew is still upon them," and of keeping a cow, "the most valuable possession for a family of children." She considered this last so important that she states that "it would be better to have a less expensive carpet, or chimney ornaments, or even bonnet and cloak, and have a friendly cow in the shed or barn." For those not fortunate enough to possess that bovine necessity, however, Mary Mann advocates the use of solidified milk—in cake or granular form—which "will keep pure many years when wrapped in zinc foil," but laments the fact that at the rate of five cents a quart it would be an unattainable boon for the poor.

While, presumably directed also at the Ohio housewife (and not at the "proper Bostonian"), she favors orange-flower and peach or rose water for flavoring—and even an occasional glass of wine, to be absorbed in the cooking process—she cautions her followers against the use of onions, obviously raw, as, "although doubtless very healthful, . . . not to be eaten in good society."

Her last group of recipes is concerned with the recommended "Diet for the Sick"—mostly for those who suffer from stomach disorders and complaints. But if her main intent is to save those who have already sinned in matters of food, she does not neglect the coming generations. She indicates the benefits pregnant women may derive from drinking filtered rain water, and cautions them against the excess intake of lime, as being harmful to the future heirs. She also enjoins them to abstain, later, from imbibing cordials and porter "to make more milk," as such indulgences tend to "lay in children the foundations for future punishments."

Familiar as Mrs. Mann was with the aforementioned *Table of Digestion*, worked out in an ingenious way by Dr. Beaumont, it should not seem strange that, knowing that cold drinks after meals retard the digestive process, she should advocate the reversal of the usual order in the consuming of one of the favorite American delicacies, and state that ice cream should be served *before* meals! In reference to that digestive table, whose precision she so prized, it might be of interest to see how Dr. Beaumont was able to compile it so scientifically:

Many years since, some very curious observations were made by looking into the stomach of a man, who had an orifice in his side, made by a gun-shot wound. The subject was a healthy young man named Alexis St. Martin. After he had recovered from the effects of the wound, Dr. Beaumont, his physician, hired him for some years, in order to make observations upon the operation of the gastric juice, as it was very easy to push aside the membrane that grew over the orifice after the wound healed.

Even a cursory and random perusal of Mrs. Mann's book makes us aware of how much broader was her scope, how much more humanitarian her intent than those of other compilers whose sundry "Accomplished gentlewoman's companion," "Cook's oracle," "Frugal housewife," "Orphan's friend" or "Whispers to epicures" constituted the American gastronomic guides of yore.

SIDONIA C. TAUPIN, *Hunter College*

Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

Fearful Hagiography

THAT FAMOUS ORDERLINESS OF THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY UNIVERSE GAVE man more than place and security; it gave him significance. In the brief duration of one soul's sojourn through time, man was indeed a microcosm, reliably symbolizing a universe of significance beyond himself. Man's proper study was man, and one life completed in death—all its potential realized or frustrated—was there for the philosopher to examine. "Reader," says Cotton Mather confidently, "thou knowest the way for a man to become wise, was thus declared by an oracle, *Si concolor fieret Mortuis.*"¹ Be of one complexion with the dead! Advice from the first scholar of American Studies to use biography as a door into the American experience.

For Mather the oracular injunction made biographical scholarship no easier, but it gave him the assurance that each life he wrote was a trustworthy hieroglyph of a universal plan. For the scholarly biographer today, adrift in metaphysical space, such assurance vanishes, and with it goes all confidence in the representative as well as the unique character of individual human life. To judge from some recent biographical writings, this lost confidence accounts for some timid presentations and anxious writing.² Torn between the desires to recreate both the man and his times, these studies offer a reasonably wide range of uneasy solutions. Larzer Ziff, for example, denies that his study of John Cotton is biography at all, but admits to being "somewhat nice about terms" when he characterizes his study as "one of the career of John Cotton, meaning the course his life ran, [rather] than of the life itself."³ Richard Dunn, treating four prominent Winthrops, also seeks to evade biographical responsibility: "Perhaps it is necessary to add that the purpose is *not* to provide

¹ *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Hartford, 1855), I, 584.

² This essay is concerned primarily with three new biographies: Richard S. Dunn, *Puritans and Yankees: the Winthrop Dynasty of New England 1630-1717* (xii, 379 pp., Princeton University Press, 1962. \$7.50); Louis Leonard Tucker, *Puritan Protagonist: President Thomas Clap of Yale College* (xviii, 283 pp., University of North Carolina Press, for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, 1962. \$6.00); and Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727-1795* (xiv, 490 pp., Yale University Press, 1962. \$10.00).

³ *The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience* (Princeton, N. J., 1962.), p. ix.

a balanced family history or group biography." ⁴ He argues instead that two of his subjects "are chiefly significant as representative third-generation New Englanders." Louis Tucker goes even further; lacking most of Thomas Clap's personal papers, Tucker is free to present the times as they impinged on Clap's activities without having to recreate Clap himself. Richard Crowder's study of Michael Wigglesworth shares Tucker's freedom from a surfeit of evidence, but properly calls itself biography, though it is primarily an inward and intellectual life Crowder presents, not a personality.⁵ In fact only Edmund Morgan's "Life" of Ezra Stiles limits itself to one eminent public figure, suffers from no want of either private or public papers, and recreates the times without sacrificing the personality of his subject. It is no accident that Morgan's book is by far the longest of these studies.

In the brief study neither the time nor the man receives full treatment. Restricted to a notion of linear time, the scholarly biographer takes one through historical events much as a train winds through a landscape; one sees objects only as they appear from the vehicle and not as they are in themselves. The view is primarily outward, and the vehicle's only significance is its course or route, easily mapped. Henry James noted that "after a man's long work is over and the sound of his voice is still, those in whose regard he has held a high place find his image strangely simplified and summarized. The hand of death, in passing over it, has smoothed the folds, made it more typical and general."⁶ Too often the biographer continues death's work by grooving the course of a man's complex life to some thematic pattern; the subject becomes no longer what James called "a swarm of possibilities," but a path to the biographer's fixed purpose, laid with iron rails. At least in this way the biographer is still committed to his subject as the only proper route to the times through which he passed. But so timid a commitment produces stiff, pasteboard icons, not people; a hagiography without a legitimate hagiolatry to warrant it.

Three recent colonial biographies beg to be considered together, for they constitute a continuous, though sometimes overlapping, narrative of the first two centuries of American life: Dunn's study of the Winthrops from 1588 to 1717; Tucker's study of Thomas Clap from 1703 to 1766 and Morgan's life of Ezra Stiles from 1727 to 1795. Most of the figures were Connecticut men, Clap and Stiles both presidents of Yale College.

⁴ *Puritans and Yankees*, p. vii.

⁵ Richard Crowder, *No Featherbed to Heaven: A Biography of Michael Wigglesworth, 1631-1705* (Michigan State University Press, 1962).

⁶ Cited in Leon Edel, *Literary Biography* (New York, 1959), pp. 13-14.

By relying almost exclusively upon the Winthrop papers, Dunn simultaneously avoids interpretive problems raised by other historians and focuses attention on his characters. But these he molds into agents, not persons, to support his double purpose: first, to trace the transformation from Puritan to Yankee life in three generations, and second, to describe the development of New England's relations with the mother country. This latter purpose—the movement from "splendid isolation" under the first John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr.'s Connecticut policy of co-operation for the sake of liberty and prosperity, and finally to Fitz-John and Waitstill Winthrop's "revolution" of 1688—is obviously the more interesting to Dunn. Supported by Dunn's excellent use of the family papers, the Yankee Winthrops appear fresh and bright, while the original John Winthrop makes only a dutiful and weary appearance. John Winthrop Jr.—politician, physician and industrialist, scientist, engineer and diplomat—comes off somewhat better, but his various activities (which make him an ideal subject for American Studies) interfere with Dunn's inclination to stamp the "pattern of youthful protest dissolving into middle-aged conformity" upon each Winthrop generation and with his central interest in Connecticut's foreign policy.

When Governor Fitz Winthrop died in 1707, the future first president of Yale College was only four, yet Tucker insists that "the boy was the man in miniature."⁷ Thus Tucker exposes himself to the same charge leveled at Cotton Mather: "The most conspicuous deficiency of Mather's 'Lives' is the complete absence of growth or change in the characters of his subjects."⁸ In part the lack of Clap's personal papers justifies Tucker's static picture, for it forces him to represent the times in place of the man. Tom Clap at Harvard, for example, becomes a review of New England education; President Clap at Yale is another study of the Great Awakening in New Haven. Always there seems to be hovering in the background of Tucker's characterization a human being who never quite emerges from the careful research. Meanwhile the necessity of treating the entire age results in a very uneven performance: an excellent picture of post-Awakening separatism crumbles into confused maunderings about religious rationalism, and then recovers to treat Anglicanism in New England politics with great skill. The style is sometimes uncomfortably stilted, but adequate to its central argument that while Clap's religious orthodoxy fell into obsolescence, his administration directed "the most decisively constructive period" in Yale's history. Against a kind

⁷ *Puritan Protagonist*, p. 1.

⁸ R. E. Watters, "Biographical Technique in Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., II (April 1945), 158.

- of grudging admiration for Clap's achievements, Tucker's characterization of him as obstreperous, pugnacious and combative seems too simple.

There is perhaps more reason for Edmund Morgan to portray Clap as a simple martinet, since Ezra Stiles' serious acquaintance with Clap began as a Yale freshman under Clap's tyranny. But by using both the Stiles papers and the major scholarship on the eighteenth century with remarkable skill and imagination, Morgan has brought a real human being back into focus for us in the figure of Ezra Stiles. Jottings of children's measurements or an inventory of foods stored for winter become in Morgan's treatment keys to a unique personality who, at the same time, seems to have Morgan's complete confidence as an historically significant personage. If Morgan intended to present Stiles simply as a "gentle Puritan," the ample scope of his biography fortunately blurs that image. Stiles appears to us as a young doubter trying to thread his way between "Clapism" and Deism, a minister in love with the town of Newport, a planner of books that somehow failed to get written, a pioneer sociologist and amateur astronomer, an academic politician and administrator after taking the presidency of Yale in 1778, a prodigious correspondent who cultivated men of learning around the world, a patriotic American and at his end a thoroughgoing Jacobin. Scholars will raise objections: Morgan shifts into high style too obviously at times, doesn't seem to understand the issues of Stoddarceanism fully and has a better eye for political significance than for some other kinds—but the account is so fascinating that such objections become quibbles.

Morgan confesses that "there remains more in the [Stiles] papers and more to the man than I have been able to convey in the pages of this book";⁹ yet students of American Studies will be delighted with Morgan's introduction to a real mid-eighteenth-century personality, his surroundings and activities as his unflagging curiosity engaged them. *The Gentle Puritan* stands as a firm reassurance to fearful hagiographers of the tremendous capabilities of biographies *de viris illustribus* for American Studies when given sufficient magnitude, imagination and skill.

NORMAN S. GRABO, Michigan State University

⁹ *The Gentle Puritan*, p. 472.

Ventures in the Publication of Americana

RECENT developments in the publishing and printing industries have radically altered the book landscape in the last decade. The postwar flood of paperbacks threatened for a time to engulf us in best-sellers and other

equally uplifting volumes aimed at marketing a product on a mass market. But the tide has ebbed somewhat and in some ways this has proved a blessing. At least publishers have learned there is an audience for worthwhile reprints, and the opportunities for scholarly editing have been expanded.

The amount and kind of editing to a great extent are governed by the nature of the text. But editing is also controlled by the economics of book publishing. Printing and binding costs are constants, but editorial costs are variables; therefore the publisher economizes where he can. Currently there appear to be three main approaches to the task of editing books of interest to a literate audience.

The first solution, with the development of the photo-offset process, is to minimize the function of the editor in favor of facsimile editions. Editorial decision here is indistinguishable from the publisher's decision, being confined largely to questions of what titles and editions to reproduce. Such an example is the new series, *Americana Classics*, under the general editorship of O. Lawrence Burnette Jr.¹ Three titles have initiated this venture. *Scenes of Earlier Days* will primarily interest collectors. As the subtitle indicates, it is a lively account at first-hand "In Crossing the Plains to Oregon, and Experiences of Western Life." The author wrote in 1898, relying upon his memory of events of the journey undertaken in 1851. Other titles in the series will be of greater interest to the student of history. *Views of Louisiana Together with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River, in 1811* reproduces the first edition (1814) of a primary source of information. It is particularly useful as a supplement to the Lewis and Clark papers, having just preceded the first publication of the journals. *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas* reproduces a work published in 1824. This has become a standard reference for the Revolution in the South despite its highly partisan defense of the author's father, General "Lighthorse Harry" Lee.

The second solution, and one that has enormously increased, compromises by settling upon an editorial introduction to the work being reprinted. It is applicable where the offset process can be employed or where textual problems can be ignored. Here the range of editorial contribution to the worth of the publication can vary widely. At the very least it should furnish a useful factual descriptive account of the work and at best it may provide the occasion for an analytical or critical essay

¹ Quadrangle Books, Inc., Chicago: Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Views of Louisiana Together with a Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River, in 1811*. 302 pp., \$7.00; Charles Howard Crawford, *Scenes of Earlier Days in Crossing the Plains to Oregon, and Experiences of Western Life*. 186 pp., \$5.25; Henry Lee Jr., *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas*. 511 pp., \$10.00.

on the subject. Indeed the numerous reprints and editions of certain literary classics are distinguishable only on the basis of the introductions provided.

The American Experience Series, under the general editorship of H. B. Parkes, falls into this category.² Here the intention is to offer relatively neglected works of historic and literary interest that should be more widely available. Offset reproduction and paper binding keep the cost relatively low. *A Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage* recounts the unhappy events surrounding La Salle's third voyage, upon which he lost his life. Garrett B. Rutman provides a brief historical introduction. *My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians* has an introduction by Jules Zanger, who briefly places this work in the context of the genre of captivity literature, a uniquely American literary form. William N. Fenton gives a good biographical introduction to *League of the Iroquois*. This is a reprint of the first edition (1851) of a work often referred to as the first scientific account of an Indian tribe. It has long been regarded as one of the best pioneering works in American anthropology.

Opportunities for the full range of talent required for a creative job of editing are restricted. But when they do arise Donald Jackson's *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* might well serve as a model.³ More than half of the 428 documents are here printed for the first time. The problems of detail in such an undertaking are enormous, but the editor has solved them and produced a first-rate useful reference for interested scholars. The apparatus necessary to make the work useful has not diminished the book's function also to provide a sequence of documents that form a continuous narrative. The editor's taste and judgment have operated unobtrusively so that there is unfolded for the reader a fascinating account that supplements the journals. Particularly the letters allow insights into the characters of the principals; facets of the personalities of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark emerge that do not appear in the journals. In his annotation the editor has economically supplied necessary information, and he has kept the needs of the general reader in mind with concise narrative bridges and footnotes where clarification seems indicated. Altogether it is a thoroughly admirable job that serves to remind us of the wisdom, taste and learning that a scholar can contribute to the task of creative editing.

ROBERT A. WIGGINS, *University of California, Davis*

² Corinth Books, New York: Henri Joutel, *Journal of La Salle's Last Voyage*. 187 pp., \$1.50; Fanny Kelly, *My Captivity Among the Sioux Indians*. 285 pp., \$1.75; Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*. 477 pp., \$2.95.

³ *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783-1854*, 728 pp., University of Illinois Press, Urbana. \$10.00.

MERRILL PROUDFOOT, *Diary of a Sit-In*. Foreword by Frank Porter Graham. 204 pp. The University of North Carolina Press, 1962. \$5.00.

GLENFORD E. MITCHELL AND WILLIAM H. PEACE III (eds.), *The Angry Black South*. 59 pp. Corinth Books, 1962. \$1.25.

The Angry Black South and *Diary of a Sit-In* are important books. Their authors, participants in the struggle of Southern Negroes for civil and economic rights, graduates of Southern schools and colleges and Columbia University, are men of common sense and intelligence who are trying to act within a difficult philosophy in difficult situations. *The Angry Black South* recounts the activities of students and professors in Greensboro, North Carolina, where the lunch counter sit-ins began February 1, 1960, and in Raleigh, North Carolina, where the first arrests were made February 14, 1960. Professor Proudfoot's day-by-day account enlarges the story as it was played by the students of Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee, from June 9, 1960, to June 24, 1960.

The Christian philosophy of nonviolence is the basis for the action recounted in both books. A sentence from Dr. King's book, *Stride Toward Freedom* (1958), from a quotation in *The Angry Black South*, expresses this philosophy: "The spiritual power that the Negro can radiate to the world comes from love, understanding, good will, and nonviolence." The Christian background, the seriousness of commitment and the gaiety of peoples permeates both books and is illustrated by this quotation from *The Angry Black South*:

The meetings were usually gay. We prayed, sang, and told anecdotes of the previous day's experiences. Our leaders delivered scintillating orations and students left the meetings clapping and singing until they got to their dormitories. After these meetings, Intelligence would convene to make all the necessary preparations for the following day.

Professor Proudfoot, not a Southerner, and the onlookers were amused by a young counterparticipant with a sign reading "Half-Bread Go North," which he poked in the professor's back as they marched. Perhaps a displaced "hill" youngster, he was a part of the prejudice of those who spread mimeographed material over the South as the sit-ins developed. Part of this group have been clearly delineated by the writers of the South, along with the politicians whom they elect.

Mr. Peace in "The South Reacts," a chapter in *The Angry Black South*, says that the rapidity with which the sit-ins erupted was frightening to the students. Mr. Proudfoot, a white man, describes his fright as he sat at the lunch counters. "Dangerous" and "terrifying" are words frequently seen in the writings about racial tensions in the South and over the world.

The danger is real. Yet words spoken and written can ease the tensions and loosen the minds and hearts of men. Pen, tongue and law are mighty weapons for reform.

MARY ELIASON, *Campbell College*

M. K. SINGLETON, *H. L. Mencken and the American Mercury Adventure*. vii, 269 pp. Duke University Press, 1962. \$6.00.

PROFESSOR SINGLETON presents a carefully documented study of the *Mercury* from the planning stages in 1923 to Mencken's resignation as editor in 1933. Especially illuminating are the accounts of the *Mercury*'s origin and of the "Hatrack" controversy of 1926. The book also analyzes the pattern of content typical of the review, discusses its appeal to a largely middle-class audience and summarizes criticisms from the right and the left.

Although the author gives a skillful interpretation of George Jean Nathan's role as contributing editor, he fails to achieve a convincing portrayal of Mencken as editor. He seems unable to decide whether Mencken was a "humane and imaginative" libertarian or a cynical opportunist. He mentions the editor's "pleas for honesty, decency, and dignity," but does not acknowledge that these ideals were among the positive standards which sustained Mencken's iconoclasm and satire. Moreover, Dr. Singleton ignores Mencken's unyielding faith in such Darwinian dogmas of the nineties as Thomas Huxley's concept of truth-seeking and William Graham Sumner's equation of natural and economic laws. These beliefs provide one of the clues needed to explain Mencken's inability to adapt his ideas and his magazine to changing times. Nevertheless, anyone interested in the *Mercury*'s great vogue should read this lucid history.

DOUGLAS C. STENERSON, *Winona State College, Minnesota*

FRANKLIN HAMLIN LITTELL, *From State Church to Pluralism: A Protestant Interpretation of Religion in American History*. xviii, 174 pp. Aldine Publishing Company, 1962. \$5.00.

INFLUENCED by left-wing Protestantism and following in the steps of Schaff and Sweet, of Turner and Webb, Professor Littell here presents a convincing argument that the prevailing interpretation of religion in America is based on myth, not fact. Far from being a formerly Protestant nation now fallen from virtue, the United States never was Christian save in name, America is seen as a secular land, whose churches, ever ready

to attract members and to sacrifice discipline and quality for quantity, have made too easy a peace with the world. The author sees the country as a mission field, in which "a multitude of new Christians confronts the churches with a flood of unbaptized beliefs and practices" (p. 81). But myth is persistent, and a dreamy, frustrated Protestantism has exploited the myth of a Protestant America to justify Nativism. The big enemy, the author warns, is not Roman Catholicism or Judaism, but prejudice.

The book combines good insights, valid criticisms of contemporary religiosity, and sound conclusions with many annoying features. Debatable matters are stated categorically (e.g., "the Gag Law . . . made the Civil War inevitable" [p. 63]). The comparison between the Mormons and Puritanism is not convincing. The Emmanuel Movement may have had more influence than the author thinks. Anglicanism never regarded Confirmation as a substitute for Baptism. But these, and other, similar remarks do not invalidate the basic argument. More serious is the author's tendency to be somewhat undisciplined and often rambling in his presentation. Much of what he says will find widespread acceptance. Whether the reader will go all the way will depend, in part, on his theological convictions. Lutherans, Episcopalians and some Presbyterians, among others, will not readily share the author's disdain of sixteenth-century traditions.

EMIL OBERHOLZER, *The City College, New York*

WHITNEY BALLIETT, *Dinosaurs in the Morning: 41 Pieces on Jazz*. 224 pp. J. B. Lippincott Co., 1962. \$3.95.

THIS is a selection of articles on jazz published in *The New Yorker* between 1957-62. Included are interviews of jazz personalities and criticism of concerts and records. In his introductory note Balliett defines the critic as "a bundle of biases held loosely together by a sense of taste." The book doesn't fully reveal his sense of taste, but it shows his biases clearly. For the most part they lead to highly perceptive and original criticism.

The weakest selections are the interviews which, although generally entertaining, tend to be glib and sometimes superficial. The best pieces are the record reviews in which Balliett's gift for language manifests itself most patently. He brings to his writing the sensibilities and techniques of a poet and their application, particularly his synesthetic devices, can be highly evocative. For instance, he writes of Coleman Hawkins' "tone halls hung with dark velvet and lit with huge fires." Moreover, Balliett has an uncanny ability for recognizing the leading characteristics

of a performer's style and for translating them into words. He writes that on slow ballads Miles Davis with muted trumpet "buzzes rhythmically and persistently at the melody like a bluebottle." Along with his analytical and verbal talents Balliett exercises careful judgment and has a good historical sense. He can sum up in the correct context the recorded work of traditional cornetist Bix Beiderbecke and with equally happy results can explain the elements and significance of modern saxophonist Ornette Coleman's style.

Balliett's first sentence questions whether or not jazz should be written about critically; the rest of the book provides conclusive evidence that it should be—and can be done well.

NEIL LEONARD, *University of Pennsylvania*

JAMES G. LEYBURN, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History*. 377 pp. The University of North Carolina Press, 1962. \$7.00.

SINCE H. J. Ford's long out of print *The Scotch-Irish in America* (1915), we have not had a book-length survey of the history of the Lowland Scots who settled in Ulster and, during the eighteenth century, migrated to colonial America where they subsequently became known as the Scotch-Irish. Professor Leyburn, who teaches sociology at Washington and Lee University, has produced a book about these "Irish—with a difference" which addresses itself to their social, religious and domestic life in Scotland and Ireland, their migration to North America, their settlements from New England to the Carolinas, and their transformation into Americans.

Leyburn admittedly adds few new facts to those available in widely scattered articles, monographs and books about the Ulster Scots in America and abroad. His main thesis is that after 1776 the Scotch-Irish in America "were no longer a separate national stock" and therefore indistinguishable from the genus *American*. He strips away, firmly but kindly, the mythology that has grown up around the role of the Scotch-Irish in the building of American society and provides succinct estimates, often buttressed by fresh observations, of their much debated national character and temperament.

A first-rate bibliography and an entertaining appendix on the origin of the name Scotch-Irish and the controversy engendered by it complete a volume that is now the best available general history of the North-of-Ireland men who settled in America during the eighteenth century.

JOHN J. APPEL, *Michigan State University*

DANIEL J. ELAZAR, *The American Partnership*—Intergovernmental Co-operation in the Nineteenth-Century United States. xvi, 358 pp. University of Chicago Press, 1962. \$6.50.

THIS is a carefully documented study of nineteenth-century American federalism. Elazar writes it to prove that dual, competitive federalism was only a façade behind which he finds evidence of co-operation between states and the national government. The early era of internal improvements and the later time of disposing of the public domain are used to show this co-operative federalism. One assumes that the selected states, Virginia and New Hampshire for the early, then Minnesota and Colorado for the later period reflect the general trend.

The student of politics will be interested particularly in the third part of the book which presents a theoretical, rather than descriptive framework of this co-operative federalism.

The problem remains why the picture of dual federalism has been preserved so long before the Elazar attempt to revise federalist theory. One wonders also why state officeholders of the analyzed period were presenting for state "home" consumption a theory of dual federalism, as Elazar admits, while at the same time they were trying to obtain funds from the national government. Did they at all regard financial aid as an aspect of federalism? Perhaps they were just demanding funds regarded as due to them, while federal theory had no application to these demands. Whether Elazar's approach can be accepted, depends largely on the answer to this question of political motivation.

JERZY HAUPTMANN, *Park College*

WILLIAM VAN O'CONNOR, *The Grotesque: An American Genre and Other Essays*. Preface by Harry T. Moore, xvi, 231 pp. Southern Illinois University Press, 1962. \$4.50.

IN this collection William Van O'Connor is concerned with the "American-ness of American literature." What exactly is this quality? Is it the innocence Fiedler, R.W.B. Lewis and Young have already discussed at greater length? Occasionally Professor O'Connor merely echoes their opinions.

He is more original when he discusses the grotesque (the obsessive side of innocence). The grotesque, he tells us, is *our* substitute for "stable" tragedy or comedy; it is anti-bourgeois; it stresses "biological" nature; and it uses "weirdly distorted" images to capture the sublime. Professor O'Connor, following Thomas Mann's suggestion, offers valuable hints

- here, but he doesn't completely develop them. He neglects to read closely enough American fiction—Salinger, McCullers, Hawkes and Washington Irving are omitted. He doesn't explore narcissism or the broken family as a crucial theme, each creating anti-bourgeois, mixed reactions in the reader, especially one who favors "togetherness." He doesn't relate his "narrator as distorting mirror" or "novel-of-experience" to the oddities of biological or psychological nature.

There seems to be a contradiction in Professor O'Connor's approach. He claims that the grotesque's sources, even in an Algren or Anderson, are "well below the level of social and political injustice." How far below? If very far, why does Professor O'Connor primarily employ a sociological approach with references to national character? In one essay he himself warns that "highly imaginative" literature should not be used sociologically. Why doesn't he fully explicate texts (such recurring images as the mirror) or psychological patterns? He can do both well, as in "Hawthorne and Faulkner."

The Grotesque: An American Genre is a grab-bag of innocent assumptions, shrewd readings, convenient labels and important clues.

IRVING MALIN, *City College of New York*

HENRY NASH SMITH, *Mark Twain: The Development of a Writer*. xii, 212 pp. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962. \$4.75.

LOUIS J. BUDD, *Mark Twain: Social Philosopher*. xii, 245 pp. Indiana University Press, 1962. \$6.50.

Of the making of Mark Twain books there is happily no end. Each generation writes its own, not abandoning the preceding like stranded vessels, but building more stately and sophisticated structures upon the hulks of the old. So, Henry Nash Smith shows the ordeal of Mark Twain to be more complex than Van Wyck Brooks had thought, and Louis Budd makes clear that Mark Twain's vision of America was more complicated than Bernard de Voto had imagined.

The facile comparison of these two latest Mark Twain studies to the classic between-wars interpretations may surprise, if it does not actually annoy, the two authors; but it is not entirely frivolous. The essence of Mr. Smith's analysis is that Mark Twain's early work was based upon conflict between the regnant genteel culture and what Twain felt to be the natural, saving "vernacular" culture. The dramatization of this conflict led to his best writings, but by the time of *The Connecticut Yankee*, as Mr. Smith reads him, Twain had lost faith in the affirmations of his

vernacular characters and "sought to escape from the nightmare of history by creating transcendent figures with whom he could identify himself." Instead of acting in opposition to undesirable aspects of society, these transcendent characters were content to stand aside and view with horror all conflicting elements of "the damned human race." They culminate in Satan of *The Mysterious Stranger*, and "this marks the end of his career as a writer, for there was nothing more to say." Thus Mr. Smith's supple and lucid study of "the development of a writer" becomes a story of the intensifying ordeal of a late-nineteenth-century artist in America, and although told in terms of his "literary" work exclusively it proves to be, incidentally, an example of the "American studies" approach at its best in the very unobtrusiveness of its interdisciplinary analysis.

Mr. Budd is not breaking lances with Mr. Smith, nor tilting with earlier critics. But in his dismissals of "psychoanalysts," in the mass of evidence he adduces, and above all in his depiction of Twain as a typical American of his time, he bears at least a passing resemblance to Bernard de Voto. One would scarcely realize that Mr. Budd and Mr. Smith were writing about the same man. The explanation is, of course, that Mr. Budd mines an entirely different vein of Twainiana. Painstakingly digging out and classifying Twain's readily expressed views on particular social problems, he shows us a relatively simple man: a self-styled "moralist" and "teacher," a believer in most of the precepts of Manchester liberalism, an opponent of graft and corruption and professional politicians, an old-stock American with most of the commonplace prejudices against various minority groups—and, at the same time, a warm human being whose sympathies for the underdog conflicted with some of his naturally acquired dislikes and gradually came to be the dominant theme in his social criticism until they finally modified many of his earlier views.

I don't wish to imply that Mr. Budd gives a simplistic account of Twain; he recognizes and deals with the various contradictions and complexities of Twain's multifarious statements about social and political problems. But what strikes me as most illuminating as one looks at these two books together is the way in which the treatment of different materials leads to almost diametrically opposed pictures of the man. When we collect and arrange Twain's pronouncements on social problems we find little more than the normal confusions of a sensitive social observer in a rapidly changing society. When we look closely at Twain's fiction we discern the deep-seated conflicts which at first engendered works of great imaginative power but finally paralyzed his creative energies. In the last analysis, paradoxically, Mr. Smith's analysis of "the development of a writer" tells us more about Twain's underlying social

- philosophy than Mr. Budd's scholarly presentation of the statements of
- Mark Twain as "social philosopher."

JOHN LYDENBERG, *Hobart and William Smith Colleges*

CHARLES BOEWE, *Prairie Albion: An English Settlement in Pioneer Illinois*. xvi, 317 pp. Southern Illinois University Press, 1962. \$10.00.

IN 1817, a year before Illinois became a state, Morris Birkbeck and George Flower organized a settlement of English mechanics and farmers in the lower Wabash Valley. They not only supplied most of the initial capital but also made the land purchases, planned the original buildings and recruited additional settlers. Birkbeck, in particular, wrote a good deal of promotional literature which was widely read and which induced many impecunious or portionless Britons to try their fortunes beyond the Alleghenies. The settlement excited more curiosity than admiration. Enmity between the two original founders did not aid it greatly, and Birkbeck's accidental drowning in 1825 deprived the community of its most dynamic force. But it attracted a constant stream of travelers who left various accounts of their visits, and Albion remains today as the county seat of Edwards County.

Charles Boewe in chronicling the early years of Albion has used mostly the words of the original promoters and visitors: Birkbeck, Flower, John Woods, William Faux, James Hall. Employing a method reminiscent of Jay Leyda's *The Melville Log*, he has juxtaposed excerpts from letters, descriptions, diaries, histories and periodicals within a chronological framework, but he has also been careful to reflect various shades of opinion. He has frankly admitted that he has exceeded the usual editorial prerogatives. For the sake of readability he has excised numerous passages without textual indication, lopped off verbiage, altered capitalization, and even changed the sequence of passages to conform to his superimposed narrative scheme. His bibliography, to be sure, lists the exact original sources, but it is questionable whether his cavalier method of handling his material is the best way to treat a story which in the long run can have only a limited appeal.

JOHN T. FLANAGAN, *University of Illinois*

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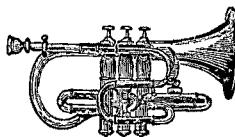
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American Calendar

Spring



1963

OFFICERS. Elected to one-year terms at the Dec. 27 meeting of the Executive Council were Ralph H. Gabriel, American University, president; Russel B. Nye, Michigan State University, vice president; Charles Boewe, University of Pennsylvania, executive secretary. David M. Potter, Stanford University, was elected to a three-year term as member-at-large of the Council. Elected by mail ballot were John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College, to represent the Northeast region on the Council until Dec. 1965, and Robert E. Spiller, University of Pennsylvania, re-elected to represent the Middle Atlantic region until Dec. 1965. Appointed to two-year terms as members of the editorial board of *American Quarterly* were John Gerber, State University of Iowa; Arthur Bestor, University of Washington; and William McLoughlin, Brown University. The nominating committee was composed of Robert H. Walker, George Washington University; Robert

Land, Library of Congress; and Carl Bode, University of Maryland, who served as chairman.

COUNCIL MEETING. Officers attending the annual meeting of the Executive Council at the Mayflower Hotel, Dec. 27, in Washington, were Vice President Arthur Bestor, Bibliographer Donald N. Koster and Executive Secretary Charles Boewe. Council Members in attendance were Gordon Mills, University of Texas; Robert E. Spiller, University of Pennsylvania; Russel B. Nye, Michigan State University; Donald Sheehan, Smith College; Philip Durham, UCLA; Edgar Richardson, Winterthur Museum; Norman Holmes Pearson, Yale University; Hennig Cohen, University of Pennsylvania. Chapter Delegates who attended were Merton M. Sealts Jr., Lawrence College; Roy Harvey Pearce, Ohio State University; Norman S. Grabo, Michigan State University; Durant da Ponte, University of Tennessee;

Richard L. Herrnstadt, Iowa State University; Scott C. Osborn, Mississippi State University; Brom Weber, University of Minnesota; and Michael McGiffert, University of Denver. Attending as observers were Miriam M. Heffernan, Brooklyn College; Louis D. Rubin, Hollins College; John Ashmead, Haverford College; Edwin H. Cady, Indiana University; James R. Vitelli, Lafayette College; Thomas F. Marshall, Kent State University; Carl Bode, University of Maryland; Theodore Hornberger, University of Pennsylvania; Robert H. Walker, George Washington University; and Marshall W. Fishwick, Wemyss Foundation. Copies of the minutes of the Council meeting have been mailed to all national and chapter officers, and may be had by ASA members who request them. It is expected that the next annual meeting of the Council will be held in conjunction with the American Historical Association, which meets late in Dec. 1963 in Philadelphia.

JOINT SESSIONS. During the Christmas holidays ASA contributed to national conventions in Washington, in Chicago and in Cleveland. At the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION meeting, Dec. 27, in Washington, ASA sponsored a section devoted to "The Cowboy, the Detective and the Spaceman in American Life and Letters," arranged and presided over by Philip Durham, UCLA. John Williams,

University of Denver, discussed the cowboy; Harold Orel, University of Kansas, the detective; and Mark Hillegas, Colgate University, the spaceman. On the same day, as part of the MLA program on American poetry past and present, ASA joined with the AMERICAN LITERATURE GROUP to sponsor a luncheon address by the poet John Frederick Nims on "The Current Scene in American Poetry," with Hyatt H. Waggoner, Brown University, presiding. On the next day, as part of the concurrent meeting of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH, Hennig Cohen, University of Pennsylvania, was one of the panelists who discussed "Significant Developments in English Teaching Today." Other panelists were Oscar Cargill, New York University; James E. Miller Jr., University of Nebraska; and Mark Schorer, University of California, Berkeley. Moderated by Kenneth Knickerbocker, University of Tennessee, and presided over by Autrey Nell Wiley, Texas Woman's University, the panel was opened by a keynote address by Albert H. Marckwardt, University of Michigan. . . . In Chicago, on Dec. 29, ASA joined the AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION to sponsor a luncheon address by William E. Woolfenden, Archives of American Art, on "Documentation in Depth: Source Materials for the Historian in the Domain of the Arts," at which ASA's Vice President, Arthur Bestor, Uni-

versity of Washington, presided. Concurrently in Chicago, ASA joined with PHI ALPHA THETA under the auspices of AHA to present a symposium Dec. 28 on American music. Joe B. Frantz, University of Texas, who arranged the program and presided, presented Ronald L. Davis, Michigan State University, speaking on "The French Opera House"; Vincent P. Carosso, New York University, on "Music in the White House"; and George H. Reeves, Texas Christian University, on "American Opera". . . . With the SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA, meeting in Cleveland Dec. 29, ASA sponsored a section on popular culture arranged and presided over by Robert G. Gunderson, Indiana University. John G. Cawelti, University of Chicago, spoke on "Ideas of Self-Improvement"; Wilcomb E. Washburn, Smithsonian Institution, on "The Great Autumnal Madness: Politics"; Hans Sperber, Ohio State University, on "Slogans and the Popular Mind"; and Carl Bode, University of Maryland, on "Everybody's Art."

CHAPTER NEWS. Old Sturbridge Village was host, Nov. 10, to a meeting of the *New England Association for American Studies*, where William H. Pierson of Williams College gave a paper on "Thomas Jefferson, Citizen Architect". . . . The *Southern California Chapter* met the same day at Claremont Graduate School for a program at which Peter Amacher, UCLA, spoke

on "Nineteenth Century Theories of Adaptation of Individual to Environment"; John G. Burke, UCLA, on "Science and the Race Problem in America"; Loyd S. Swenson, University of California, Riverside, on "The Telecommunications Revolution of the Nineteenth Century"; and John B. Rae, Harvey Mudd College, on "Technology and the Entrepreneur in the American Aircraft Industry." The program was arranged by George Knox, the chapter president. . . . Gordon Mills, University of Texas, is new president of the *Texas Chapter*. John Q. Anderson, Texas A & M, the new vice president, is in charge of the chapter's spring meeting. . . . Ward Miner, Youngstown University, is new president of *Ohio-Indiana ASA*, and Walter Fertig, Wabash College, is the new secretary-treasurer.

BARGAIN. *American Studies in the United States: A Survey of College Programs* (paperbound, 210 pp.) can now be had by ASA members from the national office at the reduced price of \$2 a copy, a saving of \$1.50 from the publisher's list price. Known in ASA parlance as the Walker Report, after the chairman of the committee which compiled it, the book is the only available commentary and evaluation which brings together information on the hundred-odd American Studies programs in existence in 1957 when the survey was completed. In addition, it contains a

chapter on the history and development of the American Studies movement in its institutional academic framework and provides information on how such programs have been administered. Even where outdated in details about teaching personnel, enrollments and statistical analysis, it remains a valuable guide for anyone seeking a broad picture of what has been done in American Studies.

SURVEY SUPPLEMENT. As a convenience to seekers after information, the ASA office has undertaken a national survey which will supplement the Walker Report. Planned for summer publication in ASA's newsletter, *American Studies*, this survey will give a skeleton list consisting of names of institutions having American Studies courses, the name of a representative of each who will respond to queries, the number of graduate and undergraduate courses offered, and whether or not the institution has courses in the summer. Because the list will be revised annually, neither analysis nor evaluation can be provided. Nearly 300 questionnaires have gone out to institutions and persons known to have an interest in American Studies. It is inevitable that programs of recent origin have been skipped—a post card notice to the executive secretary will repair the oversight before any damage has been done.

PERSONNEL. Thanks to the willingness of many highly skilled professionals to help out, ASA can accomplish much with a very small staff. Some key persons to remember: Donald N. Koster, Adelphi College, in general charge of all ASA bibliographical enterprises. John Wrenn, University of Colorado, in charge of the annual list of dissertations in progress. Charles L. Sanford, Rensselaer Polytechnic, in charge of the bibliography on theory and pedagogy. Kenneth E. Davison, Heidelberg College, in charge of the list of financial aid to graduate students. C. Hugh Holman, University of North Carolina, in charge of national joint sessions in the general area of literature and the arts. Brooke Hindle, New York University, in charge of national joint sessions in the general area of history and the social sciences. Carl Bode, University of Maryland, ASA's delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies.

ASIAN SCHOLARS. The Asia Foundation again provided funds to enable a group of highly qualified visitors to attend the 1962 joint meetings of ASA with MLA and AHA. Fifteen travel grants were awarded for the MLA meeting in Washington, nine to the AHA meeting in Chicago. Among the total of twenty-four winners, ten native countries were represented and fifteen U. S. academic affiliations. Richard D. Miles, Wayne State

University, was host at a reception for the grantees in Chicago, Robert H. Walker, George Washington University, was host in Washington. The selection committee consisted of John Ashmead, Haverford College, and Arthur Dudden, Bryn Mawr College. All the winners in the current program have been made members of ASA for a period of three years by courtesy of the Asia Foundation.

ACLS. As a member of ACLS, ASA has the opportunity to do its bit to further the resolution passed at the forty-fourth annual meeting of the Council to "investigate and report on the current situation of the humanities in the United States and to make such recommendations as, after its investigations, shall seem appropriate." A national commission will be established in conjunction with the Council of Graduate Schools and the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa for purposes of the investigation. No doubt all of us recognize the serious lack in the humanities of an institution comparable to the National Science Foundation; our concrete suggestions will be appreciated by the new Commission. . . . ACLS is again sponsoring a new edition of the *Directory of American Scholars*, which last appeared in 1957. The ASA membership list has been offered to the publishers as a source for entries. "Since the usefulness of this volume

depends upon the willingness of scholars to fill out the forms," writes Frederick Burkhardt, President of ACLS, "and since humanistic scholars are notoriously allergic to questionnaires, we hope that our constituent societies will do all they can to encourage full returns." *Verb. sap. . . .* It was also announced at the ACLS annual meeting that preliminary talks with the Ford Foundation have been held to extend the Council's American Studies program into other areas of the world, particularly the Far East, and to continue it in Europe.

WAYNE CONFERENCE. On recommendation of the Department of State, an invitational conference on American Studies will be held for twenty to twenty-five visiting Fulbright scholars at Wayne State University, May 8-11. Presently being planned by a committee chaired by ASA's vice president, Russel B. Nye, the conference will be sponsored by the Ohio-Indiana and Michigan Chapters and the Conference Board Committee on American Studies.

AWARDS OPEN. A seminar for historical administrators June 17 to July 26, at Williamsburg, under the joint sponsorship of Colonial Williamsburg, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the American Association for State and Local History and the American Association of Museums, offers twelve fellowships with a stipend of \$450.

each to interested graduate students. For further information address the Coordinator, William J. Murtagh, at the National Trust, 815 17th St., N.W., Washington 6. . . . Abilene Christian College will grant 100 scholarships to persons under age 60 and having teacher certification, for its seventh annual summer American Studies program. For application forms address Edward L. Kirk, Coordinator, Station ACC, Box 712, Abilene, Texas. . . . The University of Denver has announced the availability of an unspecified number of graduate fellowships in its Department of History for American Studies work leading to the Ph.D. Information can be had from Allen D. Breck, University of Denver, Denver 10. . . . The Frank L. Weil Institute, 3101 Clifton Ave., Cincinnati 20, will award eight fellowships of \$1200 each to postdoctoral faculty members working on publishable papers in the humanities whose subjects deal with religion. The purpose of the grants is to enable the writers to forego summer teaching. Applications must be submitted by Sept. 1, 1963, and include a biographical statement, three supporting letters and a description of the paper in progress. . . . The American Numismatic Society, Broadway between 155 and 156 Sts., New York 32, again offers ten grants-in-aid carrying a stipend of \$600 each to graduate students and junior faculty members who qualify for its

seminar in numismatics to be held June through August. Past members of the seminar may be eligible, on recommendation of their graduate school deans, for \$2000 fellowships plus tuition to aid in writing their dissertations in which numismatics plays a significant part. . . . Ten staff members of historical agencies may receive partial subvention of travel and living costs to attend a summer workshop lasting three or four weeks this summer at the University of Wisconsin. Devoted to the practical problems of historical administration, the workshop is sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Information may be had from the latter, 816 State St., Madison 6. . . . A group of college and secondary school teachers will assemble at Amherst College this summer to prepare American Studies course materials for use in secondary schools. Teachers chosen will receive travel expenses, salary and will share in the royalties of any published materials which come out of the program, which is sponsored by the Wemyss Foundation. Further information and application blanks are available from Van R. Halsey, Box 72, Amherst.

GAFFELBITER. The British Association for American Studies will hold its annual conference April 8-11 at Muir Hall in Edinburgh.

The conference, devoted to the theme "The City in American Life," will open with an address by John Hope Franklin, current Pitt Professor at Cambridge. . . . Part of a \$2 million program announced by the Ford Foundation to expand the cultural resources of Berlin will bring the American Institute of the Free University of Berlin funds to support six professorial chairs and to enlarge its library. . . . *The American Review*, published quarterly by the Johns Hopkins American Studies Center at Bologna, plans to print in March most of the papers given last August at the Cambridge meeting of the European Association for American Studies. . . . The bibliography of some 30 thousand items compiled

by the late Lisle A. Rose on social, political and economic issues in the U. S., 1865-1917, has been received by George Washington University, where it is under the supervision of Robert H. Walker. . . . Brooklyn College Library has recently received forty-five boxes of the papers of Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review*, covering the period 1940-1958. . . . The Ohio State University Center for Textual Studies, which recently issued *The Scarlet Letter*, the first volume of its Centenary Edition of Hawthorne, offers gratis an occasional *News-Sheet* to interested Hawthorne scholars who will register a request with the University Press, 164 West 19th St., Columbus 10.

C. B.

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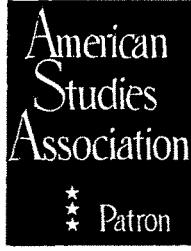
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DAVID BRION DAVIS
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Some Ideological Functions of Prejudice in Ante-Bellum America*

HISTORIANS ARE GENERALLY TOLERANT AND LIBERAL-MINDED PEOPLE. THEY naturally deplore outbreaks of hostility toward minority groups. And it is not my purpose to suggest that groups founded on hatred and prejudice were morally better than they have usually been pictured. No one who has read accounts of the burning of Catholic churches and convents, of the massacre of Mormon women and children, of the persecutions of Negroes and abolitionists, of the cries for blood vengeance against Southern slave-holders, can fail to be appalled by the power of blind prejudice and explosive aggression in America's Middle Period. In spite of rhetoric deifying a rationally balanced Constitution, in spite of a façade of ordered symmetry in the houses and public buildings of the Greek Revival, ante-bellum America was not ruled by a mild and tolerant spirit of reason.

We should not be content, however, with mere righteous indignation or with the dismissal of hate groups as symptoms of social disease. Nor can we assume that violent intolerance had the same meaning in the period from 1825 to 1860 that it has today. There are two general approaches available to a historian interested in movements against such groups as Masons, Catholics and Mormons. The first would be to examine the immediate sources of group conflict, such as ethnic rivalry, economic competition and institutional disharmony. This approach would bring out important differences in the various movements and would doubtless suggest that as long as people are animated by strong hopes and allegiances, they will attack any group that seems to endanger their security or to disrupt their expectations. In the unpredictable and socially fluid environment of the Burned-over District, for example, the influence and solidarity of Freemasons must have seemed a genuine threat to equality

* The substance of this paper was read at the 1962 meeting of the American Historical Association.

of opportunity. In Illinois, Joseph Smith's attempt to establish a political Kingdom of God, his creation of a Mormon Legion and a secret, oligarchic Council of Fifty, naturally aroused hostility. The sudden influx of hundreds of thousands of Catholic immigrants presented a mounting challenge to the religious and political power structure of the Northeast. When we look closely at such historical situations, and at what the average man perceived and believed, we can find sufficient cause for fear and conflict.

But even the most careful analysis of concrete social and economic situations would not account for four distinctive characteristics of these movements of counter-subversion. Firstly, their literature reflected an anxiety that was greatly disproportionate to any actual conflict of interest. Secondly, there was a cultural continuity between such movements and the traditional European response to radical religious sects and secular brotherhoods; anti-Catholicism, of course, was as old as the Reformation, and its principal arguments and accusations changed very little over the centuries. Thirdly, Protestant ministers played a key role in these crusades against alleged subversion, which were related by ideology and joint membership to a number of reform movements, including those for temperance, improved education and protection of the Sabbath. Fourthly, images of the subversive group, while often borrowed from the ruling classes of Europe, were adapted to fit the fears and half-conscious yearnings of the American people. I have attempted elsewhere to show that the movements against Masons, Mormons and Catholics shared a common stereotype of the Great American Enemy, whose traits formed an inverted image of the ideals of popular democracy and the cult of the common man.¹ It would appear that the movements of counter-subversion of the Middle Period were a social phenomenon quite different from the more familiar pattern of prejudice as a mask for privilege, as an instrument for the exploitation of a powerless and downtrodden people.

We can perhaps gain a better understanding of the seeming paradox of prejudice accompanying a desire for greater liberty and equality if we place these movements within the larger context of American ideology and culture. If we ask what values were thought to be threatened by supposedly subversive groups, and what parts of American society were thought to be vulnerable and insecure, we may find that prejudice provided a basis for defining and working out certain fundamental problems. This would not imply that prejudice was a good thing or that it contributed to the mental health of the nation, any more than neurotic or psy-

¹ "Some Themes of Counter-Subversion: an Analysis of Anti-Masonic, Anti-Catholic, and Anti-Mormon Literature," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVII (September 1960), 205-24.

- chotic symptoms contribute to the mental health of an individual. But as is well known, an understanding of the particular functions of a neurotic symptom may lead to a better knowledge of the tensions with which an individual struggles.

The literature of these movements reveals a preoccupation with the problem of intellectual and moral diversity in a free society; with the role of organization in an individualistic society; and with the relation of tradition and change to America's destiny. Each problem, as we shall see, involves a dualism in thought that has often produced tension and anxiety. It seems probable, though here we must rely on inference, that such tension and anxiety were at least temporarily resolved by definition of a subversive group and by a call for action limiting its power. I do not mean to imply that this explains the motives of nativists—and for convenience I shall use that term for all Americans who thought of themselves as defending native traditions against essentially alien forces. I suggest only that certain ideological tensions magnified and gave added meaning to concrete conflicts with minority groups.

Let us look first at the question of intellectual and moral diversity in a free society. It was a cardinal tenet of Protestantism that if men were free to read the Bible on their own, with minimum guidance from clerical authority, they would have no excuse for not recognizing the Revealed Word and accepting their obligations to God and their fellow men. It was also a traditional tenet of secular liberalism that if men were free to read, think and speak as they chose, truth would ultimately prevail over error and superstition. A diversity of opinion, far from being cause for alarm, was a guarantee that eternal truths would not be shut off from view by the false authority of custom or transient prejudice. Yet the liberal ideology, as descended from Locke, also acknowledged the supreme importance of environment in training the habits and shaping the ideas of men. If all ideas derived from sensory experience, it was theoretically possible for a social engineer to construct an environment that would mold a particular type of man. The threat and promise of such behavioristic conditioning were recognized in the eighteenth century, and later fascinated nativist writers, who sometimes associated the psychology of sensation with the mysterious powers of mesmerism and phrenology.

The usual way of reconciling environmentalism with a faith in intellectual freedom and diversity was to assume that truth, when conveyed by the written and spoken word, and especially when aided by the Holy Spirit or the innate moral sense, would overcome the effects of the most repressive environment. The funereal images of the revivalist preacher, the polished rhetoric of the political orator, the eloquent appeals of missionaries and reformers, the sentimental scenes of the temperance

tracts, would play upon the senses and emotions of the most indifferent public. Perhaps no people ever displayed such faith in the power of sheer communication as did the Americans of the Middle Period. So long as a man was confident that the truth of his own doctrines could not fail of acceptance, as soon as they won sufficient circulation, he would not fear diversity of opinion or even the freedom of others to propagate patent falsehoods.

But despite official faith in the compatibility of truth and freedom, Americans frequently expressed misgivings over the proliferation of sects and faddist groups, the spectacular success of prophets, demagogues, revivalists and hoaxers.² In a land without intellectual or moral authorities, the only arbiter was public opinion, which was slow and gullible at first, but which might be brought to ridicule the charlatan or to laugh at its own credulity. Yet this self-corrective principle could operate only where all citizens accepted the ultimate authority of public opinion, acknowledging its right to penetrate every sanctum of privacy.

Henry Dana Ward, a prominent anti-Mason, emphasized the virtue of benevolent associations and other corporate bodies, so long as their activities were open to publicity.³ But as Joseph Smith himself wrote, in the *Book of Mormon*, "the Lord worketh not in secret combinations."⁴ Secrecy, according to Georg Simmel, is one of man's greatest inventions, for it raises the possibility of a hidden world alongside the manifest world.⁵ We might add that this possibility, like that of an ideal world or utopia, may give form and direction to manifest reality. Yet a secret creates tension because it can always be betrayed, its effects may disrupt normal expectations, and it always stands in the position of an exception to the general or universal rule—particularly to the will of the majority.

What if a group was insulated from the cleansing currents of public opinion? What if cunning leaders developed a system of deluding and conditioning people, a system so effective that its victims were no longer accessible to conversion to the truth? What if the Bible, the single fixed anchorage in the shifting flow of opinions, was perverted to fit the designs of Freemasons and Mormons, or withheld from the laity by Catholic priests? The relative autonomy of such groups was a barrier to the probing and dissolving power of public opinion, and thus a challenge to the whole process by which truth was to be sifted and preserved in the midst of limitless diversity. Such a challenge aggravated tensions and awakened

² See esp. David Meredith Reese, *Humbugs of New York: Being a Remonstrance against Popular Delusion . . .* (New York, 1838).

³ *Anti-Masonic Review and Magazine* (New York), I (December 1828), 3-4.

⁴ Ether 8: 19.

⁵ *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. and trans. Kurt Wolff (Glencoe, Ill., 1950), pp. 330-33.

anxieties that were an integral part of American culture. The nativists' fascination with secret conspiracy, which was often seen as the hidden force responsible for sectional conflict and for otherwise baffling fluctuations in the government and economy, reflected a deep concern over both the ignorance of the common citizen and the lack of rational direction in public affairs.⁶

If Americans generally accepted the liberal doctrine that truth could be secured only by free communication and publicity, they also accepted the romantic belief that morality could be secured only by the sanctification of woman. As early as 1797 John Robison, a Scottish professor of natural philosophy, defined the themes that were to dominate the American literature of counter-subversion for the next century. Expressing horror over the sexual depravity of the ancients, he attributed the moral progress of Europe to the elevation of woman and to the increasing influence of her moral sentiment. The greatest threat to Christian civilization lay in the degrading and desexing of woman, a tactic common to both the Catholic Church and the atheistic Illuminati. In his fantasies of subversion Robison came close to anticipating the later image of licentious, polygamous Mormons.⁷ Nativists agreed with him that any deviation from the romantic ideal of marriage and respect for woman's sensibility, modesty and sanctity, which were seen as balancing forces to the hard necessities of the business world, undermined the very foundations of society. Thus the Masons were repeatedly condemned for being cut off from the ennobling influence of women; it was said that their rites were devised "to harden the heart, stupify the conscience, and to eradicate every degree of moral sensibility."⁸ The same accusations were made

⁶ Richard Rush, letter of May 4, 1831, printed in *The Anti-Masonic Almanac, for the Year 1832*, ed. Edward Giddins (Utica, N.Y., 1831), pp. 29-30; Lebbeus Armstrong, *Masonry Proved to Be a Work of Darkness, Repugnant to the Christian Religion; and Inimical to a Republican Government* (New York, 1830), pp. 4-16; *Anti-Masonic Review*, I, 6-9; Edward Beecher, *The Papal Conspiracy Exposed, and Protestantism Defended, in the Light of Reason, History, and Scripture* (Boston, 1855), pp. 24-29, 31, 133, 388; William Hogan, *Popery! As It Was and as It Is: Also, Auricular Confession: and Popish Nunneries* (Hartford, 1855), pp. 9-11, 29, 73-76, 503-4, 571-77; *Among the Mormons: Historic Accounts by Contemporary Observers*, eds. William Mulder and A. Russell Mortensen (New York, 1958), pp. 60-61, 71, 76-79, 101, 293-95, 350; John H. Beadle, *Life in Utah: or, the Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism* (Philadelphia, [1872]), pp. 30-34, 299-300; Maria Ward, *Female Life among the Mormons: A Narrative of Many Years' Personal Experience, By the Wife of a Mormon Elder, Recently Returned from Utah* (New York, 1857), pp. 94-95.

⁷ John Robison, *Proofs of a Conspiracy Against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, Carried on in the Secret Meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies*, 3rd ed. (London, 1798), pp. 243-65.

⁸ *Free Masonry: A Poem, In Three Cantos, Accompanied with Notes, Illustrative of the History, Policy, Principles, &c. of the Masonic Institution; Shewing the Coincidence of Its Spirit and Design with Ancient Jesuitism . . . By a Citizen of Massachusetts* (Leicester, Mass., 1830), p. 203.

concerning Catholics and Mormons.⁹ The pretensions to divine knowledge of all three groups supposedly led directly to a forgetfulness of human fallibility, to a worship of sheer expediency and ultimately to a life devoid of moral principles and the fear of God. Because of their contempt for and corruption of women, there was no moral force to check this progressive decline.

By associating various dangers, such as secrecy, popular gullibility and the corrupting power of environment and ideology, with the American enemy, the nativist was apparently able to preserve his faith in the triumph of truth and morality in a free society. But his continuing concern with these dangers evinced an underlying tension over the meaning of intellectual and moral diversity in a land without ultimate authorities.

This brings us to the second problem, which concerns the role of organization in an individualistic society. According to Tocqueville, individuals and minorities in America could not appeal to authoritative opinion, independent of the majority, precisely because the country was free from hierarchies of rank, vested privilege and the corporate structure of Europe. Thus America's lack of social orders and fixed distinctions tended to force a conformity to the tastes and standards of the majority. In so fluid and amorphous a society, such groups as Masons, Mormons and Catholics acquired a special significance as self-contained organizations, relatively independent of the shifting currents of majority will. This alone would have made them suspect. But Tocqueville also found that one of the chief forces counteracting the tyranny of the majority was the American proclivity to found voluntary associations, for civic, political and philanthropic purposes, whose functions were similar to those of powerful individuals or families in Europe. The salient traits of such groups were the legislative character of their deliberations, their attempt to mobilize a strong and vocal minority and their ultimate goal of winning over the majority. The same characteristics can be seen in organizations based on a common fear or prejudice. Like most other voluntary organizations, they presented a dual aspect: they promoted their own special interests, attempting to increase their opportunities for economic and political power; they also strove to reorient the majority will in the name of preserving or restoring cherished values.

⁹ *Among the Mormons*, eds. Mudler and Mortensen, pp. 327-28, 405-11; Beecher, *Papal Conspiracy*, p. 148; Hogan, *Popery*, pp. 229, 290-91, and *passim*; *The Cloven Foot: or Popery Aiming at Political Supremacy in the United States*, By the Rector of Oldenwold (New York, 1855), pp. 294-304; Kimball Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?* (New York, 1954), pp. 2-5, 16-27, 311; Beadle, *Life in Utah*, pp. 304, 332-74; *The Women of Mormonism: or, the Story of Polygamy as Told by the Victims Themselves*, ed. Jennie Anderson Froiseth (Detroit, 1881-82), pp. 113-14, 191; *Fifteen Years among the Mormons: Being the Narrative of Mrs. Mary Ettie V. Smith*, ed. Nelson W. Green (New York, 1857), pp. 44-51.

In Europe it was class consciousness and fear of the conspiracy of an opposing class that increasingly provided a sense of identity and group solidarity. In America, identity and group solidarity were commonly achieved by associating oneself with the people and with the tradition of the Founding Fathers. But the American could well ask "who are we?" and "who is against us?"—for there was no certainty that his own interests would always be supported by the majority will. This uncertainty raised fundamental questions regarding loyalty. As David Potter has recently shown, loyalties in the period from 1820 to 1860 formed a pattern far more intricate than a simple division of nationalism and sectionalism.¹⁰ Throughout the country there were multitudes of shifting groups and interests whose main ideological bond was a common allegiance to the principles of the Revolution; by the 1820s, as the Revolutionary generation passed away, this bond of a common cause against foreign tyranny changed from living memory to ceremonial tradition. In both North and South, Americans tried to co-ordinate their loyalties to special interests with loyalty to the nation and Constitution. Increasingly, however, this co-ordinating process was carried on by contrasting one's own unconditional loyalty to the nation with the essentially subversive character of some reference group. Adopting a categorical approach to the problem of loyalty and special interest, nativists could assume that American democracy sustained their own values and interests, and deny the possibility of national loyalty being compatible with the special allegiances of Masons, Mormons or Catholics. But while they tried to define their own loyalty in negative terms, as a lack of attachment to a coherent minority, nativists were as much troubled by the absence of solidarity in the majority as by the disciplined effectiveness of autonomous groups. They played repeatedly upon the theme of a flaccid and ignorant public, criminally indifferent to the progress of enemies in acquiring power in political decision and disposal of resources.¹¹ They simulated repeated crises—the moral equivalents of war—in an attempt to simplify issues and dissolve religious and factional alignments by uniting all patriots against a force imperiling religion and democracy. It would thus appear that movements of counter-subversion were symptomatic of a profound need for community and consensus, and for personal dedication in a higher cause. We may suspect that local economic and social conflicts exacerbated fundamental tensions over the role of organization in a *laissez-faire* society, or rather, in a society that accepted an ideology of *laissez faire*.

¹⁰ "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa," *The American Historical Review*, LXVII (July 1962), 924-50.

¹¹ See esp., Hogan, *Popery*, pp. 7-8; *Auricular Confession*, pp. 264-65; *Women of Mormonism*, ed. Froiseth, pp. 285-87, 291-92.

Morton Grodzins has pointed out that a democracy is built on an integration of nonnational loyalties, whereas a totalitarian state tries to absorb and eliminate all subloyalties.¹² We may ask, therefore, whether the movements of counter-subversion pointed in the direction of totalitarianism? The suspicion becomes stronger at a later period, in the writings of Josiah Strong, for example, where the tradition of anti-Catholicism and anti-Mormonism was combined with a near deification of the power of the state.¹³ And after the Civil War, Congress passed a series of discriminatory laws that deprived the Utah Mormons of their basic civil liberties. But in the ante-bellum period, with its multitude of local and sectional loyalties, it was not at all clear which minorities could achieve harmony with the national interest. Nativists represented religious and economic factions that could not possibly win a majority sufficiently strong to enforce their more radical aims. This was especially true when anti-Masons associated the Masonic conspiracy with the power of the Albany Regency over state banks and the Erie Canal; when Whig politicians sought to link Catholicism with the growth of the Democratic Party in eastern cities; and when Gentiles in Utah used anti-Mormonism as a means for protecting their interests in mines and land. A proliferation of rival interests, combined with a loose attachment to places and institutions, meant that no loyalty could be taken for granted. Nativists often lost public favor when they were accused of masking selfish intentions behind a façade of specious patriotism. And their brief triumphs in political life were notably unsuccessful in producing legislation in accord with their principles.

Furthermore, the challenge to Masons, Mormons and Catholics brought an immediate reaction, and forced each group to define its own role in American society. Freemasons pointed to the great patriots who had been members of their order. Various Catholic leaders endeavored to prove the compatibility of Catholic doctrine and American ideals. Brigham Young was led to draw a distinction between loyalty to the Constitution and to "the damned rascals who administer the government"; and even in the 1880s and 90s when the beleaguered Utah Mormons were challenged at home by a Gentile Liberal Party, they responded by forming a People's Party.¹⁴ Significantly, all three groups turned to public opinion as a source of moral authority. It is therefore possible that nativists contributed, in the long run, to an integration of loyalties; to a conviction, that is, that by being a loyal Mason, Mormon

¹² *The Loyal and the Disloyal; Social Boundaries of Patriotism and Treason* (Chicago, 1956); see also, Edward A. Shils, *The Torment of Secrecy; the Background and Consequences of American Security Policies* (Glencoe, Ill., 1956).

¹³ *Our Country; its Possible Future and its Present Crisis* (New York, 1886).

¹⁴ Young, *Isn't One Wife Enough?*, pp. 344-46.

or Catholic, one was also being a loyal American. The great exception, of course, was the slavery controversy, which slowly generated a polarization of loyalties that led to outright secession.

The third and final problem is the relation of tradition and change to America's destiny. From its beginning as a nation, the United States had been remarkably hospitable to change and diversity. This permissive tradition was related, on the ideological level, to the ideal of America as a land of promise whose very meaning lay in change and the process of becoming. But as recent studies have shown, there was an underlying tension between the American's image of himself as an adventurous risk-taker, an expansive pioneer, confident of his ability to improve himself and the world; and a contrary image of the American as the Happy Husbandman, a wise innocent in a terrestrial paradise, who is content to enjoy the serene blessings of a simple rural life, and is unencumbered by the fears and superstitions of a moldering civilization.¹⁵ This contradiction was embodied in the liberal ideology inherited from the eighteenth century, when desires to overcome immediate restraints were transformed into an abstract ideal of restoring a supposedly original and pre-social freedom. The pattern persisted as frustrations from concrete rivalries and competition were projected into a hostility to institutions and associations, the products of mere history, which seemed to block the emergence of the unconditioned, self-contained individual. Thus Americans tended to promote change and at the same time to exaggerate the evils and virtues of particular changes. If they professed to see Satan fast at work in the New World Garden, it was because he was a force for change of which they were a part.¹⁶

America's destiny, then, was associated with a progressive liberation of the individual from all restricting conditions and antecedents; Europe was thought to be sinking under the cumulative weight of evil institutions. But which interests and institutions were of permanent value in furthering America's mission, and which were harmful vestiges from the past? In a famous sermon Theodore Parker attempted to distinguish the permanent essence of Christianity from its transient, historical

¹⁵ Charles L. Sanford, *The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination* (Urbana, Ill., 1961); R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the 19th Century* (Chicago, 1955); Roland Van Zandt, *The Metaphysical Foundations of American History* (The Hague, 1959); Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (Stanford, 1957); Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: the American West and Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, 1950).

¹⁶ Historians who tend to categorize the Middle Period as one of unrestrained optimism fail to see that such traits as optimism and pessimism have usually been linked together, and that the historical or social situation which gives rise to an expression of extreme optimism may also produce despair and anxiety. This is apparent, for example, in the history of millennialism.

forms.¹⁷ A similar approach was often taken in defining the meaning of America, which was usually seen as an essentially negative ~~freedom~~. The agencies and institutions of crucial importance were those that offered the individual a chance for self-expression or fulfillment: the jury, the ballot, the free press, the public school and the western frontier. All of these were thought to be threatened by subversive groups bent on capturing control of America, enslaving its citizens, crushing republicanism and preventing the realization of America's millennial glory.¹⁸ Such groups as Masons, Mormons and Catholics could be taken as symbols of the subordination of the individual to authority. They could also stand for all corporate bodies whose purpose would not end at a given moment in time or with the accomplishment of some limited objective. The enemy's mission, like that of America itself, was universal in scope. As we have already noted, most voluntary associations at once strove to push the aims of special groups, and yet thought of themselves as preserving the idyll of an individualistic, *laissez-faire* society. Americans ordinarily united on the assumption that once they had achieved some pragmatic objective, they would relinquish their special status as reformers or agitators. By definition, the nativist movements were temporary unities. They would dissolve once they had exposed the secrets of the enemy to public scrutiny, and had mobilized the political power of the majority to liberate individuals trapped in the meshes of an un-American group. In the meantime, however, they provided a sense of identity, a sense of belonging.

Since this essay has been of a frankly speculative character, it may not be out of place to suggest in conclusion an even more tentative hypothesis. There are certain striking parallels between the mentality of the nativist and that of the radical sectarian of medieval and early modern Europe.¹⁹ But the radical sectarian, while professing faith in liberty of conscience, in the moral autonomy of the individual and in the inevitability of the millennium, after a period of struggle with the powers of darkness, always stood in the position of a heretic condemned and persecuted by the established order. In America the sectarian ideals,

¹⁷ *A Discourse on the Transient and Permanent in Christianity* (Boston, 1841).

¹⁸ *Free Masonry: A Poem*, pp. 29-58; *Anti-Masonic Review*, I (September 1829), 293-315; *The Anti-Masonic Almanack, for the Year 1828*, ed. Edward Giddins (Rochester, N.Y., 1827), entry for November and December; Beecher, *Papal Conspiracy*, pp. 14-17, 377-89; Hogan, *Popery*, pp. 123-25; *Auricular Confession*, pp. 264-65; *Among the Mormons*, eds. Mulder and Mortensen, pp. 76-79, 101, 407; Austin N. Ward, *Male Life among the Mormons; or, the Husband in Utah* (Philadelphia, 1863), pp. 224-25, 247-48; Maria Ward, *Female Life*, pp. 378-89; Beadle, *Life in Utah*, pp. 5-9, 78-79, 178, 307, 400-1; *Women of Mormonism*, ed. Froiseth, pp. 285-87, 367-68.

¹⁹ See esp., Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1957) and Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (New York, 1914).

which had been appropriated and secularized by the Enlightenment, were at least to some degree a part of the established ideology; the defenders of those ideals were therefore in the position of defending an establishment. By their very nature, however, the sectarian ideals were diffuse and anarchic, especially if pushed to their extremes. They could lead to a repudiation of all laws, mores and social norms which limited the self-affirmation of the individual. Traditionally, they had acquired social meaning and had served as forces for unity and cohesion when pitted against the opposing power of a vast institution or corporate body. The nativist movements may thus have been somewhat regressive ways of coping with fundamental tensions and contradictions in American culture, which were the result, to speak metaphorically, of a dis-harmony between certain infantile ideals of liberation from all restraining authority, and the necessity of developing the social meanings of freedom in a modern age. If there is any truth to this hypothesis, the movements of counter-subversion provide insight into a transitional stage in the development of the American character.



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Liberal Protestantism and the "End of Innocence"

TO THE HISTORIANS OF AMERICAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT FEW EVENTS OR clusters of events have seemed so pivotal as the Protestant theological "bouleversement" of the years around 1930. Interpreters have laid great stress upon America's awakening, at that moment of deep cultural crisis, to European theologies of divine transcendence. They have remarked the sudden stirrings of new life in American seminaries after 1930, the publication of certain manifestoes which preached a need for realism about human prospects, and the meteoric rise of Reinhold Niebuhr as prime critic of progressive optimism. Other historians of our culture have been debating whether an "end of American innocence" is most readily discernible just after Versailles, just before Sarajevo, or perhaps as far back as the 1890s.¹ The theologians and church historians, however, have remained nearly unanimous in placing their theological watershed at the turn into the Depression decade.

Not infrequently, these writers have sharpened the decisive time at least metaphorically into a decisive moment. For Halford Luccock, making his contribution in 1939 to a now-famous series of autobiographical articles for the *Christian Century*, the moment had been that of the stock market crash. As Luccock put it,

Ten years ago the slide to Avernus was just beginning. On October 29, 1929,

The king was in his counting house
Counting out his money.
The queen was in the parlor
Eating bread and honey.

¹ See Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912-1917* (New York, 1959); Henry S. Commager, *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's* (New Haven, 1950); and Robert A. Skotheim, "'Innocence' and 'Beyond Innocence' in Recent American Scholarship," *American Quarterly*, XIII (Spring 1961), 93-99. A major portion of this article was given as a paper before the joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Society of Church History in December 1962.

Then the paper boy delivered the evening paper. . . . The elevator loaded with humanity, due to shoot upwards to some sixty-fifth story of a skyscraper of man's own construction, jammed at about the tenth floor and then dropped. In that drop it was not only General Motors and A. T. and T. and other similar hopes of salvation that were deflated, but faiths as well.

And other historians have fixed attention dramatically on other autumn days, such as the one in the later twenties when Douglas Horton discovered a volume of Karl Barth's sermons on the new-book shelf at Harvard Divinity School, or the one in 1932 when Scribner's brought out Reinhold Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society*.²

Such vivid renderings would not in themselves cause disquiet, even among the more single-minded defenders of the older liberalism. One may agree with Marcus Cunliffe that Americans have been abnormally insistent upon seeing their history as a series of turning-points, crossroads and *bouleversements*.³ And certainly some historians are ready to return all watersheds to the geographers, with thanks. But the more important issue is not the permissibility of the watershed device itself. The issue is the accuracy and justice of those generalizations which we offer—with or without the subtle urgings of periodizing images—about the surrounding historical terrain. In this respect the theological watershed of 1930 has been repeatedly, if not yet systematically, called into question.⁴

On no point have the older liberals and their defenders felt so ill-used as on that of the alleged consensus of naive optimism to be found on the thither slope of the Great Divide. Even their former tormentors would probably agree that definition-by-stereotype was common in the 1930s. The ironic "common creed" which Walter Lowrie dreamed up for the liberals in 1932 reflected an estimate of liberalism which was, in fact, to be part of the conversational fare in seminary refectories for at least a generation. "We still envisage the moral task," Lowrie wrote, paraphrasing the liberals,

in the figurative terms which Jesus proposed as a (10) "building up of the kingdom of God," which we understand as (11) the realization of a

² Halford E. Luccock, "With No Apologies to Barth," in the series "How My Mind has Changed in This Decade," *Christian Century*, LVI (August 9, 1939), 972; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, "Continental Influence on American Christian Thought Since World War I," *Church History*, XXVII (September 1958), 260-67.

³ "American Watersheds," *American Quarterly*, XIII (Winter 1961), 480-94.

⁴ The post-liberal side of the watershed has received more discerning as well as far more extensive study than has liberalism. For the persistence of liberal motifs after 1930, see chap. xii in Kenneth Cauthen's *The Impact of American Religious Liberalism* (New York, 1962); and chap. xx in Vol. II of H. Shelton Smith et al., *American Christianity* (New York, 1963). The standing dissent of conservative Protestantism from secular progressivism is touched upon in May, *Innocence*, pp. 123-29.

perfect human society, having no doubt that (12) man is equal to the task, (13) because man is inherently a child of God and therefore good. We cannot ignore the fact that this great end is (14) more remote than Jesus seems to have conceived, and that the chief obstacle is something that used to be called sin. But we are confident that (15) at the long last the evolutionary process will (16) eliminate this organic defect of our brute inheritance. . . .

That this was a caricature even of the "modernists" is indicated if one compares Lowrie's "creed" with that stated by Shailer Mathews in his *Faith of Modernism*.⁵

Such an estimate, nonetheless, was perhaps fair enough in the context of a Lowrie or Niebuhr tract, where it served the function a good cartoon serves on the editorial page; but liberals chafed when the cartoons took over completely, as they sometimes did. And even in that large part of the literature which could not be accused of any conscious caricature, the notion did become very fixed of an almost ludicrously naïve, man-centered American optimism awaiting chastening winds of theological change from abroad.⁶

The liberal defenders have struck back, sometimes with mild reproofs, occasionally with hyperboles to match those of the assailant. Harry Emerson Fosdick (a mild reprobator) acknowledges that an exaggerated optimism was a fact of American life before the two world wars, but calls it "fantastic" to suppose "that Christian liberals as a whole so far surrendered to it that they believed then or believe now in automatic, inevitable progress." Those who did hold the more extravagant and perfectibilitarian views, Fosdick believes, were "chastened" some years before neo-orthodoxy had been heard of. A more vehement partisan, Professor Harold DeWolf, has branded Niebuhr's description of liberalism a gross distortion, and has expressed doubt whether "the materials could be found in all the American liberal theologians together to provide for such a monstrous system of ideas."⁷ In their accompanying contention that too much emphasis is given European influences, these defenders have had support from such

⁵ Walter Lowrie, *Our Concern with the Theology of Crisis* (Boston, 1932), pp. 29-30; Shailer Mathews, *The Faith of Modernism* (New York, 1924), pp. 180-81. Reinhold Niebuhr's use, as late as 1951, of the old stereotype of liberalism can be seen in his "Coherence, Incoherence, and Christian Faith," *Journal of Religion*, XXXI (July 1951), 162.

⁶ The categories and listings in Nelson Burr's *Critical Bibliography of Religion in America* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 1076-92, reflect accurately the polarizing, in American writings, of complacent American liberals on one side, European critics and their American followers of the thirties on the other.

⁷ Fosdick, *The Living of These Days: An Autobiography* (New York, 1956), pp. 238-39; L. Harold DeWolf, *The Case for Theology in Liberal Perspective* (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 13.

- severe critics of liberalism as the Swedish theologian George Hammar, who criticized the American writers' tendency to "pass over the theological development in America, and trace it back to European theology too quickly."⁸

Despite such caveats, neither the stereotype of liberal innocence nor the trans-Atlantic fixation which goes with it has been much altered in recent writings. Walter Rauschenbusch has been gaining recognition as a realistic observer of human nature, but he is assumed to have been a "lonely prophet." His colleagues are thought to have been too busy "embracing" the secular culture to listen to anyone's doubts about the prime values of that culture.⁹ One in fact almost suspects there is an unwritten rule that criticisms of liberal progressivism from within are to be recorded only if made after 1932. Harry Emerson Fosdick's sermon of 1935, "The Church Must Go Beyond Modernism," gets three stars in most theological Baedekers, being repeatedly trotted out as a "sensational confession" by a chastened liberal. Fosdick's longer and in some ways more strident criticism of liberal optimism in 1922—which might be thought a more newsworthy item—has nearly always been ignored or explained away.¹⁰ Yet Fosdick and a number of others before 1930 were voicing very much the kind of criticism which in its 1930s form or its Rauschenbusch form has been thought important and prophetic.

Some liberals were declaiming well before the turn of the century against the Spencerian optimism of much popular preaching and popular thought. Edward Mortimer Chapman, author of *A Modernist and His Creed*, warned readers of *Bibliotheca Sacra* in 1897 that material and moral progress are not synonymous. "Nothing is more deplorable," he wrote, "than the shallow optimism that pictures this world as sailing over summer seas to blessed isles, if only men would believe it to be so." Chapman had every confidence that the Idea of the Kingdom of God was guiding human development, and decried the pessimism of Brooks Adams

⁸ Hammar, *Christian Realism in Contemporary American Theology: A Study of Reinhold Niebuhr, W. M. Horton, and H. P. Van Dusen, Preceded by a General and Historical Survey* (Uppsala, Sweden, 1940), pp. 7-8. Professor Mary Theelen observed that "the polemics of realism tend to pass over the difference among thinkers in the period before the 'thirties,'" and stated that "the over-all optimism" of the liberal group was "by no means so fatuous as Reinhold Niebuhr attempts to make out." *Man as Sinner in Contemporary American Realistic Theology* (New York, 1946), pp. 5-6. See also Daniel Day Williams, "Niebuhr and Liberalism," in *Reinhold Niebuhr: His Religious, Social, and Political Thought*, eds. Charles W. Kegley and Robert W. Bretall (New York, 1956), pp. 196-97; and Sidney E. Mead's review of *Religion in American Society*, in *Church History*, XXX (December 1961), pp. 497-501.

⁹ Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (New York, 1953).

¹⁰ Herbert W. Schneider, *Religion in Twentieth Century America* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 135; Winthrop S. Hudson, *American Protestantism* (Chicago, 1961), p. 172; Cauthen, pp. 78-80.

and others whom he saw as vying with each other in their presages of impending doom. But he thought the "chatterers" about automatic progress were "just as shortsighted, just as strabismic" as their gloomy opposites.¹¹

The *Open Court*, a journal devoted to "the science of religion and the religion of science," found a place in 1909 for an article by Walter Sonneberg—entitled "Progress: An Illusion"—which depicted the prevalent liberal doctrine as a product of modern man's conceit. Sonneberg made the point which the British historian Bury was to document so thoroughly a few years later: that the idea of progress is of quite recent date. The believers in inevitable progress, said Sonneberg, are guilty of holding a far too restricted view of human history. Fascinated by the material gains of the nineteenth century, they have drawn their cosmic conclusions from this single section of the historical activity of the race, ignoring the experience of countless earlier societies. A longer view, he said, shows that history as a whole has followed a cyclical rather than a progressive pattern, with civilization "beating and tearing at the boundary of the beyond" in one epoch and "falling back dismayed" in another.

Sonneberg added an indictment which appeared strangely out of place in the pages of the *Open Court*. Science, he warned, and evolutionary science in particular, cannot be trusted as a guide to the understanding of life. However displeasing the prospect might be "to those who must squeeze a moral from every passing molecule," scientific reasoning "carries us further and further from the fountain head of truth" when it attempts to pronounce on basic human problems. And the appeal beyond science to moral insight will probably bring a verdict that the state of modern man is as morally doubtful as it is materially successful. Modern society, like its predecessors, is "specializing"; and its special genius is technological rather than spiritual.¹²

Another kind of criticism, and the focal kind for religious thinkers, was voiced powerfully in 1913 from one of the citadels of Protestant liberalism. William W. Fenn, Dean of Harvard Divinity School and a leader of Unitarianism, criticized the liberal theology for "its amiable faith in inherent goodness." Writing in the *American Journal of Theology*, Fenn made bold to question whether liberalism could bear the weight of the tragedies of human experience. Partly because of its attachment to a monistic idealism which had come under the weather philosophically, liberal theology had failed, he suggested, to do justice to the tragedies of life and the reality of evil:

¹¹ "The Idea of the Kingdom of God," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LIV (July 1897), p. 541.

¹² *Open Court*, XXIII (December 1909), 722-30. For a recent able treatment of the *Open Court*, see Donald Harvey Meyer, "Paul Carus and the Religion of Science," *American Quarterly*, XIV (Winter 1962), 597-607.

- Here more than anywhere else, the weakness of Modern Liberalism shows itself. It may be conceded that traditional theology made too much of sin, but surely that was better than to make light of it. The prophetic curse is against those who call evil good no less than against those who call good evil, and if a Jesus rebukes the doctrine of original sin, a Judas similarly condemns that of original righteousness. To a serious thinker, Modern Liberalism often seems too jocund for life as it actually is.

Fenn came close to ridiculing the evolutionary optimism preached by some of his contemporaries. Those who preach that "every fall is a fall upward" are likely to be of little help, he warned, to persons in deep and complex trouble. Modern liberals, like their predecessor Emerson, need a Carlyle to escort them through scenes of squalor and vice, and to put Carlyle's repeated question: "Will you believe in the devil now, man?" "If all's right with the world," Fenn insisted, "something is wrong with man's moral sense." Liberalism would fail to command the respect of candid and thoughtful men if it did not "deal more justly with the crushing tragedies of life. . . . The saviors of the world have always been and always will be men of sorrows and acquainted with grief."¹³

An article of 1916 by Charles G. Shaw, Professor of Ethics at New York University, seconded this warning and documented Fenn's reference to the pessimism of "candid and thoughtful men" in secular fields. Sophisticated liberals of Shaw's type were beginning about this time to fear that liberal Protestant thought, with its ebullient humanism, would soon be as much out of phase with secular thinking as it had been before the rise of the New Theology in the 1880s; for the modification of evolutionary optimism was now proceeding apace among the scientists and literary men.¹⁴

Shaw's advocacy of a "pessimistic liberalism" may have sounded strange and contorted to the liberal clientele of the *American Journal of Theology*; but his intention, clearly enough, was to suggest an alternative to that rationalistic liberalism which he said had "writhed its way through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries," performing the emancipatory tasks which admittedly had then needed doing. Under the continued domination of this rationalistic tradition, Shaw complained, most of the work of religious liberalism had been directed exclusively toward the intellect; and he now asked whether the cognitive process were the only function of consciousness which stood in need of freedom or had the capacity to enjoy it.

¹³ William W. Fenn, "Modern Liberalism," *American Journal of Theology*, XVII (October 1913), 516-17.

¹⁴ See Clarke A. Chambers, "The Belief in Progress in Twentieth-Century America," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XIX (April 1958), 197-224; and May, *Innocence*.

Against the libertarian tradition of Voltaire, Renan, Huxley and A. D. White, Shaw set that of Goethe, Ibsen, Nietzsche and Dostoyevski. In place of a mere "liberty of the thinking process," he spoke for "the full freedom of the soul in its human unity." The better kind of liberalism, according to Shaw, is humanistic in the broadest sense. It involves freedom from the kind of parochialism and present-mindedness which prevents rationalism from seeing plausibility in any ideas save its own and those of its own age. It also implies an untrammeled insistence upon the Ideal, "and it is the harsh contrast between the Ideal and the Actual that begets the pessimistic mood." The national need of Americans, and of American religion, Shaw concluded, was for "an intensive, humanistic liberalism, even when this is sure to entertain us under the auspices of pessimism."¹⁵

The impact of the First World War upon American religious optimism was greater than is sometimes recognized. That Protestantism "continued to speak in the old way as if nothing much had happened"¹⁶ is perhaps very true of the churches, but it is somewhat less true of leading religious thinkers. The disillusionment of many who had expected the evangelization of the world in their generation was symbolized by the black riband Walter Rauschenbusch wore; and a heightened questioning was reflected in Rauschenbusch's writings even during the brief period before his death in 1918. Shailer Mathews testified that "the outbreak of the war . . . shattered all optimism." John Wright Buckham, one of the historians of liberalism, in 1924 wrote that "the seismic thrust of the Great War and its aftermath has overthrown the air castles which the opening of the 20th century encouraged us to build. . . . Progress, as we have come to realize since the great apostasy, is not an inevitability, but an instrument."¹⁷ And Reinhold Niebuhr in 1928 recalled that

when the war started I was a young man trying to be an optimist without falling into sentimentality. When it ended and the full tragedy of its fratricides had been revealed, I had become a realist trying to save myself from cynicism. . . . My religion was revamped, as was that of many a contemporary. . . . Vanished were all the hopes of automatic process.¹⁸

¹⁵ Charles Gray Shaw, "Two Types of Liberalism," *American Journal of Theology*, XX (July 1916), 360-71. Shaw, trained both in theology and in philosophy, wrote *Christianity and Modern Culture*, 1906, and ten other books.

¹⁶ Ahlstrom, "Continental Influence," *Church History*, XXVII, 260.

¹⁷ H. Shelton Smith, *Changing Conceptions of Original Sin* (New York, 1955), pp. 198-206; Mathews, *New Faith for Old* (New York, 1936), pp. 196-97; Buckham, "The Christian Platonism of Dean Inge," *Journal of Religion*, IV (January 1924), 82-83.

¹⁸ "What the War Did to My Mind," *Christian Century*, XLV (September 27, 1928), 1161-62. ("Process" may have been "progress" in the manuscript.) Professor Niebuhr, in a conversation with the author (April 21, 1961), minimized the extent of his own disenchantment with liberal optimism during the 1920s. But see, in addition to the

Foreign intellectual influences upon the critique of progress were felt at this time, but they were British rather than German influences. John B. Bury's *Idea of Progress*, which scotched some of the illusions, appeared in 1921; and the doubting, frequently dark ruminations of such English churchmen as Dean Inge and L. P. Jacks appeared extensively in American journals. Jacks, shortly after the outbreak of the war, wrote that a damaging blow had been dealt the reputation of human nature, and predicted that "the theology which interprets religion as the pursuit of moral excellence will remain below the horizon for some time to come." Dean Inge asked Americans whether Emerson (rapidly becoming a Pippa-Pollyanna figure in this literature) could have turned his "graceful epigrams" had he lived in Belgium in 1914, or in Armenia in 1915.¹⁹

Some American theologians—Shailer Mathews, George Gordon, Henry Churchill King—found that they could, after all, improve the occasion of the War for another round of fairly ebullient optimism.²⁰ But Jacks and Inge also had their counterparts in this country, at least on the question of human progress. The most prominent of these were Willard L. Sperry and Harry Emerson Fosdick.

Sperry, the Congregational minister and teacher who the following year was to become Dean of Harvard Divinity School, in 1921 published *The Disciplines of Liberty*, one portion of which argued the need for "A Modern Doctrine of Original Sin." At no point, Sperry wrote, did modern Liberal Protestantism stand in such sharp contrast to historic Christianity as in its indifference to the "initial mood of Christian experience," that is to man's consciousness of sin and of his own need for repentance. A religion which appeals instead to a presumed consciousness of original goodness, to moral self-complacency, "would not have been recognized before 1850 as the Christian religion. . . . Most of the deeper stuff of our spiritual heritage is concerned with the healing of the ills of the human conscience." The Church's too-ready acquiescence in modern man's satisfied view of himself was, Sperry thought, a betrayal of this heritage and a

above, his articles, "Can Schweitzer Save Us from Russell?" *Christian Century*, XLII (September 3, 1925), 1093-95; and "Our Secularized Civilization," *ibid.*, XLIII (April 22, 1926), 508-10. Niebuhr was not yet placing achievement of the highest human goals "beyond history," but he was clearly ridiculing the earlier liberal optimism.

¹⁹ L. P. Jacks, "A Theological Holiday—and After," *Hibbert Journal*, XIV (October 1915), 14; William R. Inge, "The Justice of God in History," *Constructive Quarterly*, IV (September 1916), 442-43. See also Jacks, "England's Experience with the Real Thing," *Yale Review*, n.s. 4 (September 1916), 442-43; Inge, *The Idea of Progress* (Oxford, 1920); "Religion in England after the War," *Yale Review*, n.s. 10 (January 1921); "Is Sin Obsolete?" *Christian Century*, XL (November 22, 1923); Claude C. H. Williamson, "Progress," *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXI (July 1921).

²⁰ See, for example, King's *A New Mind for the New Age* (New York, 1920).

prime reason for "the apparent impotence of the Christian religion in modern society."

The remedy did not lie, however, in any return to mere incantation of theological tradition. "To say 'In Adam's fall we sinned all,'" Sperry remarked, "is to say nothing to this generation." Nor was he recommending campaigns against ancient peccadilloes—dancing, and sleeping in church, and drinking too many mugs of mead. Such sins, while deplorable enough in their way, were not the ones for which Paul, or Luther, or Edwards suffered an agonized conscience. Modern man, said Sperry, could be helped neither by outmoded terminology nor by a superficial moralism; what he needed from the Church was a restatement of the doctrine of original sin in intelligible and credible terms.

For help in formulating such a restatement, Sperry, like Charles Shaw, advised the theologians to turn to their contemporaries in the various fields of secular thought: "The true successors to the Calvinist with his agonized conscience and his initial dogma of original sin are to be found to-day among the biologists, the psychologists, the novelists and the dramatists." In statements such as Huxley's famous chiding of the moral evolutionists, and in the writings of Tolstoy, Wells, Galsworthy and G. B. Shaw, Sperry found something close to the traditional Christian understanding of human guilt. For these neo-Calvinists man is "not so much a sinner in nature as a sinner through society." Yet in their writings "one is still in the presence of the agonized human conscience. . . . Although it now speaks a new dialect, its central consciousness is qualitatively unchanged."

In some of these writers—George Bernard Shaw, for example—one would find only moral diagnosis, Sperry acknowledged, not the note of repentance. But the churches, he argued, were even further from the penitential mood. Through all the war years, despite ample reasons for humility and reassessment, Sperry could not recall a single official voice in Christendom which had begun to rise to the moral level of Lincoln's Second Inaugural.²¹

Harry Emerson Fosdick's *Christianity and Progress* appeared a year after Sperry's book. If any Protestant had a right to call himself a liberal in the early twenties it was Fosdick; and his volume of 1922 is among the best evidences for the existence of a serious liberal criticism-from-within. Fosdick's analysis did not involve a return to theological orthodoxy (although some of his distressed colleagues were sure that it did); and his book did not reject outright the doctrine of progress. It was rather an attempt, within a framework of acceptance and advocacy, to save the doctrine of progress from its friends:

²¹ Willard L. Sperry, *The Disciplines of Liberty; The Faith and Conduct of the Christian Freeman* (New Haven, 1921), pp. 59-80.

A recent writer considers it possible that 'over the crest of the hill the Promised Land stretches away to the far horizons smiling in eternal sunshine.' The picture is nonsense. All the progress this world ever will know waits upon the conquest of sin. Strange as it may sound to the ears of this modern age, long tickled by the amiable idiocies of evolution popularly misinterpreted, this generation's deepest need is not these dithyrambic songs about inevitable progress, but a fresh sense of personal and social sin.²²

Like Sperry and others, Fosdick deplored the lack of repentance in the postwar generation and chided the men of religion for their untimely reticence about the most difficult human problems. Liberal preachers, still enthralled by Tennysonian visions of "every green ravine a garden," would do well, Fosdick wrote, to heed the quite opposite conclusions of such scientists as Faye and Rutherford, whose findings indicated that the earth, "once uninhabitable, will be uninhabitable again." To thoughtful men, he said, it had become clear that there is no scientific basis whatever for belief in the inevitability of progress.²³

Later "neo-orthodoxy" would not share Fosdick's tenacious confidence that the grosser marks of original sinfulness are to be overcome and left behind in the upward struggle of civilization. Fosdick himself was later to admit that "Reinhold Niebuhr's haunting analysis of sin . . . was not in our minds then, and our thinking would have been better balanced if it had been there." That which did show clearly, however, in Fosdick's volume as it had in Sperry's, was an element often assumed to have been missing entirely in major liberal documents—namely a reiterated insistence that "moral evil is still the central problem of mankind."²⁴

The acknowledged contrast between Fosdick's position and that of Niebuhr was, moreover, a contrast with the neo-orthodoxy of 1939 far more than with that of 1932. Fosdick's exploration of the relationship between individual and social sin, though to be sure it would eventually be turned on its head by the Niebuhr of the Gifford Lectures, was an almost literal foreshadowing of the central thesis of *Moral Man and Immoral Society*. "We may be unselfish personally," Fosdick wrote, "but we group ourselves into social units . . . where we, being individually unselfish with reference to the group, are satisfied with ourselves, but where all the time the group itself is not unselfish." And Fosdick was of course not alone or even original in this prefiguring of the early Niebuhrian analysis; the distinc-

²² *Christianity and Progress* (New York, 1922), p. 175.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 177, 32-33, 38.

²⁴ Fosdick, *Living of These Days*, p. 239; *Christianity and Progress*, p. 178.

tion was one which Rauschenbusch, Mathews and others had long since made current in the Social Gospel literature.²⁵

By the mid-twenties the self-criticism of American liberals had gone at least far enough that the *Christian Century* could write of "the impotence of liberalism" as a presupposition rather than as a conclusion. The young Reinhold Niebuhr could take it for granted that the idea of progress had been discredited, and could assert in 1925 that "the liberal religious world view is intellectually as untenable as it is morally impotent." Some perceptive critics, in other words, were already conscious of a rather considerable undermining of liberal optimism, and were beginning to raise questions about the entire fabric of liberal thought rather than one or more strands in the fabric. This was several years before Douglas Horton published his translation of Barth. It was, in fact, a year before Professor Gustav Krüger of Giessen, lecturing in 1926 at Union Seminary, launched into a subject which, as he said, had not previously been expounded in English: the "theology of crisis."²⁶

In spite of these and other evidences of an explicit liberal self-criticism before the 1930s,²⁷ one might wonder whether we are not simply adding a few names to the list of "lonely prophets." The usual assumptions about liberalism, surely, would lead us to view these critics as solitary doubting dolphins in the seas of liberal euphoria. But this can be argued only by leaving out of account the substantial number of implicit critics of the idea of progress, the liberals who were never to be chastened of a facile evolutionary optimism—mainly because they had never embraced one in the first place.

A recent study, reflecting the standard interpretation, repeatedly asserts that Protestant liberals "generally" or even "universally" held the evolu-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83, 185. Niebuhr in 1932 was to state his case as follows: "The thesis to be elaborated in these pages is that a sharp distinction must be drawn between the moral and social behavior of individuals and of social groups. . . . Individual men may be moral in the sense that they are able to consider interests other than their own in determining problems of conduct, and are capable, on occasion, of preferring the advantages of others to their own. . . . But all these achievements are more difficult, if not impossible, for human societies and social groups." *Moral Man and Immoral Society: A Study in Ethics and Politics* (New York, 1932), p. xi.

²⁶ Editorial, "Impotent Liberalism," *Christian Century*, XLIII (February 11, 1926), 167-68; Niebuhr, "Can Schweitzer Save Us from Russell?" *Christian Century*, XLII (September 3, 1925), 1094; Krüger, "Theology of Crisis: Remarks on a Recent Movement in German Theology," *Harvard Theological Review*, XIX (July 1926), 227-58.

²⁷ The consciously-revised view may be seen also in Robert Shafer, "Progress through Science," *Open Court*, XXXVI (February 1922), 65-77; "A Critical View of Progress," *Open Court*, XXXVI (March 1922), 159-73; F. W. Fitzpatrick, "The Law of Progress," *Open Court*, XXXVI (August 1922), 472-80; George W. Richards, "Is There Progress?" *Reformed Church Review*, 5th Ser., IV (January 1925), 1-22. See also Melvin C. Hunt, "What Price Optimism?" *Christian Century*, XLV (March 8, 1928), 312-13.

tionists' easygoing view of sin as mere reversion to animalism.²⁸ Yet Borden P. Bowne, the *doyen* of Boston personalism, not only rejected the evolutionary explanation of evil; he derided it as "infantile." William Newton Clarke of Colgate, one of the great liberal systematizers, held that theories of man's origin in no way account for sin, and insisted that while it may be part of God's purpose to bring an end to sin, "there is nothing in sin or in man to accomplish it." Washington Gladden and William Adams Brown both thought reversion to animalism might partially explain sin; but both also called the theory inadequate. Both, like critics in the later post-liberal era, pointed to the perversity of that human will which persistently misuses its freedom. Brown contended that historic theology had been right "in its contention that neither the animal nature nor the social environment are of themselves enough to account for sin." "To sin," Brown wrote, "is not simply to remain on the plane of animal existence."²⁹

Among serious theologians—as perhaps contrasted with popular preachers, lecturers and authors—even the enthusiastic evolutionists refused to be quite so ebullient as we have often tried to make them. Rauschenbusch's realism was apparent even before the saddening experience of World War I; as early as 1907 he was tempering his enthusiasm with reflections on "the ruins of dead nations and civilizations," and was warning that "history laughs at the optimistic assumption that 'nothing can stand in the way of human progress.'"³⁰ Eugene Lyman sounded the same warning in 1910, Newman Smyth as far back as 1892. Even George Gordon and Shailer Mathews, both of whom were among the most fervently optimistic of the evolutionists, disavowed facile views of human sin. "Sin is not mistaken thinking," Mathews wrote, "it is actual degeneracy of personality." And Lyman Abbott, arch-advocate of evolutionary theology, warned explicitly and strongly against certain of the more naïve conclusions others were drawing from some of his own arguments.³¹

The examples could be extended. They do not prove that Clarke or

²⁸ Cauthen, *Impact of Liberalism*, pp. 51, 98, 119, 135, 136, 159, 181.

²⁹ Bowne, *Philosophy of Theism* (New York, 1887), pp. 221, 227-28, 235; Clarke, *Outline of Christian Theology* (New York, 1899), pp. 222-26, 476-77; Gladden, *Present Day Theology* (Columbus, Ohio, 1913), chap. iv, pp. 73-74 et passim; Brown, *Christian Theology in Outline* (New York, 1906), pp. 276, 274.

³⁰ *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (New York, 1907), p. 279.

³¹ Lyman, *Theology and Human Problems* (Boston, 1910), p. 166; Smyth, *Christian Ethics* (New York, 1892), Pt. I, chap. v; Mathews, *Faith of Modernism*, p. 100; Abbott, *Theology of an Evolutionist* (Boston, 1897), pp. 91-92, 45, and chap. viii passim. Gordon warned that "the theology that would save itself from shallowness and contempt must renew its vision of sin." *Humanism in New England Theology* (Boston, 1920), p. 80. For further evidence of the prevalence of a balanced view of progress, see Daniel Day Williams, *The Andover Liberals: A Study in American Theology* (New York, 1941), pp. 46, 63, 74, 81-83.

Gladden—or, certainly, Abbott—had what a later generation in its wisdom would consider an “adequate” comprehension of evil. They do, however, help one understand why Fosdick in a recent interview reacted with some surprise when it was suggested that he was alone or even bold in his criticism of the idea of progress in 1922.³² And they suggest that further intensive studies of the Protestant liberals may confirm the suspicion that the theologians in this school—whether “evangelical” or modernist—cannot be assumed to have adhered to the Spencerian consensus of popular liberal preaching. Some did and some did not. Those who did not were sufficient in number and influence to nurture a vital and articulate tradition of liberal self-criticism. Admittedly, such dissenters were not radical enough or alienated enough to qualify as Underground Men. But by the same token, the critics of progress were widely heard and read by the very generation who were later to come under the spell of European crisis theology. Fosdick, as the theologian Walter Marshall Horton recalls, for some years before 1930 had been making all his homiletics students write sermons on “The Perils of Liberalism.”³³ Is it conceivable that we might open the unheard-of question as to who chastened whom?

Probably not. And even more probably there will be no warrant for trying to demolish the entire massive theological watershed of 1930. The mere thought of the chaos introduced in the world of dissertations and monographs is enough to dissuade us. More importantly, the fact which the metaphor at its best claims to represent—the coming of a perceptible change of mood among certain theologians around 1930—does seem unassailable. But surely greater attention should be given to the internal differences and internal dynamics of American religious liberalism. We need to approach the field with a minimum of preconceptions about what these people are supposed to have believed—and even more, perhaps, with a minimum of the insider’s foreboding knowledge of their coming debacle.³⁴

³² Interview with the author, April 21, 1961.

³³ Horton, *Realistic Theology* (New York, 1934), pp. 33n., 4n. Similarly, James Luther Adams of Harvard, who was among those instrumental in introducing Tillich’s theology in America and England, gives credit to the early critical work of Deans Fenn and Sperry; see his “The Changing Reputation of Human Nature,” *Journal of Liberal Religion*, IV (Summer 1942 and Winter 1943), 62-63, 151-52. Adams was himself strongly influenced by Sperry, and recalls in particular Sperry’s advocacy of the ideas of L. P. Jacks. Conversation with the author, February 1, 1961.

³⁴ “But we know, *don’t we!*” was the insider’s line in one of the radio mystery scripts of the 1930s. One almost hears this same expression in the friendly condescension of some writers toward liberals who believed themselves in dead earnest about evil. See, for example, Professor Cauthen’s remark about both Rauschenbusch and Fosdick that they “meant to take sin seriously.” *Impact of Liberalism*, pp. 79, 97 (italics mine). Cauthen is acutely aware of the dangers of subjective historical writing, yet until his final chapter he remains hampered, in the interpretation of his own findings, by the

We should also take greater pains to compare likes with likes. It is scarcely valid to compare the lawn-social, Rotarian level of religion in the 1920s—over which “the banner of Normalcy fluttered listlessly”—with an esoteric theological radicalism in the religious world of the 1930s. Similarly, to build the picture of “liberal theology” around popular preaching, then to compare that with later expressions of sophisticated theological writing, is more than the use of a typology: it is typology beginning to run wild.³⁵

On the other side, of course, overstatement and overcompensation are dangers in any attempt to call attention to the self-critical strain in liberalism. The scholar intent on “doing justice” to liberal realism will have to sheathe his sword long enough to re-read some of the utterly utopian effusions which did appear in the writings of liberal theologians around 1900. Professor DeWolf is simply wrong on that point. You can indeed find examples of the liberalism of the early neo-orthodox caricatures, and you can obtain them without pasting together fugitive utterances of different theologians.³⁶ As late as 1926, the venerable *Reformed Church Review* could print the following flourish of doggerel at the close of a supposedly learned treatment of the idea of progress:

This world that we're a-livin' in
Is mighty hard to beat;
You git a thorn with every rose,
But ain't the roses sweet?³⁷

The most one can say, perhaps, for liberalism at the popular level is that the existence of thorns as well as roses was being recognized by the 1920s. The point is, however, that at another more serious level, liberals with a reasonable sense of historical perspective had been hurling Bowne's charge of “infantilism” against the Euphoric Tradition from the 1880s onward; and that they were still denouncing that tradition on the day when Douglas Horton perused a copy of Barth at Dean Sperry's divinity school.

customary exaggeration of the discontinuities between liberal and post-liberal thought. For descriptions largely free of such condescension, see S. E. Ahlstrom, “Theology in America,” in *The Shaping of American Religion*, eds. James W. Smith and A. L. Jamison (Princeton, 1961), pp. 287-303; and Vol. II of *American Christianity*, by H. Shelton Smith, Robert T. Handy and Lefferts A. Loetschner.

³⁵ Ahlstrom, “Continental Influence,” *Church History*, XXVII, 260, 264-67; and “Theology and the Present-Day Revival,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCCXXXII (November 1960), 21-24; Winthrop Hudson, *American Protestantism*, pp. 135-43, 171-73.

³⁶ See, for example, George Harris, *Moral Evolution* (Boston, 1896); Henry C. King, *The Moral and Religious Challenge of Our Times* (New York, 1911); Gerald B. Smith, *Social Idealism and the Changing Theology* (New York, 1913).

³⁷ H. A. Fesperman, “Is the World Growing Better?” *Reformed Church Review*, V (July 1926), 245.

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An American Theater Motif: The Psychodrama

THE PSYCHODRAMA, WHICH I CAPITALIZE GRATUITOUSLY, IS A DISTINCTLY minor form of clinical practice. But I think its moral motivation and express theatrical pattern far more significant in American culture than its psychiatric limits technically suggest. Actually, it is the private therapy of the mentally and emotionally handicapped individual turned into a collective enterprise. In what may be termed the ritual of the Psychodrama, the individual patient tries to explicate his dilemma in terms of pantomime, possibly words too, before a small audience of others like himself: those with similar difficulties. The psychiatrist functions as a stage-manager director without script, more like the moderator of a discussion panel than like a stage director. Group therapy is but a less theatricalized version of the Psychodramatic session, which may take place on an actual stage or platform. In group therapy, a round robin of storytellers (groping autobiographers) replaces the actor-patient in the spotlight.

However fragmentary, even chaotic, a session of either sort of therapy may be, its social implications are fairly obvious and simple. It is a form of communication among individuals, each of whom has the right to be both hero and critic—critic of another as well as himself. Historically, in terms of drama as an art form, the monologue may well come to mind here. Because the subject matter of *Hamlet*, for instance, is deeply involved with psychological mysteries, that play's soliloquist may spring up in the same thought. Is not Hamlet acting out a sort of Psychodrama for an uninitiated audience, the court of Denmark, and is not the Ghost, to this audience, an express element of Hamlet's imagination? Many features of this hero's fame attest to the conclusion that he is a prophetic "Psychodramatist." In this century, however, the uniqueness of his historic enigma has been permanently altered by Pirandello's plays.

Pirandello's *Six Characters in Search of an Author* are members of one family, ordinary people with ordinary problems, who feel the strange

need of acting out their difficulties before a public audience. Like the people who used to expose their private lives in the former American radio program, "Court of Human Relations," they wish to be judged by something beyond the moral standards prevailing among them as a family because their domestic conflicts have balked, defeated and sundered them. If they cannot be put together again, they at least wish to define themselves as individuals, so they can be free to act, to begin their lives anew. But even this, in the case of Pirandello's "six characters," is in doubt owing to the power of the family idea that has such a grip on them.

Here we have only a description of many a clinical patient's more or less overt dilemma. In a curiously direct and persuasive form, the Psychodramatic motif has invaded American movies by way of a film called *The Savage Eye*. It is significant that this film emanated around three years ago, from the very heart of commercial filmdom, Hollywood, having been made by Hollywood professionals as an independent, presumably very sincere, expression of feeling. It concerns a young woman whose private life seems ruined by a recent divorce from a husband with whom she is still in love (or thinks she is still in love) but from whom divorce was necessary, apparently, for reasons of personal dignity. In the erotic sense, she has been "robbed." She therefore has to reclaim her lost integrity, her lost pride, and invent a new life. The conduct of the young divorcée in this film, however serious as involving a recognizable human problem, is open to the suspicion of what is known technically in psychology, and loosely in society, as "exhibitionism." In a sense, Hamlet himself attracts this suspicion.

In a time of publicity-seeking by nonprofessionals as well as professionals, exhibitionism is a highly charged word. It becomes oddly supercharged by *The Savage Eye*. The relation of its story to old-fashioned "soap opera" (surviving today in certain comic strips) cannot be missed. It has a corny naïveté of its own. You may feel that what the hopelessly confused, growingly cynical heroine needs is a "Mary Worth": the matriarchal fixer on the loose. In this light the style of the film becomes remarkable. First of all, it is photography, not popular illustration; second, it is *candid* photography for the most part; that is, while many scenes are obviously staged, there are many which are such social "documents" as the camera has long been providing. Some stretches (for instance, in a department store and at an airport) seem taken on the sneak, the work of a hidden camera. Others seem the result of invading certain commercial establishments (a beauty parlor and a yoga studio) with the proprietor's permission and a simple direction to the customers: "Just act natural, please!"

According to news stories, the final "Psychodramatic" form seems to have been an afterthought to haul together, shape presentably, the findings of this "savage eye" of the truthful film camera. But why a specifically *savage eye*? Cantor, as brutal, is a well-known aim of documentary trends and likewise a constant ambition of certain schools of still-photography. What modulates *The Savage Eye* in the midst of its journalistic candor is its soundtrack, which carries the stream-of-consciousness of the young divorcée, this being varied in turn by the voice of a self-identified, smooth-talking Guardian Angel who sounds (he is never seen) like one of the more voice-cultured radio announcers. I suggest that the function of the Guardian Angel is parallel with that of the Psychodrama's stage-manager director; he succeeds in being romantic and supernatural only because of his archaic descriptive tag of "Guardian Angel." Objectively, he is merely the voice of private conscience that issues "warnings" and otherwise tries to "help." Having definitely drifted from his supervision, the young woman tries out a Faith Tabernacle. After absorbing a prodigious amount of its antics, she rushes hysterically out to her car and speeds off—nowhere. On the highway, not unnaturally, she has an accident, from which she is carried unconscious into an ambulance. In her fight for self-rehabilitation, she seems to have lost the last round.

The Savage Eye, attempting to be realistic, uses reality to show some of the orthodox social maneuvers of the masses to solve loneliness, old age, disappointment and other personal problems. One maneuver is the Social Bar; another is the loose-change Gambling Casino where, win or lose, one may have one's lunch. Another is the Yoga Studio, where one is introduced to passive body-distortions as interesting replacements of normal postures; another is merely the hat shoppe where ladies go to acquire one more lure to obtain a new husband or a new lover. All this, according to the divorcée's reactions on the soundtrack, is repellent, sometimes (as at a strip-tease entertainment and a "drag" ball) downright vicious. In the climactic spectacle of the Faith Tabernacle, it is as horrifying to the heroine as would be the sight of a Black Mass to a Catholic. The heroine's recuperation from the accident strikes a note of hope and the movie concludes with a sentimental fillip of optimism. Apparently, the row of blood donors is a symbol of the group's healthy re-absorption of "lost" individuals through a return to simple humanity and its basic needs. Beyond that, the film's makers have thought of nothing save an echo of "avant-garde" dream somnambulism to state that the heroine has escaped some delusive vulgar solution through shock treatments administered by "the savage eye." Before she tries "life" again, she actually seems ripe for the Psychodrama as the next step.

• The English industry once did the story of a young concert pianist who suffered an auto accident in the course of searching, vainly, for true love. It was not till a psychiatrist started giving her a drug, under which she could relive her past, that she realized her true love was her former piano teacher; then she could also remember how to play again. The fact is that the divorcee of *The Savage Eye*, seriously speaking, could well take up The Method after being discharged from the hospital; that is, she could take up theatrical performance as the individual's perpetual "psychological problem." The Method, derived from the Stanislavski Method, is an institution in the American theater: the Actors' Studio in New York. Many directors and actors of stage and screen are its successful graduates, and at least two great stars, Marlon Brando and the late Marilyn Monroe, are widely thought to have been "made" by it. One may observe of these two popular actors that their private difficulties in past years have received some very open publicity. In the case of Miss Monroe, her private life and her professional life overlapped at a truly Pirandellian angle inasmuch as the star's relations with her husband, Arthur Miller, came to a crisis in Reno while she was making there *The Misfits*, a film about a neurotic woman's divorce.

What is proudly termed The Method runs into some trouble with veteran actors as well as, allegedly, into some trouble with itself. Ingrid Bergman, after playing in television with a new American "Method" actor, Rip Torn, told a newspaper reporter that she thought Mr. Torn's acting very good but that, nevertheless, a Method actor seemed to make "trouble for himself." It was widely reported by the press that John Huston, who directed *The Misfits*, had some difficulty with the star, who at one point abruptly absented herself from work on the film. Anna Magnani, of all actresses, cannot be called hardened in the mold of the professional tradition. Yet, according to Tennessee Williams, it was Miss Magnani who (rather unfamiliar with English, the language she was using) became flustered during scenes in *The Fugitive Kind* by Marlon Brando's habit of being behind her cues and even inventing lines she had not heard before. This was how Mr. Williams accounted for his view that, in this film, Miss Magnani gave a performance below her usual level.

All this may be somewhat mysterious to those uninformed of the nature of The Method. The Method initiates the actor into a strong rapport with the role being played so that the edges between life and artifice, the private individual and the actor, necessarily become fluid and vague. This means that the given script, as such, is subject to change. In *One-Eyed Jacks*, a film which Brando directed and whose lead he played, he was reported by *Life* to have instructed his actors (in scenes re-shot and re-shot) to make up their own lines with only the gloss of the plot to guide them.

He coached them by showing them how well *he* could get along without memorized lines. Surely, in a film molded by the classic saga of the good-bad outlaw of the Old West, one can appreciate the worth of something intending to make it look fresh. But the hero-myths of nineteenth-century fiction—such as, for example, Natty Bumppo's—are so archaic that The Method, as a form of resuscitation, looks touchingly naïve.

The treatment of *One-Eyed Jacks* is, in a way, as naïve as that of *The Savage Eye*. As judged by modern experience—that is, by its standards of moral reason—the story of the good-bad outlaw of a bygone day erects “fictions” fully as sentimental and redundant as those vulgar efforts of modern society to create ideal and efficient moral goals such as *The Savage Eye* exposes. If the romantic fictions of the former are deliberately manipulated to seem attractive rather than repellent, they are just as absurd, just as sentimental, as those from which the heroine of the latter has an understandable revulsion. The major difference between these two theatrical fictions seems to be that one is very broad and monolithic, a “mass entertainment,” the other a set of small populist cults whose theatricalism is divided from the big professional theater. My theme is that the Psychodrama is the nexus between the one theatricalism and the other. The Method is really an agent or vehicle of this nexus.

What has Brando been able to do with the old-fashioned Western of vintage period (1880-85) through The Method? He has logically touched the spirit of the Psychodrama. The Psychodrama is, so to speak, a one-man theater with an audience of potential actors under the charge of a new-fashioned psychiatrist. The Psychodramatist's own unconscious helps and so does the “coaching” of the psychiatrist; so does the spectacle of other Psychodramatists engaged, it is likely, with very similar “scripts.” Let us consider in passing the professional one-man theater, whose American exponents have been monologists such as Ruth Draper and Cornelia Otis Skinner. Of course, they adhered to given scripts. But sometimes these were written by themselves; moreover, their “theater” was a succession of imaginary selves so that their art was limited to ever renewed effort to be “somebody else.” The abstraction from drama as a collective form of expression is the same as in the Psychodrama. But according to The Method, this abstraction is the actor's *normal* way of *participating in* a play. He makes up his own speeches in given situations *as though* he were playing “himself,” *as though* he were living “life.”

A professional phenomenon that helps us comprehend the Method actor's viewpoint is the existence in popular art of performers who always “play themselves” anyway. This is true of most film comedians; one need mention only W. C. Fields and Charlie Chaplin as men whose personali-

ties (and this was even true of Chaplin when he invented a double) were the public images of their private temperaments. Mae West is, and was, simply Mae West, and so was Mary Pickford till she had to mature. Then there was Garbo. Her public had been so much in love with her romantic mystery, abysmal voice and eyes haunted by a past and shaded by sinister black eyelashes, that both she and her public became confused when she tried to be "somebody else." Marlon Brando, because of distinct personal traits, has come to be in much the same position as Garbo. For him to "act roles" in the sense that Laurence Olivier does would not only be intolerable; it would seem unnatural.

Brando's personality fits so well into his role as Rio the Kid in *One-Eyed Jacks* because he plays a grown-up, permanently rebellious child, strangely isolated in a brooding privacy, perhaps nursing some profound, elusive hurt, beautiful physically, and as tender as he is tough. To some extent, all these qualities are familiar as those of the American "criminal hero." But Brando is supercharged with them. He is a criminal in this film and a quasi or potential criminal in past films; he simply carries the atmosphere of the "innocent sinister" like Mark Antony's mantle. There have been lots of Western heroes, with the seamy side plainly written on their faces, who have had to be reformed in their maturity or have carried their lonely good-bad ambiguity into the distance with them. Brando's image, on the other hand, is that of the juvenile delinquent whose rebellion has survived; the grown-up "boy" still mystified by his responsibilities as an adult.

Brando is instinctively right to coach himself in the stance of the Method actor, for in this way he stays closest to the personality-type I have indicated. He is quite old enough to have seams in his face (as candid shots of him prove) but in *One-Eyed Jacks*, excellently photographed in color, he wears a seam-suppressing make-up, dramatically lit and registered by a cameraman who knows how to bring out the actor's ideal qualities. Hence, the truth is that Brando's face and his person are seen with the maximum of artifice. He is so graceful that at moments he looks balletic without losing virility: the male dancer's ideal achievement. He even has the lightninglike rapidity that defines the brilliant balletic style when reaching its climaxes. This accomplishment is the more remarkable in that it is precisely when Brando shows sudden violence, indeed explosive savagery, that his stylish brilliance, in *One-Eyed Jacks*, comes to the fore.

In his case, The Method provides that tension of inner alertness that projects character spontaneously, with *inspiration*, to the audience. "Living one's role" has long been a part of the theatrical idiom. But an extra dimension is given it by The Method. Both in psychology and fiction,

modern researches in personality and behavior have revealed the presence of the involuntary act arising from the unconscious and completed without the consent of the conscious. Albert Camus, in *The Stranger*, created a hero whose personality and fate are entirely governed by such an act. The pattern of the "involuntary" act can easily be seen in *One-Eyed Jacks* in those cases where Brando, after a period of more or less conscious brooding, uncontrollably explodes into action—always wreaking destruction. This pattern, of course, has many ancestors in the repertory of romantic fiction. Here it has a special, very channelized function.

It is a "sign" which an initiated audience perfectly understands both because of Brando and the thinking customs of our time. Event by event, Rio's conduct becomes increasingly the result of being more "put upon" than "putting upon." He has learned all he knows as the result of bitter experience, the experience of outraged "innocence," and his character is simply a carefully coached reflex-action to the aggression of others. There is no secret made of the fact, from the film's very beginning, that Rio the Kid is a bank robber who often shoots to kill. Then he is betrayed by a close confederate, and starts out (according to the Western stereotype) on his revenge-mission after suffering enough in prison to lend this mission the color of righteousness.

No mature movie-goer can complain that there is anything unorthodox about the plot and look of *One-Eyed Jacks*. The plot could not be more type-tailored; we have seen it literally thousands of times and its settings here are simply glorious. Yet its manipulation is subtly marked with still further novelty by The Method. In the dialogue, a great deal is made of the fact that people *lie*. The original betrayal of Rio is the withdrawal of a promise to rescue him from capture. Even before that, Rio is portrayed as a fraudulent love-maker who tells a woman he is giving her a ring worn by his mother when he has just stolen the said ring. Later, when inevitably he meets his true love, a really pure girl, he proceeds to seduce her by a similar deception in which a necklace he has just bought plays the same role. This time the seduction is successful and the girl conceives an illegitimate baby. But she lies to her stepfather (the object of Rio's revenge), and though she confesses to her mother, her mother in turn lies to her husband. This world of fraud, this round-robin of lies, is familiar in crime films; it is *supposed* to be there. But no one is prepared to deny its moral viciousness, or the moral viciousness of bloody cruelty which may go hand in hand with it.

I maintain that The Method has done a great deal to make this familiar world of fraud more acceptable without changing it a jot. Rio is duly dissuaded from his revenge by the love of the girl he has seduced, eventually wins the underdog's smashing triumph—and tantalizingly departs at

the end on his perpetual flight from the Law, promising the girl that he may turn up again some day. Why should this incredibly tarnished stereotype deserve all the "trouble" taken by Method acting? One reason I have already given: the hero is Brando's one-man part. He played it in *The Fugitive Kind* with a guitar instead of a six-shooter; if the role was different, the person and his moral reflexes were the same. These moral reflexes, as I have noted, are communicated through the graces of The Method. But inevitably, roles in films are self-chosen when a great star plays them. Rio the Kid is played to the hilt with innocence aforethought. He is made to live (and speak) in that quasi-Pirandellian climate where the "plot," by its nature, is a suspect quantity (perhaps even a "pack of lies") and its true usefulness is the simple test of one's private integrity. If the style is the man, so, in Method acting and the Psychodrama, is the plot.

One must note the significance of the title in *One-Eyed Jacks*. The slang epithet is spoken by Brando to characterize duplicity, being based indirectly on the proverb that, if a man's eyes are too close together, he is not to be trusted. Rio's betraying confederate has become a flourishing town's sheriff, hence a model of virtue whose criminal past is unknown. Both men, meeting again at last, deceive one another by pretending to be friendly; actually, they remain enemies. If Rio, too, is duplicit because he has a grudge-mission, one senses (for reasons already given) that he alone rebels against the world of fraud to which the plot has condemned him. Isn't he oddly like Hamlet in this respect? It is the world of fraud, which hides a crime, against which Hamlet rebels. Moreover, we sense in Hamlet his rebellion against the very revenge-mission to which he has dedicated himself.

Bluntly speaking, Hamlet's world, too, is full of "one-eyed Jacks." The term comes from the profile of the black Jacks on playing cards, who keep the other sides of their faces hidden, and in this way establish a plastic relation with the man whose eyes "are too close together." Symbolically, a liar's true face is the motive which is hidden behind his visible face. Rio himself must be a one-eyed Jack, but he is a one-eyed Jack "with a difference." What is the difference? The difference is that self-promoted "innocence" of the plot which a Method actor *pretends to have*, and which a Psychodramatist, at least according to theory, *really has*. The world as a fraudulent plot is imposed on Rio no less than it is on Hamlet. The substance of their similar protests against it is consciousness of an original innocence, which has been tricked into being a medium of violence and bloodshed. The whole theory of the Psychodrama is that its uncertain, confused protagonist has also been imposed on by a plot he never made, and thus his chief business is to free himself from its entanglements. To do this,

both the Psychodramatist and the clinical patient have to invent words and acts. Each invents them as he goes along. In being an "antagonist" of himself, he is an antagonist of a certain plot, a given plot. This is just the way the divorcée of *The Savage Eye* is pictured: as the antagonist of a given plot. She lends herself in desperation to "a world she never made" and thus develops toward it a fatal allergy. The Psychodramatist of clinic or theater starts out with the idea he can turn this allergy into its own antidote: he can discover the new world of his own truth. The Method actor is debonair about the plots in which he finds himself; they are all external artifices in which the lie is basically the lie of the actor's pretense; therefore stage characters who lie offer the same problem as stage characters who tell the truth. For the Method actor draws only upon the hidden truth of *himself*.

If the sources of this contemporary American "Method," as a theater motif, are Russian and otherwise European, this is only what is true of American social origins. It is perfectly apt that, to intellectual Europe, our nation traditionally should be Cowboy-and-Indian country. The gangster was simply an urban version of a world picaresque hero who was revived here. In England, Robin Hood became a scholar's archaism after being enshrined as a romantic legend; over here, he raised fresh dust as the Lone Ranger and the fleeing gangster. Such lively vestiges as he now shows seem oddly alien in this global, and notably psychiatric, era. Yet these vestiges, via The Method, have sneaked back onto the Psychodrama's clinical stage, where the "lost" individual attempts to reintegrate with the group.

Robin Hood was a mythical gangster who might have chosen (as even the Knight Errant) to go "on his own." As a sheriff, he was put on his own, in a sociological sense, in *High Noon*, when a whole town denied him co-operation. In *One-Eyed Jacks*, he rejoins society as a cousin of the audacious district attorney of another urban myth: the hero (maybe tainted himself) who tackles, alone, organized political corruption. What survives as the moral emblem of this hero-type? His magic individualism as one who wishes (like a Huey Long) to lead and reform the group: one who has renounced it out of moral disgust, out of his own inherent virtue. The mount he always rides is our country's undying cult of personality. This cult is the Psychodrama's "ghost horse."

A newly publicized situation of the lone-wolf hero (or heroine) is that of the person of Negro blood white-looking enough to pass as a White. The pioneering film *Shadows* displays this heroism as if inadvertently. The film is declared, at its close, to be an "improvisation." So The Method as a plot has come into its own with very little help from the Popular

Formula. The plot was seemingly an organic growth from a given situation which is quite commonplace; in other words, it is of the Psychodramatic kind; the motives form spontaneously in each person's breast, the words jump to his lips. *Shadows* graduated from film society and art house showings on to Broadway, and yet the consensus of newspaper critics, while finding some interesting realism in it, felt that many stretches of its dialogue were flat and trite. Of course, the relation of *Shadows* to Chekhov's plays and short stories, in terms of style, has received almost no mention. Yet obviously, the vaguely discontented, compulsively talkative, idle semi-bohemians and smalltime theater-people of *Shadows*, on the fringe of the Beat cult, are very like Chekhov's rurally isolated, mind-loose, also compulsively talkative people, whose chatting and soliloquies are projected into the ambiguous echo-chamber of the Psychodrama. I don't mean that *Shadows* achieves the finish, beauty and depth of Chekhov's art, but that it is a remarkably fertile and living work in the true experimental sense.

The white-looking younger brother and sister, presumably half related in blood to a big-brother type, dark Negro singer who supports them, form an authentic duo in unconscious incest, complicated by the element of race-prejudice, which we see ruining the girl's first love-affair and crystallizing the younger brother's brooding frustration. Both brother and sister feel unconscious resentment against the African-looking "big brother" who is the soul of kindness to them, but who represents (in this world they "never made") an overt handicap. It is no accident that the plot tends to explode into violence just as *One-Eyed Jacks* does—and just as Chekhov's plays do. The pattern of violence always rises from a ferment of protest just beneath the social surface. The younger brother and sister are a pair of "One-Eyed Jacks" showing white on the outer side, black on the under. They do not *mean* to "deceive" but their very physical appearance leads people, who do not know their brother, to think them "white." *Shadows*, in the movement of its plot and dialogue, succeeds admirably in conveying the *quality* of the lives of brother and sister, their unique situation as members of society. The Psychodrama could do no better in this way. But in the end, there is no true revelation of the individual to himself, no elucidation of the terms of his problem, much less of its solution; that is, there is no *tragic* revelation, no *untragic* revelation. *Shadows* begins and ends like many of Chekhov's works, without dramatic emphasis, as though fortuitously.

It is not modern, and I daresay it is not even American, to be tragic. The agonie American's self-revelation is too theoretical and experimental in life to be represented as final in art. Proof of this is furnished by two

very significant American novels of recent decades: *The Great Gatsby* and *All the King's Men*, whose "heroes" are, respectively, a bigtime gangster and a bigtime politician. In both cases, there is an observer for whom they become objects of hero-worship as well as virtual alter-egos. The "stage" of their careers (both of which end disastrously with their assassination) is a platform where a sort of Psychodramatist-hero acts out a vicarious life for the hero-worshiper. In another of Scott Fitzgerald's works, *The Crack Up*, he performed a "Psychodrama" that literally predicted his own disastrous end. We may glance aside at the unfortunately publicized private life of a strictly contemporary novelist, Norman Mailer, to see the same thing taking place, not on a printed page, but in the immediate flow of life. Apparently, according to Mailer's reported statements, the explosive event that once took place in his home was an act as "involuntary" as that of Camus' "stranger," Meursault.

I suggest that the Psychodrama, as an American theater motif, is a precise sign of the search for a new, operative identity by no means confined to individuals, but of which the individual (in the theater and elsewhere) becomes a conspicuous medium. This motif has a markedly experimental cast, of which The Method is the theatrical formula. The degree of public attention gained by an off-Broadway repertory organization, The Living Theatre, tends to show the general influence of the hidden Psychodramatic aim. In one original play, *The Marrying Maiden*, the actors' lines are partly determined by a throw of the dice (based on the Chinese system of *I Ching*) so that they have the effect of projecting in echo-chambers of the hidden self. An element of the fate of the personality thus becomes *chance* itself, which here is another name for unconscious impulse. The directorial techniques of The Living Theatre (whose very name suggests an experimental fusion of reality and artifice) tend toward audience-participation and thus improvisation, or at least the illusion of improvisation.

Today, the world is very consciously concerned with systematic "curative" measures of various scopes. There are wide-range programs that, if successfully carried through, will settle social problems of far-reaching extent. Necessarily, with so many economic and political factors involved, the "experimental" note of these programs is unavoidable. For this very reason, there are ever-renewed parleys that are expected to produce, happily, some inspired idea that will have the magical effect of uniting dissident factions, of making pacific what was unpacific. Small wonder that what are known as "plots" in the theater should reflect this positively experimental and improvisational motif. Meanwhile, in our tight, tortured world, embarrassing "explosions" of discontent take place, "areas of danger" suddenly raise their alarming heads.

The value of the concept of the Psychodrama is to show us a theatrical motif that is a direct key to social truth. Perhaps we may take an ambivalent pride in the fact that this motif is peculiarly American. It is in our plays, novels and movies, where what I may risk calling the Method Hero bluntly exposes himself. I think no one represents this hero better, in the theatrical medium today, than Marlon Brando. He (this "hero") is mainly concerned with establishing, as a moral and prevailing quantity, an original *innocence*—and he does not care how much violence this aim entails. The "conquering hero" is already an anachronism. No matter how many fist-fights or gun-battles he wins, he typically remains a fugitive; he lives on the loose, unraveled end of life. What he infallibly needs is a New Start. It is for this reason that the Juvenile Delinquent is far more than the label of a classifiable social problem, far more than an under-age, vestigial "romantic hero." He is the very form of the deep moral predicament which *a hero*, by definition, must represent in our age. He is the first state of the ambiguous good-bad hero, the gangster and the racketeering politician, and in essence, in the United States, *he has replaced this hero*. In brief, he is the *maturest* hero, this man armed with a Method, that we have.

The Method, it appears, is one limited way out of the social trap, the labyrinth of confusion which is this hero's moral climate. It is *not* a given script in art or in life. *Wisdom* is a given script. The *tragic catharsis* is a given script. These are not blessings for him, the Method hero; nor are they simply models of behavior which he consents (even as theatrical make-believe) to follow. They are social platforms for the beginning of a search for personal truths that will form a practical identity, a "working" identity. In this light, a stereotyped "character" or a freshly minted, creative one are much the same in the theater or in life. The Method is superior to madness and effectively updated from the inspiration of Hamlet's creator. It accommodates anything from a punch in the nose to a dirty word; from bloody murder to murdering the script. It is an already formulated American "freedom" that has given us propulsion, and might well give us pause. In our midst on two kinds of stages, the clinic's and the theater's, it brings "acting" into attunement with life.



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Some Observations on the Concert Audience

BECAUSE THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER IS RATHER COMPLEX, AND BECAUSE limitations of space have made it perhaps too concise—gnarled, I fear—I thought it best to begin with a group of attitudes, assumptions, theses which might help to explain what I am about.

First, I am struck (and a little troubled) by a confusion in the meaning of the word "mass." In a good and recent article, Roy Harvey Pearce¹ argues for a healthy relationship between popular art and both folk and elite art. He would have us leave the way open for gifted people to move from one to another: "*My Fair Lady* to *Pygmalion*; advertising layout to Mondrian; Paddy Chayefsky to Chekov; Ted Williams to Nick Adams."² But the limitation of this article for the student attempting to define the place of the arts in American culture is that, at least to some extent, Mr. Pearce confuses mass *culture* with *a culture* under the influence of the mass media. He says that ours is the society in which mass culture "has taken deepest root."³ What we have here is a case of unintentional equivocation. Ortega y Gasset's mass man is defined as "unthinking" man; in the work of semi-pro sociologists like Mr. Pearce (and myself, or any of us who take a fling at drawing large-scale social conclusions on the basis of our competence in our own fields and our subjective understanding of others), this mass man has become confused with "man in a room with a TV set"—that is, "man under the influence of the mass media." The two are not in every way identical. Indeed, as we shall see, the two different uses of the word "mass" are derived from two sharply contrasted models of social structure.

Confusion of a related sort appears even in the works of those who should know better. Daniel Bell, in his splendid critique, "The Theory of Mass Society,"⁴ says that he doubts that western civilization can properly be understood as "mass." To make his point, he turns to an examination of American society, citing that tendency, noted by Alexis de Tocqueville, to be a nation of "joiners," and such phenomena as the

¹ "Mass Culture/Popular Culture: Notes for a Humanist's Primer," *College English*, XXIII (March 1962), 417-32. ² *Ibid.*, p. 429. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

⁴ *Commentary*, XXII (July 1956), 75-83.

surprising growth and proliferation of small newspapers. Evidence of this sort suggests that he is dealing with the word "mass" in its implications of sameness; the vigor of voluntary associations of various sorts is taken to indicate that in a world situation in which other peoples have felt themselves "lost," Americans have been able to "find" themselves by achieving status within the limits of smaller groups of their own invention. It also offers documentary evidence for the contention of liberals recently that ours is a pluralistic society, and indeed that it is this pluralism that we are fighting to maintain in the Cold War.⁵

Mr. Bell goes on to argue that since change is our norm, ". . . those consequences of change predicted by theorists basing themselves on European precedent find small confirmation." This is an extremely important point. Historians of immigration like Oscar Handlin have long argued that if there is a determining characteristic in the American personality, it is probably less the result of those frontier influences which Frederick Jackson Turner limned out than it is of that one basic trait which every immigrant almost by definition shared: something was drastically wrong with his position in the society which he left. Otherwise he would not have left. From these premises, it is possible to develop a theory of American personality based on a national capability to live with insecurity, change and social mobility. We often say of politically unstable countries that they are "not ready for a democracy"; it may be that it would be more accurate for us to say that since every new freedom brings a new insecurity, they are not yet accustomed to living with insecurity. At our best, on the other hand, we, in e.e. cumming's words, "wear the dangerous looseness of doom and find it becoming."

Curiously, having argued that American society is not "mass," and that this may be best seen by comparing it with European society, Bell ends his article by repeating that he doubts that western civilization is a mass civilization. As nearly as I can make out, what he has demonstrated, and rather convincingly, is that American society and the American social structure are radically different from what exists in Europe. Ortega y Gasset saw society as composed of a small elite with elite values and a large mass with "mass" values; the threat was that as "mass" man broke down the barrier between the two groups, he destroyed an elaborate traditional framework in many ways admirable. I doubt whether this analysis of the situation fits the American experience.

A second controlling assumption in the discussion of the concert audience which follows is this: it is a truism (or it should be) in American

⁵ See, for example, Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s contribution to "The Cold War and the West: A Symposium," *Partisan Review*, XXIX (Winter 1962), 77-81.

Studies that each field must be treated in its own terms, and that each field is in some ways peculiar. For example, if one treats an art *only* in cultural terms, one does violence to the art. As Kenneth J. LaBudde pointed out in a recent article, the naïve notion of interdisciplinary study which seemed to be a guiding force in the early days of American Studies seems pathetic in retrospect.

The correlation seemed so evident. One could perhaps show on a screen a slide of a painting such as Alexandre Houge's "Drought-Stricken Area." . . . At the same time one could play a recording of Woody Guthrie's "Dust Bowl Ballads." Now if one were really a frustrated producer, one could, I suppose, play the record softly as background music to one's reading aloud from *The Grapes of Wrath*.⁶

Proceed in this manner and all three works of art suffer. This is not to say that interdisciplinary discussion is impossible; certainly the cultural milieu out of which a work of art grows is important to an understanding of it, and if two or more arts seem to be reacting to the same cultural forces, the interdisciplinarian is probably onto something. But if he ever loses sight of the fact that changes in the different fields are not merely a reaction to historical and cultural tendencies, but also to the historical and purely artistic development of the individual field, he is clearly oversimplifying and cheating. I would be the first to agree that abstract expressionism in painting and atonalism in music bear some common relation to social conditions in our century, but I would also insist that they can be accounted for in terms of the development of each art: it is a cliché of music history that Schoenberg represents a logical step beyond Wagner; similarly, one could trace the artistic ancestry of Franz Kline back to tendencies in late-nineteenth-century French painting.

A third assumption: I will take the position that it would be a Good Thing if composers had a large and lively audience for their music. My work in this area began as an attack on music critics' ideas about how to enlarge the concert audience. It therefore seems reasonable to retain their concern; after all, it *would* be nice to have a big audience.

Social critics earlier than de Tocqueville and more recent than Ortega y Gasset have concerned themselves with the place of the arts in a democracy and, being a notoriously self-conscious people, Americans have taken them seriously. In the field of concert music in particular those who would like to help the cause of the art have been far too willing to take

⁶ "Regionalist Art and American Studies," *Journal of the Central Mississippi Valley American Studies Association*, II (Fall 1961), 49-65, 57.

the warnings of such experts at face value, without careful examination of the peculiarities of the situation. It is, to select an obvious analogy, as though economists attempted to account for the American economy in purely Marxist terms, without considering the limitations of Marx' formulation, the surprising flexibility of American governmental institutions or America's apparent social fluidity.

If we look at the matter closely, we can see that the problem which most worried Ortega y Gasset—that is, that newcomers to the arts would pollute tastes because they do not bring with them the proper values—is not really relevant in the concert hall. While it is true that in the nineteenth century popular taste in the United States to a considerable extent did corrupt concert music (and examination of any of the volumes of memoirs written by barnstorming virtuosi will bear this out), it is also true that we did not have at the time a concert audience large enough to be worthy of the name. Whether they knew it or not, the barnstormers were functioning as popular entertainers. And what is more, the situation in the twentieth century is totally different. If anything, composers have been hampered not by too much audience influence, but by too little.

The special problem of music (and this is an over-simplification) is that for the first time in the modern world the composer in the early part of this century got too far ahead of his audience. Composers have been shocking audiences for centuries, but the gap between audience and composer certainly was never so great as it was then. A sign of its magnitude is that in this century we have had the unusual phenomenon of major composers writing music with no specific performance, commission, prize competition or artist in mind. The composer, deprived of that immediate audience reaction which, whatever its disadvantages, is an essential part of any healthy art, retreated to his garret, from which generations of philanthropists, propagandists and musical reformers have attempted to rescue him. They still concern themselves with vigorous windmill-tilting and assaults on dead horses. They are worried, for instance, about listener comprehension of the new music; this is no longer a serious problem: decades of movie and television sound-tracks have conditioned us to accept, even to "understand," almost anything which the composer is likely to do.

It is revealing to compare what happened to the concert audience in the fifty years from 1900 to 1950 to what happened in jazz in the ten years beginning, let us say, with 1943. The situations are surprisingly similar. Some time during the Second World War, for reasons which are partially social and partially a matter of a logical development of their art, the front line of jazz performers lost touch with the audience. In a very brief time, these men reached a position so far ahead of what their

listeners could comprehend that the music which they were producing seemed as mad to its listeners as did the music at those famous concerts early in the century which produced riots and flying vegetables. It took roughly ten years for an audience to catch up with what the bopsters had done, and, just as the various directions in which the concert musical rebellion at the turn of the century were woven together in a synthesis usually called the International Style, the developments in bop were assimilated into the fabric of what came to be known as Modern Jazz. Jazz reached a workable solution to its audience problem in ten years as compared to the fifty it took concert music. It has as yet been unable to solve the problem of patronage.

Concert composers are a little better off: the universities have taken over the job which the eighteenth-century patron and the nineteenth-century concert audience used to perform, so that by now the garret has been transformed, by and large, into a poor man's split-level in a faculty slum. Critic and crusader, however, go on undaunted, believing that all it takes to restore the composer to his rightful position (whatever that is supposed to be—no composer in the last two centuries, to my knowledge, has ever been able to support himself solely on the proceeds earned from music written for the concert hall, though a few have managed if they wrote music for the stage) is propaganda for the new music aimed at some hypothetical established body of listeners.

The facts are that the special reasons for the failure of the new music to hold a large audience are unrelated to this line of thinking. They are simple, almost physical, and they are peculiar—to this one art. I will list them briefly.

1) The new music, of whatever variety or quality, is music of great tension and demands careful listening. It will not work (as much of the good music of the past will) as fashionable background to a cocktail party. You can't even read to it. And since few people, even serious music-lovers, really spend more than a few minutes a week listening intently, it does not get listened to in the home.

2) If it is any good, it works very well in the concert hall, even when performed for musically unsophisticated audiences. But concert managers are afraid of it. They believe that it frightens away audiences, and, what is worse, they know that it is terribly expensive to perform. The cost shows up less in royalties than in rehearsal time; if you study the programs of the major orchestras, you discover that the appearance of a new work on a program usually means the appearance of a thundering herd of war-horses in the programs surrounding its performance. New works take extra rehearsal time; rehearsal time is frightfully ex-

- pensive; all orchestras are broke. So the new piece must be padded about with works from what orchestra librarians call "the first repertoire," works which can be played with little or no rehearsal.

Moreover, any work, new or old, takes repeated listening to establish itself; very few new works, even most of those which the critics take to on first hearing, are ever re-performed. The late Serge Koussevitsky had a deserved reputation as a "pioneer."⁷ Under him the Boston Symphony premiered an impressive number of new works. But if one reads back through the program books of the Symphony, one quickly discovers that most of the new works performed were played once or twice, then forgotten.

FIGURE ONE: WORKS BY CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN COMPOSERS PERFORMED BY THE BOSTON SYMPHONY UNDER KOUSSEVITSKY UP TO 1949

Composer	Number of works	Repeats	Composer	Number of works	Repeats
Barber	6	2	Gershwin	3	0
Bernstein	2	0	Griffes	3	2*
Bloch	11	9*	Hanson	6	2
Copland	13	5	Harris	7	5**
Cowell	2	1	Loeffler	12	32*
Diamond	2	0	Piston	11	1***
Fine	1	0	Schuman	5	3
Foss	3	0	Sessions	1	0
Foote	2	0*	Thomson	3	1

* Perhaps these should not be on the list. They belong to an older generation, and Bloch is an immigrant.

** The Third Symphony, played thrice in 1939, repeated the same year in a special concert, and then in 1941 and 1949. This work is always spoken of as a sensational exception to the rule that new pieces are not popular.

*** Up to 1949, not one symphony repeated in a subsequent season.

⁷ John H. Mueller in *The American Symphony Orchestra* (Bloomington, Ind., 1951) points out a possible reason for the surprising courage shown by conductors in America. He says that in this country there was a wider gap in sophistication between audience and conductor than in Europe. The first major American conductors were Europeans who brought with them nineteenth-century German romantic ideals; orchestral management and orchestral audiences were more likely to hold the conductor in awe and to accept as standard opinions of those "in the know" ideas which were, in fact, avant-garde. The result, according to Mueller, is that if one compares American symphony orchestra programs of the period to those in Europe, one discovers that American concertgoers were listening to "heavier" and more experimental programs than were their European counterparts. It would seem, then, that Koussevitsky was working in an established tradition. Americans expected the conductor to blaze the trail. It is also worth observing that Ortega y Gasset's fear seems once again unjustified; if anything, these early concert audiences seem to have been too timid about imposing their own tastes.

3) And this is our main point today: it is my thesis that if we examine the listening career of the individual music lover, we find that a taste for the new music is usually the last taste he acquires, if he acquires it at all. I believe that the concert audience is pyramidal in structure, and that tastes are dynamic, not static. As one moves upwards from the base of the pyramid, where tastes are limited to the familiar chestnuts and the best-known music of the best-known composers, the ranks of the audience thin out. The new music, alas, occupies a position near the apex.

If these assertions are true—and I hope to demonstrate that they are—the way to get more listeners at the apex would be to enlarge the pyramid: before there can be more customers for the product which the avant-garde is selling, we must get more traffic in the store. How do people come to like concert music? How large is the audience?

Much of what little reliable data we have on this latter topic comes from a series of studies financed by the American Federation of Musicians in the years following the Second World War. While these data are limited in many ways and certainly out of date, they at least indicate unambiguously that the concert audience, however defined, is growing.

FIGURE TWO: CASH OUTLAY FOR ADMISSIONS TO MOTION PICTURES COMPARED TO THAT FOR CONCERTS, OPERAS AND LEGITIMATE THEATER (in millions of dollars)

Year	Movies	Index	Concerts, etc.	Index
1939	659	100	32	100
1940	709	107.6	36	112.5
1941	756	114.7	40	125.0
1942	924	140.2	48	150.0
1943	987	149.8	68	212.5
1944	1175	178.3	82	256.2
1945	1359	191.0	80	250.0
1946	1427	216.5	91	284.4
1947	1380	209.4	103	321.9

Limitations: 1) Since the figures are based on admissions receipts, records and radio are specifically excluded. 2) The "concert" figures include receipts for admissions to plays. 3) The figures stop at the beginning of a great boom in concert music triggered by the long-playing record and the high-fidelity craze. 4) The movies in 1947 provide a poor basis for comparison; they were just entering a brief period of declining receipts.

Source: *International Musician*, December 1948.

How fast it is growing I do not know. It is discouraging to note that its size until about the period of the A. F. of M. study was a steady 1 per cent of the total population: it kept pace with population growth but seemed unable to engage a proportionally larger group. I am prone

to trust those rather subjective indices, the mass media, which, in the years since the study, give one the distinct feeling that the rate of growth has finally increased; I think that something which one wants to label "common sense" tells us that increased leisure means increased audience, but of course one should be wary of common sense when dealing with social and cultural issues. For our purposes, it hardly matters anyway, since even were the audience merely keeping pace proportionally, it would still be growing. If it is growing, new listeners must be coming from somewhere. Where?

Here is another list: six hypothetical "paths" to the concert hall. First: undoubtedly many people inspire a taste for good music simply because it is present in the atmosphere of the homes in which they are brought up. If one reads the music critics, particularly the big ones in the eastern papers, and especially Virgil Thomson, one soon learns that most of them tacitly assume that all sophisticated listeners come from this source. That most people agree with them can be inferred from the aura of snobbism which surrounds the concert hall; the assumption is that "our kind of people" like good music; these critics are distinctly writing for "our kind of people." If you are not "in," you are "out," and your snickers only demonstrate how real you think the difference is.⁸ But the idea that this process, which we can call "the traditional path," is the only way to the concert hall is absurd, first, because it presupposes a more rigid class structure than we have; second, because, as we have seen, the concert audience is growing, and the hypothetical social class to which this group of critics thinks it is addressing itself is precisely that class which students of population and fertility tell us is unable to keep pace with rapid population growth. This explanation would make sense were our society clearly split between "mass" man and "elite" man. But, as we have seen Daniel Bell argue, it is not.

If we return to the *International Musician* and the A. F. of M., we can discern the outlines of a second path to the concert hall (and we should make clear from the outset that these paths overlap and intertwine). According to that magazine, as of 1948, one out of every eight Americans played a musical instrument, and the author of the article in which this figure was reported goes on to say that it is "axiomatic that the audiences for professional performances of all types, popular and serious, are recruited at least fifty per cent from amateurs who have taken a fling at playing an instrument." One would like to know where on earth the author came up with his figure, but his point is certainly well taken.

⁸ John H. Mueller's *The American Symphony Orchestra* contains a good discussion of such non-musical attractions—social prestige and civic pride, for example.

Certainly amateurs pick up an interest in music from playing. But if we examine the type of music which they play, we discover some interesting facts: most amateurs who participate in instrumental playing belong to bands; almost all band music is what we will later define as standard music. Those who do not for the most part also play standard music—popular songs which have become "standards," light classics, old favorites, popularized versions of the more familiar classics. This is easy enough to document; one has merely to examine the selections included in elementary and intermediate music instruction books for the various instruments.⁹

Then I suppose that one should map a third path, that taken by those attracted to music by the hi-fi craze. The totally naïve listener who buys a rig has to buy some records. Presumably he starts with pops—the hit parade—but if he wants to show off his device, he has to buy LPs. Since most LPs are not really pops—the hit parade comes out on 78s and 45s—and since he will soon tire of recordings of sonic boom and cannon, the chances are good that he too will turn to standard music. Perhaps this is as far as he will ever get: 101 Strings and no content. But he may get farther.

Yet a fourth path is that of the music appreciation industry (or "racket," as one hostile critic calls it) and music education; I group them together not to imply anything about their relative merits but for convenience and brevity. I have no idea of the ultimate effectiveness of compulsory music education—the so-called "appreciation" courses required in many school systems—beyond the subjective reports of friends and students who have gone through them. They say that generally such courses are ineffective except in the cases of students already highly motivated to learn about concert music.

Motivation, which would seem to be the critical element in the grade and high schools, certainly is the critical element on the college level. What is going on is perhaps best understood in terms of reference-group theory.¹⁰ If we pick the brain of a hypothetical serious minded student

⁹ The reasons are easy to understand. Concert selections are too difficult for the beginner (unless they are simplified, in which case they are best understood as standard music); popular songs are carefully protected by law and extremely expensive to quote. What is worse, their popularity disappears so quickly that one would have to bring out a new edition of one's book every three weeks.

¹⁰ This is a useful sociological concept designed to enable one to pin down the sources of ideas, ideals, attitudes, value-judgments, etc., by discovering from which groups the subject has acquired them, against which groups, in other words, he is measuring himself. If one were studying a group of students, for example, one might expect to find among their important reference groups their peers, their parents, their teachers, members of professional or fraternal groups, and so forth—any group to which the subjects might "refer" themselves.

and attempt to discover what he wants to get out of college, I think that we will find that, besides specific or specialized training, it is something which can be defined, albeit vaguely, as an understanding of matters which people he admires or would like to imitate care about. A recent exploratory study of reference groups on a large campus, besides demonstrating that it is almost impossible to pin down a subject's reference groups without the sort of prompting which gives the gag away and invalidates the study, did suggest something of the sort. If the people to whom the student in one manner or another "refers" himself are interested in good books, art and music, he feels that he should know enough about such matters to enjoy them himself and/or to be able to talk about them. Most of us are, I believe, aware of how common this attitude is, especially among our better students.

Presumably, if the student does not pick up the requisite information socially or through required courses, he will go out of his way to acquire it. He is thus *using* whatever course he takes to equip himself for what is probably best understood as a change in social class, although he himself, perhaps through double-think, does not refer to class. "Educated," "intelligent," "sensitive," "knowledgeable," "people who count": these are the ways the students describe those they wish to emulate; they do not use the term "upper class," probably because this would imply a lack of democratic feeling and an acknowledgement of their own inferior class position at the present. If classes in our society should be understood not merely in terms of cash income but also in terms of style of life (which includes tastes and interests) and if, as also seems obvious, the college is for a great many students a place in which to cast oneself in the mold of a desired level of society, it would not be surprising to find students using introductory art and music courses for social purposes. (I should make clear that I am neither applauding nor criticizing the process; I do not want to imply anything about the sincerity of the student's commitment to the arts.)¹¹

Moreover, motivation of this type would seem also to account for the prosperity of the do-it-yourself culture industry. The magazines are full of invitations to join clubs which offer a quick introduction to the better things in life; all such advertisements stress the "informative booklets by well-known authorities" which accompany each selection. The entire

¹¹ It is, indeed, possible to argue that their commitment to the arts is of the best possible sort. Russell Lynes, for example, praises the enlightened dilettante, whose enthusiasm is genuine, and who encourages "a high degree of performance in whatever field of interest happens to be his." He can "determine the quality of our culture." "Time on our Hands," *Harper's Magazine*, CCXVII (July 1958), 34-39.

come-on is quite consciously designed to suggest that the club offers answers to the question which the novitiate wants answered: How can I learn about those things which people I want to be like talk about?

But I am convinced that by far the most worn path to the concert hall runs through that music most despised—and perhaps deservedly so—by critic and connoisseur, so-called "standard music." By this I mean such things as "all-time favorites," popularized versions of the classics, "popular classics," the sound of Muzak and other sonic wallpaper, Kostelanitz, Waring and even Liberace: in short, all that "middle-brow slush and slop" which music historians have found aesthetically less interesting than pops, rock and roll, hillbilly and even rock-a-billy, and compared to which the Twist is an artistic movement of great significance.

I have some sketchy evidence to support my assertion, and hope soon to obtain more. First, we may examine more of the data gathered by the A. F. of M., this time printed in the *International Musician* for June 1948.

FIGURE THREE: AMERICAN HOMES IN WHICH AT LEAST ONE PERSON SAYS THAT HE ENJOYS A GIVEN TYPE OF MUSIC, BY SECTIONS

Section	EAST	MID-WEST	SOUTH	WEST	OVER-ALL
Type of Music					
Church Music	44.0%	63.4%	74.3%	57.6%	60.8%
Old Favorites	53.3	58.0	51.4	54.4	54.4
Semi-Classical	49.8	44.9	28.2	52.5	42.3
Classical	40.2	32.9	22.1	45.8	33.3

Limitations: 1) These figures do not give a clear indication of number of listeners. 2) The categories selected seem badly designed for our purposes. What we have called "standard music" includes both what the chart calls "Old Favorites" and "Semi-Classical." 3) A good many people unfamiliar with concert music call Johann Strauss "classical." Indeed, they would also include Mantovani. If the tune in question is twenty years old, there are "strings" in the orchestra, and the thing has been played in Carnegie Hall (even once), or has some snob appeal (some of their friends call it "longhair"), they think of it as "classical." Curiously, on this level of understanding, no music is called classical if it has lyrics. It is because of such misunderstanding of these terms that in my own work I use the term "concert music" instead of "classical music," and concern myself with the listening history of people who are already initiates.

Whatever their limitations, these figures suggest that there exists a connection between interest in standard music and interest in the classics. Where the figures for "Old Favorites" and "Semi-Classical" are high, so are those for "Classical"; the low figures also coincide. If we lump together the two standard categories (in which cases the figures can no longer be called percentages, but have rather to be termed "indices"), this becomes even more apparent. The index for the eastern U.S. would be 103.1; for the Mid-West, 102.9; the West, 106.9; but in the South, only 79.6.

In all fairness we should point out that these figures could be accounted for in terms of the "traditional" notion about the sources of the concert audience. If musical tastes follow solidified class lines, there may simply be more members of the "properly established classes" in those areas which score high. But I find this implausible: it is based on an hereditary conception of class inapplicable to this country. Our class lines are far too fluid, especially if we consider class as partially a matter of tastes.

Some years ago I conducted a very limited and statistically unsound study of my own, designed to determine something about the listening careers of people from near the top of the audience pyramid. I hope, in 1964, to try it again, still on a limited scale, but this time with a well-designed universe and adequate controls. My respondents the first time were subscribers to the program guide of a concert music station who were also, first, regular listeners to my radio program, and second, interested in the new music. The questionnaire, which I plan to use in the second study as well, reads as follows:

Many people come to like concert music because it was important in the homes in which they were brought up; others come to like it through a long, slow process of taste development. Undoubtedly there are many other routes to the concert hall. This questionnaire is designed to determine what path you followed.

I. Background

A. Would you say that you were brought up in a "musical" home? That is, was there an active interest in music, something more than a feeling that it would be nice if the children studied a little piano?

B. Did you ever play a musical instrument? If so,

1. What instrument?
2. How seriously?
3. Ever play in an orchestra, band or recital?
4. Do you play now?

(Please elaborate where necessary; the more detail the better.)

II. Present activity

- A. How many concerts a year, on the average, do you attend?
- B. Where do you go to hear concerts?¹²
- C. In order of preference, would you rather hear orchestral, operatic or chamber music? If you can't make so simple a choice, please elaborate.
- D. Do you prefer programs which include contemporary music?
- E. Do you have a record collection? What sort of music predominates?

III. Development of tastes

- A. Do you now, or did you once like

	NOW	ONCE	NEVER
	LIKE	LIKED	LIKED

- 1. Jazz (of any sort) _____
- 2. Popular music—that is, the "hit" songs _____
- 3. Standard music [a description of what was meant by "standard music" was given] _____

B. What was the first piece of "classical" or concert music which you can remember liking? If you can't bring back a specific work, say something about the kind of music it was.

C. In the order in which you developed a taste for them, list the kinds of concert music which you have liked since that type described in the previous question. If you can, name a work or two in each type to give us a clear idea of the sort of music you mean.

IV. Comments

If our questions in any way do not fit your case, or if you can further clarify anything you have said above, please use this space to explain.

The decidedly long-haired respondents to my first small survey had, in every case, at one time preferred standard music. According to their age, they named such favorites as Freddy Martin (he of the popularized arrangements of tunes borrowed from Tschaikovsky), Fred Waring or Montovani; according to their experience in performance, they named simplified arrangements of familiar classics for their instruments, or band music. And the first piece of concert music they could remember liking

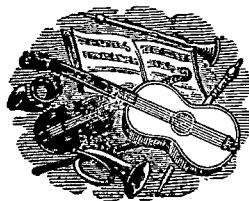
¹² This question was included for reasons unrelated to our main point in the present paper. A study done at Brown University a few years ago revealed the surprising fact that listeners apparently go to favorite halls more because there is a concert at the hall than because of a favorite type of music which is being played.

was invariably a work like the Rachmaninoff Second Piano Concerto (which we may call "mama"), Gershwin's Rhapsody in Blue (which we may call "papa"); the Warsaw Concerto (which one waggish critic called the bouncing baby offspring of the first two works), a Tschaikovsky symphony or the 1812 Overture, Scheherazade: in short, those serious works in the most immediately accessible romantic tradition, and exactly those works most copied in standard music arrangements and rifled through for themes for pop songs.

It would seem, then, that the best plan for the crusaders for the new music to follow would be to "lay off" their favorite targets, standard music and the warhorses, and to concentrate instead on helping nature take its course. It is easy enough to see practical ways in which this can be done. For example, when the Montovani orchestra (perhaps "organization" would be a better word) made its American tour a year or so ago, it would have been helpful had a few serious music critics in different cities attended and reported. They would not have had to lower their standards in any way. An honest description of what went on would have sufficed to make clear to those who attended the concert just what the music they were listening to represented, and even to suggest to them that the "real thing" might be preferable. Similarly, an understanding of the manner in which listeners get to the concert hall might give the programmers of educational concerts clearer principles on which to select works. I have played hundreds of educational concerts, and can report that school children are bored by most of the stuff performed at them. But they respond well to what musicians call "real rousers"—melodic and emotional late romantic music, noisy overtures, contemporary works with strong rhythmic vitality, even if, as was sometimes the case, of questionable worth. Most of the audience for the new music is recruited from the existing concert audience. One should encourage anything which will enlarge its ranks.

As to the larger problem of the arts in a mass society, I would say that the development of the American musical scene has been so totally different from anything which an earlier student of democratic culture could have predicted that we had best base our generalizations on empirical grounds. Alexis de Tocqueville's fear of a prevailing mediocrity in the arts makes no sense for concert music precisely because it *does* make sense for popular music, and popular music simply did not exist in his time: undoubtedly popular tastes corrupt the quality of our popular music (although even that has its defenders, notably Henry Pleasants), but the entire process serves to protect the concert music from corruption of any sort. It may be that popular and standard music serve as an artistic

chastity belt to preserve the purity of our elite arts from the advances of tastes which would despoil them. But I think it more accurate to say that the popular audience is quite separate from the "elite" audience, and that when a listener makes the slow transition, he accepts fully what goes on in the concert hall. He in no sense corrupts concert music by his presence. If anything, he is liable at first to be too willing to conform to accepted canons of behavior. We do know that people new to a class are the most concerned with propriety and the rules. Silas Lapham spends a whole chapter worrying about whether or not to wear those white gloves. Silas may be in the concert hall because he is a culture-vulture; he may be impressed by radio announcers whose tones suggest that they are introducing music pressed on records of burnished gold; he may, in short, be coming to music for class reasons, and perhaps the chances are even good that he will never develop beyond his present state. But, to mix a few metaphors, he has ears, and may very well enlarge his tastes. Many of his fellows are at the base of our pyramid. We know at least this much about Cheops' pyramid: it was not built from the top down.



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Irving's Headless Hessian: Prosperity and the Inner Life

WHILE THE BODY OF THIS ESSAY IS CONCERNED WITH "THE LEGEND OF SLEEPY Hollow," I have tried to touch upon a central theme in our national letters: the relentless pressure of commodities on the American imagination. *Walden* is the classic statement of this theme. Thoreau went to the woods to escape the pressure of house and barn and mortgage; to free his soul from the tyranny of commodities. Since his aim was to confront essentials, his first requirement was to reduce the clutter of worldly goods which threatened to forestall the act of contemplation.

Nothing would seem more remote from contemporary sensibility than this ascetic strain. Yet consider the voluntary poverty of the Beat poet. Where Madison Avenue enjoins us to consume! consume!, the Beatnik demurs with a modern version of Thoreau's simplify! simplify! Deep in the American psyche, it would seem, lies a curious ambivalence toward the things of this world; a suspicion that material prosperity may be an impediment to the inner life.

It is not difficult, I think, to trace this conflict to its source in New England Puritanism. Seventeenth-century Americans were in many respects the heirs of the middle ages. Like their medieval ancestors, they regarded temporal affairs as a distraction from the serious business of salvation. Still in the grip of an otherworldly vision, the Puritan imagination experienced commodities as temptations of the world, the flesh and the devil.

Superimposed on this medieval base was the acquisitive drive of New England Puritanism. Maule's curse, after all, was not called forth by a morality of abstention. The main thrust of the Protestant Reformation was in a worldly direction, and in America the Protestant ethic was reinforced by the compelling needs of a frontier society. Faced with these

cross-currents, the Puritan patriarchs devised a compromise formula which Perry Miller has described as "loving the world with weaned affections." In the spirit of the new age, one could love the world, if the primary commitment of the soul remained elsewhere.

Inevitably, as Puritan values were subverted by the growing prosperity of the colonies, this precarious equilibrium was upset. In the eighteenth century, the contemplative and acquisitive aspects of the Puritan temperament precipitated out. Autobiography, if not yet fiction, gave us two figures symbolic of the new division.

Here is a passage from the *Personal Narrative* of Jonathan Edwards:

The whole book of Canticles used to be pleasant to me, and I used to be much in reading it, about that time; and found, from time to time, an inward sweetness, that would carry me away, in my contemplations. This I know not how to express otherwise, than by a calm, sweet abstraction of soul from all the concerns of this world; and sometimes a kind of vision, or fixed ideas and imaginations, of being alone in the mountains, or some solitary wilderness, far from all mankind, sweetly conversing with Christ, and wrapt and swallowed up in God.

The key word in this passage is *vision*. In Edwards, the imagination is an active faculty serving the soul in its communion with God.

Consider now a passage from the *Autobiography* of Benjamin Franklin, in which the author attempts to dissuade a young man from writing poems:

He continued to write frequently, sending me large specimens of an epic poem, which he was then composing, and desiring my remarks and corrections. These I gave him from time to time, but endeavor'd rather to discourage his proceedings. One of Young's satires was then just publish'd. I copy'd and sent him a great part of it, which set in a strong light the folly of pursuing the muses with any hope of advancement by them.

Here the key word is *advancement*. In Franklin, the imagination is firmly subordinated to the acquisition of commodities.

By the early nineteenth century, the utilitarian ethic of Benjamin Franklin had emerged as the cultural norm. All value came to be defined in terms of use. By this measure, contemplation could scarcely be considered valuable, nor meditation, nor poetry, nor fiction. Increasingly the American writer found himself in an atmosphere of trade and commerce profoundly hostile to his art. In self-defense he turned to the Romantic movement, at the heart of which lay a spirited defense of the imagination.

During the Romantic period, the concept of imagination was itself transformed. Closely associated with devotional practices in the past, it

now became more or less secularized. The contemplative principle was revived, as we have seen, in Thoreau, but devoid of specific theological content. Transcendentalism was perhaps the closest approximation to the spirit of Jonathan Edwards which a secular society would allow. As the role of the artist became increasingly differentiated from that of the clergyman or philosopher, the stage was set for a new phase in the history of the American imagination. *Henceforth the pressure of commodities would be experienced as a threat to the artistic process as such.*

It is Washington Irving's distinction first to have explored this theme. His interest in folklore, myth and legend provides him, in his best work, with a means of confronting the prosaic temper of his time. The folk tale, with its elements of fable and of fantasy, is an ideal medium, and it is here that Irving's creative powers reach fulfillment. "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" is at once his finest achievement and his most enduring contribution to our literary history. For in the mythic encounter of Ichabod Crane and the Headless Horseman, the crisis of the modern imagination is first revealed.

The story begins with an epigraph from "The Castle of Indolence," by the Scottish poet James Thomson:

A pleasing land of drowsy head it was,
Of dreams that wave before the half-shut eye;
And of gay castles in the clouds that pass,
For ever flushing round a summer sky.

These lines serve primarily to establish the drowsy atmosphere of Sleepy Hollow, but are not without thematic relevance. "Dreams," "castles in the clouds," are suggestive of the imaginative faculty which is Irving's real concern. Moreover, the poem deals at length with the economic foundations of the arts; that is, with the question of patronage. This is one of the central issues which Irving means to raise.

Thomson is a spiritual cousin of Ben Franklin, and the poem amounts to a Calvinist homily on work. It is an allegorical attack on the slothful propensities of the leisure classes, and a sturdy defense of the Protestant ethic. Thomson is a poet, however, and he cannot suppress certain misgivings about the benefits of industry and progress. In particular, he deplores the loss of patronage which attends the passing of a cultured aristocracy. A jarring note thus intrudes upon his celebration of the Protestant virtues. In the old order, indolence brought social stagnation, but afforded a leisurely pursuit of art. The rise of the middle class portends great material prosperity, but leaves the fate of the poetic imagination in doubt.

This is precisely the mood of "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." Dimly, uneasily, Irving sees the precarious position of the artist in bourgeois society. He is therefore of two minds as he contemplates the demise of Dutch colonial America. Fundamentally he approves of movement, activity and progress. Yet the story is saturated with nostalgia for the sheltered, protected, *embosomed* world of Sleepy Hollow, where dreams and reveries, ghosts and apparitions, still nourish the "visionary propensity."

Tarry Town emerges as a symbol of the colonial past, in which we tarry for a moment before moving on. The atmosphere is simple, uncomplicated, pastoral. It is established by such adjectives as quiet, listless, drowsy, dreamy, and such nouns as murmur, lull, repose, tranquillity. Captivated by the mood he has created, the narrator recalls his first exploit in squirrel hunting:

I had wandered into [a walnut grove] at noon time, when all nature is peculiarly quiet, and was startled by the roar of my own gun as it broke the Sabbath stillness around, and was prolonged and reverberated by the angry echoes.*

It was a shot heard round the world. The disruptive roar of the gun heralds the introduction of the Hessian trooper, "whose head had been carried away by a cannon-ball, in some nameless battle during the Revolutionary War." To the quiet repose of the opening pages, Irving counterposes the furious speed of the galloping Hessian. He is seen "hurrying along in the gloom of the night, as if on the wings of the wind." He embodies the sudden violence of the Revolution, which brought the pastoral phase of the national life to an end. A new spirit is abroad in the land, the mercenary spirit of a Hessian soldier.

At this point it may be well to review the basic features of the plot, so as to establish a solid foundation for a symbolic interpretation. In essence, we have a romantic triangle. Ichabod Crane and Brom Bones are rivals for the hand of Katrina Van Tassel, the daughter of a prosperous Dutch farmer. Ichabod is defeated under comic circumstances, and as a result, his values are profoundly altered. Humiliation and defeat transform his life, but what is the inner meaning of these events?

As the three principals are introduced, certain details of characterization point to Irving's theme. To begin with, Ichabod's New England origins are heavily underscored:

* "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," p. 475. All quotations are from *The Works of Washington Irving*, Author's Revised Edition, Vol. II, *The Sketch Book* (New York, 1880).

- He was a native of Connecticut, a state which supplies the Union with pioneers for the mind as well as for the forest, and sends forth yearly its legions of frontier woodsmen and country schoolmasters. (p. 478)

His favorite book is Cotton Mather's *History of New England Witchcraft*. Great stress is laid upon his appetite, which is at once natural and supernatural, encompassing both the gustatory and the marvellous. In this he reflects the dilemma of his Puritan ancestors: the contest in his soul might be said to turn upon the question of which appetite will come uppermost.

The ascetic circumstances of his existence are suggested by the shabbiness of his schoolhouse and the itinerant character of his life. As he moves from home to home among his pupils' families, he carries "all his worldly effects tied up in a cotton handkerchief." His poverty, however, is not without its compensations. Because of his itinerant habits, he is welcomed as a bearer of news and gossip. He is esteemed by his neighbors as a man of letters, "for he had read several books quite through." He instructs the young people in psalmody, and his tales of the supernatural are a popular feature of village entertainment. Ichabod embodies, in short, the primitive impulse of a frontier society toward culture.

Since culture is viewed with suspicion in frontier communities, Ichabod is thought, "by all who understand nothing of the labor of headwork, to have a wonderfully easy time of it." Highly vulnerable to criticism, he is forced to justify his existence on utilitarian grounds:

That all this might not be too onerous on the purses of his rustic patrons, who are apt to consider the costs of schooling a grievous burden, and schoolmasters as mere drones, he had various ways of rendering himself both useful and agreeable. (p. 481)

There is something in the comic absurdity of Ichabod's situation which raises echoes of Cervantes. At one point, in fact, Ichabod rides forth "like a knight-errant in quest of adventures," astride a broken-down plough horse. In the light of these allusions, the character of Ichabod acquires a new dimension. Like Don Quixote, he is comic in appearance and behavior, but he must be taken seriously as a symbol of man's higher aspirations. Such a portrait requires a certain complexity of tone. For Ichabod is at once a comic and a tragic figure; he is, in Wallace Stevens' phrase, "A clown, perhaps, but an aspiring clown." In a portrait which is permeated with self-irony, Irving caricatures the position of the artist-intellectual in American life. Ichabod Crane is the first example in our literature of the comedian as the letter C.

Ichabod's antagonist is Brom Bones, "the hero of the country round." Brom's symbolic role is defined by a series of associations with the Headless Horseman. He is linked to the goblin rider by his skill in horsemanship and by the hurry-scurry of his midnight escapades. Like the Hessian, he scours the countryside with a squad of hard riders who dash about "like a troop of Don Cossacks." As the story reaches a climax, Brom becomes the literal incarnation of the Hessian trooper, for it is he, disguised as the Headless Horseman, who pursues Ichabod to his doom. Symbolically, Brom is the embodiment of the Hessian spirit, of mercenary values which threaten to engulf the imagination.

While Ichabod exists on the periphery of his culture, Brom occupies the very hub. Invisible spokes radiate from him to the entire male population of Sleepy Hollow. What is the "tough, wrong-headed, broad-skirted Dutch urchin who sulked and swelled and grew dogged and sullen beneath the birch" but a schoolboy version of Brom Bones? Brom's gang, whose behavior suggests the juvenile-delinquent phase of male development, harries the schoolmaster by smoking out his singing school and breaking into his schoolhouse after dark.

In Sleepy Hollow, hostility to learning is by no means confined to the young:

Old Baltus Van Tassel was a perfect picture of a thriving, contented, liberal-hearted farmer. He seldom, it is true, sent either his eyes or his thoughts beyond the boundaries of his own farm. . . . (p. 486)

Toward the end of the story, Hans Van Ripper disposes of Ichabod's literary effects by a time-honored method. In his treatment of the scene, Irving betrays an animus ordinarily concealed beneath a gloss of genial humor:

These magic books and the poetic scrawl were forthwith consigned to the flames by Hans Van Ripper; who from that time forward determined to send his children no more to school; observing, that he never knew any good come of this same reading and writing. (p. 517)

Katrina is a pivotal figure; she provides the measure of Ichabod's social worth. The bestowal of her favors amounts to a kind of community sanction, for if Ichabod's society takes him seriously it must supply him with a wife. It is of course Brom Bones that she chooses; she has been flirting with the schoolmaster only to arouse the jealousy and ardor of his rival.

Irving's sketch of Katrina blends humorously with his description of her father's farm. She is "plump as a partridge; ripe and melting and rosy cheeked as one of her father's peaches." She wears "ornaments of pure yellow gold" whose colors call to mind the golden ears of Van Tassel corn, and "the yellow pumpkins . . . turning up their fair round bellies

to the sun." As Ichabod surveys his future prospects, the metaphors proclaim his gustatory love:

In his devouring mind's eye . . . the pigeons were snugly put to bed in a comfortable pie, and tucked in with a coverlet of crust; the geese were swimming in their own gravy; and the ducks pairing cosily in dishes, like snug married couples, with a decent competency of onion sauce. (p. 488)

Faced with such temptations, Ichabod is defeated from within. Consider the implications of his name. "Ichabod" is from the Hebrew; it means "inglorious," or literally, "without honor." Ichabod is a turncoat; in pursuit of material comfort, he betrays a spiritual tradition. Confronted with the opulence of the Van Tassels, he succumbs to the sins of covetousness and idolatry. His imaginative faculty is perverted, deflected from its proper object:

. . . his busy fancy already realized his hopes, and presented to him the blooming Katrina, with a whole family of children, mounted on the top of a wagon loaded with household trumpery, with pots and kettles dangling beneath; and he beheld himself bestriding a pacing mare, with a colt at her heels, setting out for Kentucky, Tennessee, or the Lord knows where. (p. 489)

Here is the New England imagination turned mercenary, placed in the service of the westering impulse. Brom Bones has only to bury the body.

Ichabod's encounter with the Headless Horseman is the dramatic climax of the story. The stage is set so carefully, however, that a closer look at the backdrop is in order. Dominating the landscape is an enormous tulip tree known in the neighborhood as Major André's tree. André was a young British officer, appointed by his superiors to consummate with Benedict Arnold negotiations for the betrayal of West Point. Captured by American militiamen after a midnight interview with Arnold, he was executed as a spy. In effect, he was a scapegoat, hanged for Arnold's crime. As a result, he occupies an ambiguous position in American history. This ambiguity seems to be the point so far as Irving is concerned:

The common people regarded [Major André's tree] with a mixture of respect and superstition, partly out of sympathy for the fate of its ill-starred namesake. . . . (pp. 510-11)

It is just this note of sympathy which Irving means to strike. Systematically he links "the unfortunate André" with "the unfortunate Ichabod,"

using the historical figure to control his tone. Let there be no mistake: Ichabod betrays the race of Cranes. The betrayal occurs at the quilting party, as he contemplates the possibility of becoming lord of the Van Tassel manor:

Then, he thought, how soon he'd turn his back upon the old school-house; snap his fingers in the face of Hans Van Ripper, and every other niggardly patron, and kick any itinerant pedagogue out of doors that should dare to call him comrade! (p. 503)

But Irving wishes to soften the effect of this betrayal by shifting the burden in large part from Ichabod to his society. The reader is to respond to Ichabod rather as an André than an Arnold: not entirely guiltless, but largely the victim of circumstance. Yet the veiled threat remains. Irving recalls, by his allusion to Arnold, a famous episode in which the nation's neglect and ingratitude was repaid by treason. Be niggardly with your patronage, he warns the Hans Van Rippers, and your artists will desert to the enemy camp.

At the very spot where Major André was captured, Ichabod is accosted by the Headless Horseman. The schoolmaster is an unskillful rider; he attempts an evasive maneuver, but to no avail. With a fizz and a sputter, Gunpowder ignites from the spark of his rider's fear, and off they fly, with the apparition in hot pursuit. As they near the safety of the bridge, the goblin rider rises in his stirrups and hurls his head at Ichabod, tumbling him into the dust.

What is the meaning of this parable? Ichabod is overwhelmed by the new materialism, but at an awesome price to society. For in order to conquer, the Hessian must throw away his head. The next morning a shattered pumpkin is found in the vicinity of the bridge. The organ of intellect and imagination has become an edible. The forces of thought have yielded to the forces of digestion.

Defeated by the spirit of the age, Ichabod reconstructs his life along more worldly lines. As rumor has it,

. . . he had changed his quarters to a distant part of the country; had kept school and studied law at the same time, had been admitted to the bar, turned politician, electioneered, written for the newspapers, and finally had been made a justice of the Ten Pound Court. (p. 518)

It is hardly necessary to recall the unfortunate Irving's legal career to sense the diminution of spirit which the author intends. "The Ten Pound Court" unmistakably conveys the pettiness and triviality of Ichabod's new occupation. The community suffers a loss, the nature of which is defined by Ichabod's curious estate. A book of psalm tunes, a

broken pitch pipe, Cotton Mather's *History of Witchcraft*, a book of dreams and fortune-telling, and an abortive attempt at verse in honor of Katrina: these crude tokens of the imaginative life are left behind as the schoolmaster vanishes from Sleepy Hollow.

The postscript is an ironic defense of the literary imagination. The time is "the present," and it is clear that the descendants of Brom Bones are in the saddle. Folklore and legend, ghost stories and old wives' tales, have been superseded by an age of reason and common sense. Fiction itself has become suspect. Writing in a hostile climate, Irving supplies his fictional world with the trappings of historical research and objectivity. Hence the "Postscript, Found in the Handwriting of Mr. Knickerbocker."

This postscript recapitulates the theme; the dramatic situation alone has changed. The scene is "a Corporation meeting of the ancient city of Manhattoes, at which were present many of its sagest and most illustrious burghers." The role of Ichabod-Irving is played by a shabby narrator with a sadly humorous face, who is an entertaining storyteller, but is "strongly suspected of being poor." He has just told a tale called "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." The role of Brom-Hessian is assumed by the sleepy aldermen who comprise his audience, and in particular by a literal-minded burgher who inquires as to the moral of the story, and what it goes to prove?

The narrator avoids a direct reply. The meaning of the story, Irving intimates, will not yield to purely logical methods. The art of fiction has nothing to do with "the ratiocination of the syllogism." The reader's imagination must supply the moral:

The story-teller, who was just putting a glass of wine to his lips, as a refreshment after his toils, paused for a moment, looked at his inquirer with an air of infinite deference, and, lowering the glass slowly to the table, observed, that the story was intended most logically to prove:—

That there is no situation in life but has its advantages and pleasures—provided we will but take a joke as we find it:

That, therefore, he that runs races with goblin troopers is likely to have rough riding of it.

Ergo, for a country schoolmaster to be refused the hand of a Dutch heiress, is a certain step to high preferment in the state. (pp. 520-21)



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Model Zions for the American Indian

EVER SINCE THE DAYS OF FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER HISTORIANS HAVE argued whether the cultural baggage carried westward by American settlers or the frontier environment itself was more important in shaping western institutions. An analysis of the evolution of the manual labor boarding school as an agency of missionary activity among the Indians shows the development of one frontier institution in relation to this question. Developed by Protestant missionaries after a century and a half of experience with the Indians, the institution was formed more by cultural assumptions prevalent in the East than by aboriginal contact in the West.

From John Eliot's Indian towns of the mid-seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century when pietism flowered in a proliferation of local and state societies, a few missionaries had labored alone and in scattered locations among the Indians.¹ Colonial efforts had been confined to the establishment of villages of converted Indians like the Venerable Eliot's and the Moravians' or to the location of a solitary missionary in a savage settlement. In either case, the missionary hoped by example and exhortation to convert the heathen to his brand of Protestantism and the godly life.² Although these colonial efforts were respected by the pious of the new Republic, they deemed them failures.³ Sharing the optimism of the

¹ For a brief sketch of colonial work and the efforts flowing from pietism, see Oliver W. Elsbree, *Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790-1815* (Williamsport, Pa., 1928).

² The only way of really determining what happened in the field is by reading the journals, diaries and reports of the missionaries. Some have been published, such as Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The Moravian Indian Mission on the White River, Diaries and Letters, May 5, 1799, to November 12, 1806* (Indianapolis, 1938); others are in manuscript, for example, Samuel Kirkland Papers at Hamilton College.

³ An example of such a gloomy opinion is John Lathrop, *A Discourse Before the Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians and Others in North America, Delivered on the 19th of January, 1804* (Boston, 1804).

early nineteenth century, the founders of the new national societies, with their large treasuries and staffs, looked forward to the immediate mass conversion of the American Indians, and so the managers sought a new method of missionization. The manual labor boarding school seemed the answer to their prayers.⁴

The idea of such an institution originated in colonial times. The first exposition of it occurs in a small pamphlet published in 1743. Its long title suggests its aim: *A Letter from the Revd. Mr. [John] Sergeant of Stockbridge, to Dr. Colman of Boston; Containing Mr. Sergeant's Proposal of a More effectual Method for the Education of Indian Children; to raise 'em if possible into a civil and industrious People; by introducing the English Language Among Them; and thereby instilling in their Minds and Hearts, with a More lasting Impression, the Principles of Virtue and Piety.*⁵ Sergeant proposed to accomplish this in a school on the Stockbridge Reservation where youths ten to twenty years old would board. Two masters would direct their duties; "One to take the oversight of Them in their Hours of *Labour*, and the other in their Hours of *Study*; and to have their time so *divided* between Study and Labour as to make one the *Diversion* of the other, that as little time as possible may be lost in *Idleness*." A farm attached to the institution would both provide the place to labor and sustain the scholars. Sergeant believed this new approach to Indian education based on Irish charity schools would succeed where other plans had failed.⁶ If this plan had been realized and elaborated, it would have provided a model Christian community in the wilderness, but Sergeant's death ended the experiment.⁷

Rather than locating an establishment among the Indians as Sergeant had proposed, Eleazar Wheelock, the founder of Dartmouth, planted Moor's Charity School in the wilderness away from any savage influence. There he hoped to train young Indian boys in learning and industry and send them back to their tribes as missionaries. Girls were to be instructed in the "Female Part, as House-wives, School-instructresses, tayloresses, &c." to accompany the boys back to the tribe where they would maintain a proper household for the Indian missionary so he

⁴ No adequate history of these new societies exists but see Elsbree, *Rise of the Missionary Spirit*; Joseph Tracy et. al., *History of the Indian Missions to the Heathen, from their Commencement to the Present Time* (Worcester, 1840).

⁵ Boston, 1743.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-8. On the charity school movement in the British Isles, see M.G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement: A Study in Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action* (Cambridge, England, 1938), esp. pp. 238-59 on industrial schools in Ireland.

⁷ For the background and development of Sergeant's ideas, see Samuel Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians* (New York, 1911) [Reprint of Boston, 1753, edition], pp. 94-95, 105-25, 142-55.

would not relapse into savagery and where they would "recommend to the savages a more rational and decent manner of living. . . ." ⁸ According to this plan the actual station in the field would be staffed by a man and wife who preached, taught school, farmed and kept house. As such they would have been a model of Christian family life in the wilderness. Although the training program was of the new type, the end-product was the model family idea which resembled a prevalent form in colonial missionization.

Not until the nineteenth century did the model community plan come into its own in missionary work. When missionary Joseph Bullen of the New York Missionary Society returned from the Chickasaws he brought the request of the principal chief for farmers and mechanics to teach the tribe agriculture and trades.⁹ Since the Society believed in the importance of civilizing the Indians, it permitted Bullen to gather a company of twenty-two including a saddler, a blacksmith, a shoemaker, with their families as well as a farmer and a schoolteacher, who were willing to instruct the Indians. The Society resolved "that the formation of a small religious society of such characters among the Indians might be of great importance of subserving the interests of the Society." The plan was never realized for lack of funds.¹⁰

Abortive as Bullen's efforts were, his example was not lost on Gideon Blackburn, who first developed the boarding school located within the Indian tribe.¹¹ In the mid-1790s Blackburn, aware of previous mission failures, set about devising a plan that could combat "*ignorance, obstinacy, and strong prejudices*," without having the Indians "dogmatically instructed on the most exalted subjects that can occupy the mind of the most enlightened man." He soon concluded:

I knew that the operations of God in the hearts of men were not confined to means. Yet even in religion cause and effect have been in the order of events without any deviation. I conceived it therefore indispensable to prepare the mind by the most simple ideas, and by a process which would associate civilization with religious instruction, and thus

⁸ Eleazar Wheelock, *A Plain and Faithful Narrative of the Original Design, Rise, Progress and Present State of the Indian Charity-School at Lebanon, in Connecticut* (Boston, 1763), pp. 14-15.

⁹ Minutes of N.Y.M.S. Directors, Nov. 22, 1799, ABC 23. III, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. I have employed the notational system devised by Harvard for these manuscripts, which always commences with ABC. I wish to thank Miss Mary Walker, Librarian of the Board, for permission to use these papers.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, January 11, 1800 and other entries for January and February 1800.

¹¹ Bullen and Blackburn conferred in 1799 according to Walter B. Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest, 1778-1838* (Richmond, Va., 1952), p. 61.

- gradually prepare the rising race for the more sublime truths of religion, as they should be able to view them.

Thus the Indians, "if rightly managed," eventually would "become American Citizens, and a valuable part of the Union."¹² The plan was based on a school because he believed "that after the habits are formed, the only way to reduce them is by the influence of the children." In the Tennessee Presbyterian's opinion, instructing the unsocialized children would "not only rescue the rising race from savage manners, but also . . . light up beacons, by which the parents might gradually be conducted into the same field of improvement."¹³ In essence this was the child training theory upon which the model Zion was built.

Blackburn sought financial backing for his ideas in 1799, but his frontier presbytery was too poor to support the ambitious project he proposed. In 1803 he gained the funds from the Presbyterian General Assembly. In presenting his plan to accomplish a "revolution in the habits of the Cherokee nation," so strongly did he urge the necessity of thoroughly preparing the way for the Gospel by civilization, that the standing Committee on Missions stated definitely that the station was "intended as an introduction to the notice of the Indians, to conciliate their friendship, & to prepare the way for extensive usefulness among them at a future day." The Committee considered the whole affair an experiment.¹⁴ Eagerly and prayerfully Blackburn returned south. On his journey home he discussed his plans with President Jefferson and received letters of recommendation from the Secretary of War.¹⁵ In October 1803, he laid his plan before the Cherokee chiefs. After a few days of deliberation, they consented to his proposal and fixed a site for the school near the Hiwassee River in a part of the tribe most unlikely to be civilized.¹⁶

Immediately Blackburn set about establishing the institution. In the spring of 1804 the school opened and by the end of the first week twenty-one children were enrolled. Two buildings, the schoolhouse and the teacher's house, doubled for boys' and girls' sleeping quarters at night with the schoolhouse serving as dining hall as well as its nominal function. To maintain steady attendance at his boarding school, he persuaded the chiefs to rule that any child leaving school without permission or remaining home beyond ten days after vacations forfeited the clothing

¹² G. Blackburn to J. Morse,——1807, *Panopolist*, III (June 1807), 39-40.

¹³ Blackburn to Morse, November 10, 1807, *ibid.*, III (December 1807), 322-23.

¹⁴ Instructions to Blackburn by Standing Committee, June 1, 1803, manuscript Minutes of the Standing Committee of Missions of General Assembly of Presbyterian Church, Board of National Missions, New York City.

¹⁵ Blackburn to Morse,——1807, *Panopolist*, III (June 1807), 39-40.

¹⁶ Blackburn to Morse,——1807, *ibid.*, III (July 1807), 84-86.

given him by the mission. The chief of the child's district bound himself to return the delinquent's clothing to the school, or Blackburn had the privilege to deduct the clothing's value from such chief's share of the annuities.¹⁷

Since in Blackburn's opinion success lay only in training children in white ways before savage habits formed, not an aspect of their small lives was to go unwatched and unchanged. "The mode of dieting, clothing, and instructing them, and even their recreations was important." For this reason he purchased all the table provisions and hired a cook who prepared the "victuals in American style." He furnished a large table around which the red scholars

could decently take their seats; and after the master had looked up for a blessing, during which time they all devoutly attended, they were taught etiquette [*sic*] of the table. It was indeed particularly pleasing to see how emulously they strove to excel, and how orderly they would wait for a dismissal by the returning of thanks: A conduct which might put to blush many of our *coxcomb* would be infidels. . . .

Meals were regular, the diet wholesome (and "American"), and the preparations neat and clean in light of contemporary custom. The children were dressed in American clothes and cleanliness of person strongly encouraged. The school also furnished the blankets for the scholars to sleep on, because Blackburn discovered the use of beds was unknown to the tribe.¹⁸ To complete this process, each red scholar was given a name "thought proper," that is, an American name.¹⁹

The school day was as strictly controlled as the environment. Early in the morning the children rose, prayed and washed. School opened with scripture reading and public prayer after which the children engaged in lessons. Breakfast interrupted their studies and then an hour of recreation. At 9 o'clock they returned to lessons for three hours followed by a meal and two hours of play. Lessons then claimed their attention until evening. In the summer between sundown and dark and in the winter between dark and 9 o'clock, the children said their spelling lessons. The long day closed with hymn singing and a prayer by the master. Just before going to bed, the children prayed upon their knees.²⁰ During the instructional periods singing and lessons alternated to keep the "mind open to truth"—or perhaps awake. To develop proper study habits a

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Blackburn to Morse, November 10, 1807, *Panopolist*, III (December 1807), 322-23.

¹⁹ Blackburn to the Standing Committee, March 8, 1805, *General Assembly's Missionary Magazine*, I (May 1805), 259-62.

²⁰ Blackburn to Morse, November 10, 1807, *Panopolist*, III (December 1807), 322-23.

prize was awarded at each public examination to the child exhibiting the greatest progress.²¹

After three and a half years of work Blackburn concluded that his schools, for by then he had established a second, were no longer an experiment but successful proof of his plans for educating the savages. He no longer doubted "the strength of Indian genius, even in those parts of literature which do not depend on mechanism."²² In his plans he looked confidently to the future. If funds were available, his first school should become a center for higher learning gathering scholars from smaller schools scattered about the Cherokee Nation. Such an institution would excite the small-school pupils to strive for advanced training which in turn would fit them to assume leading roles in the tribe. When the scholar graduated from school he should be provided with a small library for further study.²³ If funds were only available, enough Christian teachers could be hired to provide all the education desired and in "a few years would raise in the forests civilized families and magnificent Churches. . . ."²⁴ At this stage of progress the tribe would assume the support of the schools.²⁵ Funds were not available and these roseate dreams never materialized in Blackburn's time.

During the same period that Blackburn pursued his experiment, Joseph Badger instituted the first manual labor boarding school. That the Western Missionary Society established such a model community resulted from Badger's ultimatum: "the only condition, on which I was willing to enter the field of missions among the Wyandots, was, that domestic and civil improvements should be united with religious instructions."²⁶ For the first time since Sergeant's plan, Badger's idea was "to unite religious and moral instruction, schooling of children, in the English language, and agriculture, so as to render them auxiliary to each other." As a result the station possessed in addition to the usual school facilities and equipment two teams of horses, two yokes of oxen, plows, chain, and laborers who instructed the Indians in fencing, plowing, raising corn and other grain, and building houses. The farm raised vegetables for the mission family and scholars and also served as a demonstration project to the Indians. The Society planned to add a blacksmith's shop and a

²¹ Blackburn to Morse, ——1807, *Panopolist*, III (July 1807), 84-86.

²² Blackburn to Green, December 7, 1807, *Evangelical Intelligencer*, II (January 1808), 40-41.

²³ Blackburn to A. Green, n.d., *General Assembly's Missionary Magazine*, III (May 1807), 321-23.

²⁴ Blackburn to Standing Committee, January 27, 1806, *ibid.*, II (March 1806), 137-38.

²⁵ Blackburn to A. Green, n.d., *ibid.*, III (May 1807), 321-23.

²⁶ J. Badger to Boston S.P.G., n.d., *Panopolist*, XI (February 1815), 86-89.

horse mill to make the mission even more self-sufficient, but the Shawnee Prophet's hostility and the outbreak of the War of 1812 destroyed the station.²⁷

Blackburn's plan, and perhaps Badger's, influenced the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' first endeavor. Cyrus Kingsbury, the originator of the Board's enterprise among the Cherokees, claimed his plans were patterned "as to all its important parts" after Blackburn's in the tribe, but the emphasis on the model farm suggests Badger's influence.²⁸ In extending to the Cherokees "the distinguished blessings which we enjoy," Kingsbury, like his Presbyterian predecessor in the tribe, believed no measure was "so likely to succeed, as to begin with the instruction of the rising generation."²⁹

In two articles in the *Panopolist* in the spring of 1816, Kingsbury outlined his proposals. In the first article, whose title, "What are the Motives Which Should Produce the Churches in the United States to Attempt the Conversion and Civilization of the Indians?" reveals its contents, he prepared the American Board's supporters' minds for the new enterprise.³⁰ He suggested in the second article, "Sketch of a Plan for Instructing the Indians,"³¹ the general plans for his enterprise. He argued the feasibility of boarding schools located inside the tribe. If these institutions were taught on the Lancastrian plan, one school would suffice for "several hundreds of children." In the classroom the Indian youths would learn the "rudiments of the English language, and the branches of learning usually taught in common English schools." Adjacent to the school were to be a workhouse, a large garden and fields where the children "might occasionally be instructed in the most useful mechanical arts, and in agriculture. This will afford them a pleasant and profitable amusement, during a part of the time when they are out of school." The teachers and farmers at these stations with their families would be a model of Christian home life. Kingsbury well realized the greater expense of these

²⁷ J. Badger to J. Morse, February 22, 1809, *Panopolist*, IV (February 1809), 427-28; Report of Trustees of Western Missionary Society to Standing Committee, *Evangelical Intelligencer*, II (May 1808), 240-41.

²⁸ Badger's efforts were known to New Englanders through the *Panopolist*. But see Blackburn's claims in *Through the South and the West with Jeremiah Evarts in 1826*, ed. J. Orin Oliphant (Lewisburg, Pa., 1956), pp. 187-89, to have invented the manual labor school.

²⁹ C. Kingsbury to W. H. Crawford, May 2, 1810, National Archives, War Records, Secretary of War, Letters Received, K-18 (9).

³⁰ *Panopolist*, XII (March 1816), 118-22. I believe the initials "K. C." signed to this article and the one referred to in the next footnote are the inverted initials of Cyrus Kingsbury.

³¹ *Ibid.*, XII (April 1816), 150-51.

establishments compared to the model family type, but thought within a few years the children could do much to support themselves.

Soon after the publication of these articles, the Board asked Kingsbury to begin a Cherokee mission. On his way south Kingsbury visited Washington, D. C., and related his plans to the Secretary of War. The President authorized the Cherokee agent to erect a comfortable schoolhouse, a teacher's house and a boarding house, and to furnish two hoes and six axes to aid in introducing civilization to the pupils. Furthermore, he promised a loom, six spinning wheels and six pairs of cards whenever a female teacher was hired to teach the girls how to use those implements.³²

After discussions with the Cherokee chiefs and influential Tennesseans, Kingsbury elaborated and systematized his plans for the station. Since the aim of the establishment was to make the native children "useful citizens, and pious Christians," the instructors must "form them to habits of industry, and . . . give them a competent knowledge of the economy of civilized life," as well as a common English education to accomplish these aims successfully.

The children should be removed as much as possible from the society of the natives, and placed where they would have the influence of example, as well as precept. This can only be done by forming the school into one great missionary family where they would be boarded by the Missionary and teachers, be entirely under their direction and have pious[,] orderly & industrious example constantly before them.

To the impecunious missionary society, financing was always important. The resourceful Kingsbury pointed out that if the Board furnished the tools and horses to work the free land and employed the students to do much of the work, then the establishment would be self-sustaining. All expenditures for stock and equipment would increase the value of the station. In addition it would afford every facility to instruct the children in agriculture, "and give them habits of industry, in such a way as directly benefit [sic] the institution."³³

The ground plan of Brainerd, as the station was named, exemplified in wood the abstractions of Kingsbury. Over thirty buildings were required to shelter its many functions. In the center was the two-story mission house occupied by the superintendent and the other missionaries. Behind it was the dining hall and the kitchen and flanking it was the girls' schoolhouse. On the edge of the clearing stood the boys' school

³² C. Kingsbury to W. H. Crawford, May 2, 1816, National Archives, War Records, Secretary of War, Letters Received, K-18(9); W. H. Crawford to C. Kingsbury, May 15, 1816, National Archives, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Letters Sent, Vol. C.

³³ C. Kingsbury to C. Worcester, November 28, 1816, ABC 18.3.1. III:6.

which was capable of holding one hundred scholars; on the Sabbath it doubled as a church. At the other end of the lane on which the buildings stood was the grist mill and a sawmill. In between other buildings served as barns, storehouses and dwellings for the laborers and students. Surrounding the little community were a garden, an orchard and several cleared fields, mostly fenced, constituting in all about fifty acres. Though small in extent, the sight of the little community, as one observer expressed it,

being in the midst of a wilderness, whose deep forests appear on every side, presents to the beholder a scene of cultivation and of active and cheerful life, which cannot but inspire him with pleasure. To the Christian, who contemplates the moral wilderness by which it is surrounded, it presents a prospect more delightful than tongue can express.³⁴

Here at last were realized all the principles of the manual labor boarding school. The institution was a self-contained community in the wilderness. The children were removed from their parents into a totally controlled environment. This physical separation deemed so essential here is also demonstrated in other stations in even so small an item as a fence to keep the nonscholars out of the scholars' play yard in order to avoid contamination by savage customs.³⁵ The varied instruction required a large number of laborers who exemplified Christian and civilized life in the controlled environment. The products of student labor were both economically rewarding to the society and educationally beneficial to the child. The parents were attracted to view the establishment by their offsprings' presence and they too learned by the demonstration project. Yet the school could not be located too near the Indians' habitations for fear of contamination; instead the adults must travel to the controlled environment.³⁶

A minister jubilantly declared that the plan had been "visibly owned by the Holy Ghost,"³⁷ and the new national missionary societies of the

³⁴ Description by Elias Cornelius, quoted in Robert S. Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees, the Brainerd Mission* (New York, 1931), pp. 105-8. Cf. J. Evart's description, A.B.C.F.M., *Report*, 1818, p. 190.

³⁵ Eg., S. Irvin to J. Lowrie, February 21, 1846, American Indian Correspondence 4:3:35, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

³⁶ A. Finney and C. Washburn to J. C. Calhoun, September 25, 1821, ABC 18.3.1. I:44, copy; Thaddeus M. Harris, *A Discourse, Preached November 6, 1823* (Boston, 1823), p. 19; A.B.C.F.M., *Report*, 1824, pp. 45-47; "Boarding Schools an Independent Auxiliary in the Missionary Work," *Home and Foreign Record*, VI (September 1855), 275-78.

³⁷ Edward D. Griffin, *Foreign Missions. A Sermon Preached May 9, 1819, at the Anniversary of the United Foreign Missionary Society, in the Garden-Street Church, New York* (New York, 1819), p. 19.

various denominations rapidly adopted the model community in hope of reaping the aboriginal fields that had lain barren so long. So sure were the missionaries and their patrons of the merits of the manual labor boarding school that one society in 1823 proclaimed the results of the experiment before it was fairly tried: "that the American Savage is capable of being both civilized and Christianized, can no longer be questioned. The problem is already solved. Successful experiment has placed the subject beyond doubt."³⁸ Further impetus was given the movement by the federal government's espousal of the method, backed by assistance from the funds appropriated annually since 1819 for civilizing the Indians. This financial blessing plus the enthusiasm of the missionary directors meant most of the schools founded in the 1820s were of the new type, but size and staff varied considerably among them. For example, in 1828, forty mission schools, or almost all those in operation, received government aid. The largest establishment had twenty-seven members, but several were staffed by one person or a single family.³⁹

In terms of the mental climate of the period, it is easy to understand the mission societies' optimism. At last they thought they had found a certain method of accomplishing their chief end—the propagation of the Gospel.⁴⁰ That this was their task as they conceived it rested upon the basic Protestant tenet of the acceptance of the Bible as the sole standard of faith. To the Gospel was ascribed "a miraculous power of producing conversion which is inherent in the word."⁴¹ But was no human agency necessary? In the missionary directors' opinion the task's accomplishment among frontier *white* settlements destitute of religion reduced simply to collecting sufficient funds to have Bibles printed, distributed and expounded.⁴² But what was needed for the savage? The Word could be conveyed by preaching, but in that situation the listener depended upon the authority of the speaker. Should not the convert be able to determine for himself matters of doctrine by reference to the Supreme Source as

³⁸ Records of United Foreign Missionary Society Board of Managers, May 5, 1823, ABC 24. III: 192-93.

³⁹ Senate Document no. 1, 20 Cong., 2 sess. (1828-29), p. 99.

⁴⁰ Some announced this as an end in their very titles, e.g., The Society for Propagating the Gospel Among Indians and Others in North America and the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen; others in their fundamental documents, e.g., Constitution of the United Foreign Missionary Society, article two, Records of the United Foreign Missionary Society Board of Managers, ABC 24. II:5; Constitution of the Baptist Missionary Convention in William Gammell, *History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe and North America* (Boston, 1840), p. 19.

⁴¹ See Ernst Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress* (Boston, 1958), pp. 54, 65.

⁴² For domestic missionary work, see Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier, with Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939).

revealed in the Holy Scriptures? Was not literacy required and did not this necessitate the founding of schools? Furthermore, did not the Indians need an economic system that would support the requisite schools and churches? In short, was not civilization as well as religion necessary to the establishment of scriptural self-propagating Christianity? As one writer said,

the Gospel, plain and simple as it is, and fitted by its nature for what it was designed to effect, requires an intellect above that of a savage to comprehend. Nor is it at all to the dishonor of our holy faith that such men must be taught a previous lesson, and first of all be instructed in the emollient arts of life.⁴³

In fact, in viewing the actual operations of the manual labor boarding school, we have seen civilization inextricably combined with Christianity in every attempt. The question now becomes: What meaning did the words "civilization" and "Christianity" possess in the minds of the missionaries and their supporters in the early nineteenth century that inevitably made them link the two concepts together? An answer to this question will reveal the assumptions that determined the form of the manual labor school.

Civilization as conceived in this period meant an upward unilinear development of human society and America was its highest incarnation. The concept was composed of a complex of related ideas: progress, fundamental law, the free and responsible individual, manifest destiny and faith in America as the best embodiment of civilization in the world's history.⁴⁴ To the missionaries as to most Americans, Protestantism was an inseparable component of the whole idea of civilization.⁴⁵

As the missionary shared his fellow countrymen's evaluation of American civilization, so he shared their image of the Indian. That nineteenth-

⁴³ Bishop Warburton, quoted in Thaddeus M. Harris, *A Discourse, Preached November 6, 1823* (Boston, 1823), p. 8. In actuality, a debate raged whether to civilize or Christianize first. For examples, see *ibid.*; Lathrop, *A Discourse . . . January, 1804*; John M. Mason, *Hope for the Heathen: A Sermon, Preached in the Old Presbyterian Church, Before the New-York Missionary Society, at their Annual Meeting, November 7, 1797* (New York, 1797), pp. 41-44; Benjamin B. Wisner, *A Discourse, Delivered on November 5, 1829* (Boston, 1829), pp. 5-14. From examining the polemics, we see that the argument over the best method of propagating the Gospel reduced to simple precedence of procedure in the dissemination of equally desirable elements.

⁴⁴ These ideas have been analyzed by modern scholarship: Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The American Spirit: A Study of the Idea of Civilization in the United States* (New York, 1942); Arthur A. Ekirch, *The Idea of Progress, 1815-1860* (New York, 1944); Albert K. Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny, A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Baltimore, 1935); Ralph Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (2nd ed., New York, 1956), pp. 3-104. Almost any missionary letter will reveal these attitudes.

⁴⁵ Gabriel, *Course of American Democratic Thought*, pp. 26-39; Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress*.

century Americans could not observe the aborigine without measuring him against their own society has been demonstrated by Roy Harvey Pearce in his book, *The Savages of America*.⁴⁶ A certain type of cultural relativity and moral absolutism combined in this view to show that though white and red man were of the same biological mold, the Indian possessed customs that fitted him perfectly to his level of development in the history of man, but the level was far inferior to that of the white European. The savage was the zero point of human society. As Pearce remarks,

One would thus be evaluating not so much the qualities of an individual as those of a society; and one would be placing that society in relation to one's own in such a way that history, and the idea of progress which gave meaning to history, would solve the problem of evaluation. The idea of history made it possible fully to comprehend the culture earlier as morally inferior. . . .⁴⁷

Therefore, seemingly objective observations on Indian character were always normative analyses of what the Indian should be in terms of nineteenth-century American society. Persons engaged in the missionary movement particularly viewed the objects of their benevolence in this manner, because moral evaluation was their stock in trade.⁴⁸

Thus the concept of civilization both set the goal and explained the object of benevolence, for the missionary was, of course, a member of his culture, holding its basic values and attributes in common with his fellow participants. Like other Americans he dressed, possessed but one wife, believed in abstract justice, ate certain foods in certain ways and favored a specific economic system. Yet as one anthropologist has pointed out, missionaries "represent a subculture within western culture," for they "stress theology and the moral taboos more than their fellow-countrymen."⁴⁹ They adhered more rigorously to the sexual code, were more honest (or were supposed to be), propounded the theological system more seriously, and were intensely concerned with the minor taboos of our culture, tobacco, drink and the verbal prohibitions against obscenity, profanity and blasphemy. As convinced adherents of their culture, they imparted literacy, science, a certain technology and the other facets of white life in the form of school curricula, adult instruction and other conscious methods.

⁴⁶ *The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization* (Baltimore, 1953).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴⁸ E.g., *ibid.*, pp. 96-97, 115-17; Francis Barker to ——, October 2, 1851, *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, XXXII (February 1852), 59; "Condition of the Heathen," *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, V (March 1837), 45.

⁴⁹ G. Gordon Brown, "Missionaries and Cultural Diffusion," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (November 1944), 214. This paragraph is based on this article.

They also held "certain basic attitudes which [were] not part of the essential ethic of Christianity or the useful cultural technologies" which they transmitted. "These attitudes manifested themselves in unsystematized but nevertheless consistent reactions to situations." Some of these behavioral patterns are the reaction to the exposure of the human body, open discussion of sexual matters and practice of certain rituals of social intercourse. Such behavior frequently reflected certain social class values in the culture, for example, attitudes on drinking and profanity. Missionaries were representatives of middle-class society. To utilize the anthropologist's summary, "A missionary [was] thus a member of his society, characterized by the culture of his society, and differing only from other members of his society by emphasis on particular aspects of his culture."

For all these reasons Christianity and civilization were unified in the minds of the missionaries, and the version of their culture which they propagated may be called, as some termed it, "Christian Civilization." The only good Indian was a carbon copy of a good white man, or as a Methodist missionary wrote, "In school and in the field as well as in the kitchen, our aim was to teach the Indians to live like white people."⁵⁰ In spite of varying emphases in missionary work, the future Indian utopia envisaged by the directors of the societies was the same—a mirror of their world. Such was the vision of the Board of Managers of the United Foreign Missionary Society.

Let then, missionary institutions, established to convey to them the benefits of civilization and the blessings of Christianity, be efficiently supported; and, with cheering hope, you may look forward to the period when the savage shall be converted into the citizen; when the hunter shall be transformed into the mechanic; when the farm, the work shop, the Schoolhouse, and the Church shall adorn every Indian village; when the fruits of Industry, good order, and sound morals, shall bless every Indian dwelling; and when, throughout the vast range of country from the Mississippi to the Pacific, the red man and the white man shall everywhere be found, mingling in the same benevolent and friendly feelings, fellow citizens of the same civil and religious community, and fellow-heirs to a glorious inheritance in the kingdom of Immanuel.⁵¹

Thus both Indian institutions and Indian "character" had to be transformed. The institutions needed by the Indians were just those already possessed by Americans. As a Presbyterian missionary remarked, "It is to

⁵⁰ John H. Pitezel, *Lights and Shades of Missionary Life: Containing Travels, Sketches, Incidents, and Missionary Efforts, During Nine Years Spent in the Region of Lake Superior* (Cincinnati, 1857), p. 57.

⁵¹ Records of the United Foreign Missionary Society Board of Managers, May 5, 1823, ABC 24. III: 209 ff.

make these [savage] abodes of ignorance and degradation, as happy, as gladsome, as the happiest and most gladsome village in our peaceful land." ⁵² The arrogant savage was to be turned into a man of humility who implicitly believed, "Industry is good, honesty is essential, punctuality is important, sobriety is essential. . ." ⁵³ This new man abhorred idleness and considered labor good for the body and "not unprofitable to the spirit." The Christian Indian was to manifest "tenderness of conscience, a docility, and a desire for further instruction" in the great mysteries.⁵⁴ Many missionaries also wanted him to show "Yankee enterprise—go ahead determination."⁵⁵

What was the method required to achieve these goals? If a savage merely lacked knowledge of the more advanced condition to which human society had evolved, then a missionary had but to point out the way and the savage would adopt it. Field work, then, was a simple matter of instruction to be quickly accomplished—if the Indian like the white man was rational. Fundamental to this idea was a belief in the similarity of "human nature" along the evolutionary continuum of human society. Not thinking in terms of cultures as social scientists do today, but in terms of "human nature," the missionaries and their patrons assumed the same system of basic values was held by savage and civilized man alike.⁵⁶ In the missionaries' eyes any right-thinking savage should be able to recognize the superiority of Christian civilization when shown him. Thus, in regard to secular knowledge, the New York Missionary Society Directors instructed their laborer among the Tuscaroras to "persuade" that tribe "by every rational motive to the practice of civilization, & to relish the enjoyments of domestic society" by calling to their attention that the whites increased in population because they farmed.

This argument will operate on the feelings of the patriotic Indian, and will serve to establish with convictive energy the arguments adduced from self-interest, so clearly evinced in the diminution of bodily fatigue, in the alleviation of mental anxiety, & improvements of domestic com-

⁵² W. O. Smith to Kerr and Cloud, July 22, 1833, American Indian Correspondence 3: 1: 4, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

⁵³ Joseph Elkington Diary, February 11, 1828, Transcript in Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, April 23, 1827.

⁵⁵ *Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 1824, pp. 70-71.

⁵⁶ E.g., "Methodist-Mission Among the Indians," *Christian Advocate*, II (July 18, 1828), 181. The author states, "Human nature is the same whether observed in the savages of the forest, or among the higher walks of civilized life; and whoever conforms to the apostolic mode of preaching may expect . . . success."

forts; & will strengthen & confirm the more powerful & weighty motives derived from the obligations of Religion.⁵⁷

Likewise with Christianity, since Protestantism embraced the highest evolution of morals, the missionary had only to explain its superiority over savage degradation to secure mass conversion. Since conversion to Christ and civilization was conceived simply as an instructional problem, schools were established. There the Indians would be "persuaded" by "right reason" to adopt the white religion and ways, and would learn how to pray, farm and behave. Such plans meant, of course, a large establishment to show the full complexities of American life. In effect, they were model communities which sought to catch the children before native custom did and to serve as demonstration projects for the adult Indians.

Not only were the goals of mission societies prescribed by the sponsoring civilization, which is only to be expected, but even the method used to achieve these aims developed in line with a preconceived image of the Indian rather than through field experience. In other words, the evolution of the manual labor boarding school was determined less by the second party in the contract situation, than by the stereotypes prevalent among the white population at that time. Reality on the frontier, as in the East, was only seen through the perceptual framework of the culture. The activities of missionaries were determined in main outline before they ever arrived in the wilderness.

⁵⁷ "Additional Instructions to the Missionary to the Northwestern Indians," June 11, 1801, Minutes of the New York Missionary Society Directors, ABC 28, III.



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The Democratic Faith in American Schoolbooks, 1783-1860

FROM NOAH WEBSTER IN THE 1780S TO EMMA WILLARD IN 1860, THE AUTHORS of American school textbooks emphatically believed that there was such a thing as national character and that they had a duty to help form and preserve it. They set out to create a usable past for republican America—an agreed-upon national myth, we might say now. Fundamental elements in the canon they constructed were the enduring shibboleths of the American democratic faith—liberty, equality, morality. Taken together, their schoolbooks present a composite picture of a chosen people and a unique nation, especially favored by Providence and endowed with a world mission to spread democratic government and pure religion.

In the rhetoric of schoolbook patriotism, the words liberty and freedom appear more often perhaps than any others, unless it be their antonyms, tyranny and oppression. (Indeed, one of the most striking characteristics of schoolbook authors is the habit of polarization, the tendency to see things in terms of their opposites.) Nowhere are the dimensions of "liberty" defined. It does not seem to have meant simply the absence of restraints upon the individual, since the authors themselves wove a tight net of moral constrictions around individual conduct. Essentially, liberty seems to have meant release from foreign monarchic rule and a dictated religion. Once "crown and crosier rul'd a coward world," a Fourth of July poem said, but then the Pilgrim Fathers, "by faith impell'd, by freedom fir'd,/By hope supported, and by God inspir'd," helped to break the "vile chains" which had bound "earth's torpid children."¹ "The principles of civil and religious liberty," Benson J. Lossing wrote, were asserted before Columbus made his first voyage, and "had shaken thrones and overturned dynasties before Charles the First was brought to the block." In Europe the "love of liberty . . . germinated beneath the heat of persecution." In

¹ Montgomery Robert Bartlett, *The Juvenile Orator . . .* (Philadelphia, 1839), p. 139.

America it "budded and blossomed. . . . Here king-craft and priest-craft never had an abiding place, and their ministers were always weak in the majestic presence of the popular will."²

Although schoolbook "liberty" was primarily political or religious, occasionally it also meant economic free enterprise. In 1800 Mathew Carey linked "liberty and the security of property."³ To a politician whose Fourth of July speech in 1837 was anthologized in a school reader, freedom was a creative power. He called the "magic changes" since 1776—growth "in population, in wealth, and in all that constitutes individual prosperity and national power"—"the natural results of that perfect freedom of enterprise, and security of person and property" guaranteed by our political institutions. He asked: "Will any one tell me that these, instead of being the legitimate fruits of free government and free institutions, are the result of the native energies of the country?"⁴ This idea was exceptional. The texts usually did attribute the growth of the United States to the "native energies" of the people as well as to their freedom; and freedom was a boon they deserved because they had won it by their determination and valor. Yet it was essentially a negative boon, an escape from the injustice of "a tyrant king"⁵ and from "the curse of moral and political despotism" like that which still prevailed in Hispanic America.⁶

Equality, not liberty, Tocqueville considered the great passion of democratic America. A prolific author and editor of school texts, Samuel Griswold Goodrich ("Peter Parley"), agreed: "The tendency to exclusiveness [in America] is checked and repressed by public opinion, which is exercised more to secure equality than even liberty."⁷ Nevertheless, equality received much less emphasis than freedom in school texts; and much more than liberty, it was a negative value, a safeguard against relapse into monarchy. William Grimshaw, the author of an early school history of the United States, commented:

. . . although . . . aristocratic customs are so generally denounced by the laws, they are eagerly followed by the people. . . . There are in the United States more nominal nobility, than any country in the world exhibits, of legitimate creation. Every governor is Excellent; every

² Benson J. Lossing, *A Pictorial History of the United States for Schools and Families* (New York, 1854), pp. 158-59.

³ *The School of Wisdom: or American Monitor . . . ,* ed. Mathew Carey (Philadelphia, 1800), p. iii.

⁴ Lyman Cobb, *Cobb's New North American Reader; or, Fifth Reading Book . . .* (New York, 1852), p. 340.

⁵ William S. Cardell, *The Middle Class Reader . . .* (new ed.; Philadelphia, 1853), p. 57.

⁶ Lossing, *Pictorial History of the United States*, p. 33.

⁷ Samuel G. Goodrich, *Manners and Customs of the Principal Nations of the Globe* (Boston, 1845), p. 21.

. judge, senator, and representative, is Honourable; and every justice of the peace, distinguished by the chivalric title of Esquire. These frivolities should be carefully discouraged, and the dangerous assumptions, by every real friend of liberty, opposed. They are the first robes in which a republic advances to aristocracy; thence, to monarchy; and, from monarchy, to oppression and extravagance.⁸

In the texts equality is a lackluster hero to whom the authors pay canting tribute. The villains of the piece, kings and nobles, are lusty and colorful. There is, perhaps, unacknowledged envy in the words of latter-day Puritans as they denounce "proud and haughty" English aristocrats who "live in great castles and palace-like halls" and revel in sensual pleasures. As rulers, Jacob Abbott wrote, "instead of being the wise and the good, they are only cunning and wicked. It is not possible for the imagination to conceive of characters more selfish, profligate, and vile, than the line of English kings, with two or three doubtful exceptions, have uniformly exhibited from the earliest periods to the present day."⁹

One of the foreign aristocrat's worst vices, Abbott thought, was "to look with scorn on every species of peaceful industry."¹⁰ Similarly, other Yankee authors disparaged Southern slaveowners as aristocratic scorers of the secular Puritan ethic—industry, thrift and sobriety—which the textbooks sought to make universal. Southerners were "haughty and imperious," Nathaniel Dwight wrote, and "attached strongly to pleasure and dissipation."¹¹ They were indolent, the author of a geography said, and self-indulgent devotees of "dancing, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and chiefly hunting."¹²

Rarely does one find in the schoolbooks of pre-Civil War America an ardent plea for equality as a moving force for democratic development. William H. Seward, in a Fourth of July speech in 1839 that soon found its way into a school reader, struck this rare positive note:

- Our institutions, excellent as they are, have hitherto produced but a small portion of the beneficent results they are calculated to bestow

⁸ William Grimshaw, *History of the United States . . .* (rev. ed.; Philadelphia, 1826), p. 193.

⁹ Jacob Abbott, *Narrative of the General Course of History from the Earliest Periods to the Establishment of the American Constitution* (New York, 1856), pp. 300, 388-89.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

¹¹ Nathaniel Dwight, *A Short but Comprehensive System of the Geography of the World . . .* (2nd Conn. ed.; Hartford [1797?]), pp. 183, 186. The American Antiquarian Society copy of this book gives the publication date [1795?]. But it tells of the admission of Tennessee to the Union.

¹² Daniel Adams, *Geography; or, a Description of the World in Three Parts . . . for the Use of Schools and Academies* (5th ed.; Boston, 1820) pp. 136-37, 140-41, 145, 150.

upon the People. The chief of these benefits is EQUALITY. We do indeed enjoy equality of civil rights. But we have not yet attained, we have only approximated toward, EQUALITY OF SOCIAL CONDITION. . . . [Aristocracy unfortunately exists even in America.] We should be degenerate descendants of our heroic forefathers, did we not assail this aristocracy, remove the barriers between the rich and the poor, break the control of the few over the many, extend the largest liberty to the greatest number, and strengthen in every way the democratic principles of our constitution.

In this great work, he told his audience at a Sunday School celebration on Staten Island, "Sunday Schools and Common Schools are the great levelling institutions of the age."¹³

"Levelling institutions"! On the "levelling" role of the schools, most textbook authors of Jacksonian America agreed with Seward. Their opposition to aristocracy extended even to an aristocracy of brains. They valued creativity less than uniformity, trained intelligence less than the spreading of useful knowledge and the cultivation of virtue.¹⁴ After quoting Benjamin F. Butler on "The Necessities and Advantages of the General Diffusion of Knowledge," the compiler of a reader asked: "Will all remember, however, that it would be better for the community to have all the children and youth of our country grow up in UTTER IGNORANCE, if they are not *morally* educated at the same time that they are *intellectually* educated, so as to become GOOD, MORAL, and VIRTUOUS citizens as well as WISE and LEARNED men, as a *learned* wicked man can do *ten* times as much mischief in society as an *ignorant* wicked man?"¹⁵ "We have, indeed, been desirous to cultivate the memory, the intellect, and the taste," Emma Willard wrote. "But much more anxious have we been to sow the seeds of virtue."¹⁶

Education meant indoctrination—indoctrination in the familiar catalogue of moral virtues of Protestant, agrarian-commercial America: industry, thrift, practicality, temperance, honesty, plain living, patriotism, and piety. These moral values were the props of the state. Without them the flourishing republic of the New World could not endure.

The incarnation of all these virtues was George Washington, the gigantic hero-figure of pre-Civil War America. American schoolbooks often

¹³ Cobb's *New North American Reader*, p. 286.

¹⁴ "The primary intellectual value embodied in these books is that the only important knowledge is that which is 'useful.'" Ruth Miller Elson, "American Schoolbooks and 'Culture' in the Nineteenth Century," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (December 1959), 413.

¹⁵ Cobb's *New North American Reader*, p. 253.

¹⁶ Emma Willard, *Abridged History of the United States, or Republic of America* (new ed.; New York, 1860), p. 5.

called the Revolution the supreme event in human history, and Washington dwarfed all its other heroes. In writing of him, bombastic authors drew upon their lushest prose. The compiler of *The Juvenile Orator* wrote:

The history of the Old World records the names of those whose deeds and daring cast a passing glare upon the age in which they lived, and whose memory yet survive[s] the waste of time; but to the New World was reserved the glory of giving existence to one, the lustre of whose virtues lighted the habitable globe with a noon-tide splendor, that can subside only with subsiding nature. Upon the broad page of the history of man, GEORGE WASHINGTON stands in unclouded sublimity, an unmatched model of self-created greatness.¹⁷

Washington stood alone in the American pantheon, but much can be inferred about the nation's culture merely from a listing of other schoolbook heroes: Christopher Columbus, intrepid discoverer; John Smith, successful colonizer; Benjamin Franklin, practical philosopher; Israel Putnam, patriotic Cincinnatus; Patrick Henry, eloquent agitator; Robert Fulton, useful inventor. Sometimes their virtues may now sound strange. In Noah Webster's *Little Reader's Assistant* we read: "What a *hero* was Capt. Smith! How many Turks and Indians did he slay! How often was he upon the brink of death, and how bravely did he encounter every danger! Such a man affords a noble example for all to follow, when they resolve to be *good* and *brave*."¹⁸

Even fictitious heroes were mustered to illustrate the schoolbook virtues of industry, patriotism and piety. Jack Halyard, the "Sailor Boy" of William Cardell's *Middle Class Reader*, was a rural American prototype of the popular version of the Gilded Age Alger hero. Jack's father, a sailor turned farmer, died when the boy was young, leaving a destitute, invalid widow and four children. The family soon lost its New Jersey farm and moved to New York. Jack, the elder son, went to sea, and in his letters home told his family of the strange places and people he saw on his travels. On one of his voyages Jack was shipwrecked just off the American coast. Although most of the passengers and crew lost their lives, Jack saved a young English girl, Harriet Temple, and her mother was also rescued. Mrs. Halyard and Mrs. Temple became fast friends, and Jack and Harriet were married. By the end of the book, Jack has retired from seafaring, bought back the old family farm and settled there with his bride. His prospects are bright. In summing up Jack's career, the author tells us

¹⁷ Bartlett, *Juvenile Orator*, pp. 149-50.

¹⁸ Noah Webster Jr., *The Little Reader's Assistant* . . . (2nd ed.; Hartford, 1791), p. 12.

that the young man had made his way in the world "by persevering industry and upright conduct." He had always been honest and trustworthy, always "the dutiful son, the kind brother, the sincere friend, the lover of his country, and of his fellow-men." Jack, "the Christian hero," had at all times kept "two prime objects in view: to gain useful knowledge and to practise right." His life served as an example "that there is no real greatness on earth, but the will and power of being greatly good." The Halyards were among "the virtuous poor" who possess "that inward peace which the sons of vice, with all their power and state, can never find." The author assured his schoolchildren readers: "Bad men cannot be happy. If the wicked appear sometimes to prosper, their deceitful success must soon come to an end; and the good, though their day may be clouded with misfortune for a while, will surely have their reward; for truth and virtue are from the beginning, and, unchanging, shall last as long as the throne of God endures."¹⁹

Other textbook writers agreed with the chronicler of the Halyards in emphasizing "the throne of God." Morality depended upon religion—more specifically, Protestant Christianity. The zealous spirit of anti-Catholic evangelical religion permeated the schoolbooks of nineteenth-century America.²⁰

Pious textbook authors, many of them ministers, had no doubt that God was on the side of the United States, indeed had a special mission for His "American Israel." "God hath not dealt so with *any* other people," said Hall and Baker's *School History of the United States*.²¹ The Puritan idea of a chosen people's "city on a hill" and the idea of inevitable progress gained new vigor and momentum with the rise of millennialism in the religious revivals of the nineteenth century. "God did not design this continent to remain a wilderness," Lossing wrote.²² Here was a new Eden: "The great garden of the western world needed tillers, and white men came."²³ Before the occupation of New England, a plague annihilated local Indian tribes. "Thus," Emma Willard wrote, "Divine Providence prepared the way for another and more civilized race."²⁴ The

¹⁹ Cardell, *Middle Class Reader*, pp. 205-6, and *passim*.

²⁰ Anti-Catholic bias shows especially in comments in geographies on Spain, Portugal, Italy and Ireland. For example: "The Roman Catholic religion, to the exclusion of all others, is the religion of the Spanish monarchy; and it is, in these countries, of the most bigotted [sic], superstitious, and tyrannical character." Jedidiah Morse, *The American Geography* . . . (2nd ed.; London, 1792), p. 496.

²¹ Samuel Read Hall and A. R. Baker, *School History of the United States* . . . (new ed.; Andover, Mass., 1839), p. 4.

²² Benson J. Lossing, *A Common-School History of the United States* . . . (New York, 1864), p. 9.

²³ Lossing, *Pictorial History of the United States*, p. 12.

²⁴ Willard, *Abridged History of the United States*, p. 19.

coming of the settlers "opened a new era in the history of man— . . . the dawn of a *new civilization*, higher and more perfect than had yet been born," wrote Jesse Olney on New Year's Day 1851, in the preface to his school history of the United States. He continued:

In these United States, the great Republic of the World, lies the grand and imposing theatre of the *future* progress of the race. We are to work out, not alone our destiny, but that of the whole world. . . . Here, for the first time in human history, man will be *truly* man. . . . Here shall be realized the long-prophesied, long-expected *Golden Age*. . . . From this Free and Happy Land shall go forth the power to perfect the Civilization of the World. . . . The arts of Freedom and of Peace shall be brought home to the ancient cradle of the race, and the deserts of Asia made to rejoice and blossom with the fruits of the highest culture. . . . The inferior races shall be educated . . . and made fellow-laborers in the great work of human progress. To the portal of this Golden Future, the consummation of man's earthly destiny, *America* holds the key. *She* only can accomplish the work to which she is pledged, and thus make the sublimest prophecies and aspirations of the Past the bright *realities* of the Present, and the foundation for a yet nobler Future.²⁵

Yet under such brave words of millennial vision lay anxieties and fears. If one reads beneath the surface of the schoolbooks, he can feel insecurity and tension, which were no doubt personal with the authors but also part of the culture. There was the habit of polarization referred to before—for example, the contrasts between England and America: age and youth, smallness and bigness, past and future, oppression and liberty, aristocracy and equality, a state church and religious freedom, decay and vigor, depravity and innocence. This simple black-and-white way of seeing things did not, one feels, reflect the assurance of certitude. It reveals tautness, not relaxation—a kind of whistling in the dark to keep up one's courage. Textbook emphasis upon self-control through the exercise of will power resulted in part from the abundant evidence of rampaging, often violent individualism in romantic mid-century America, a society of hectic growth and change. But perhaps it also sprang from the authors' personal, unconscious straining against the built-in bonds of the culture.

What is called "millennial hope" can just as easily be felt as a hovering apocalyptic despair. Throughout the texts recur such phrases as "to the end of time,"²⁶ "when time is no more,"²⁷ "the last shock of time."²⁸

²⁵ Jesse Olney, *A History of the United States, for the Use of Schools and Academies* (rev. ed.; New Haven, 1851), pp. v-vii.

²⁶ *The American Speaker* . . . (3rd ed.; Philadelphia, 1816), p. 354.

²⁷ Caleb Bingham, *The Young American's Speaker* . . . (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 44.

²⁸ Noah Webster Jr., *An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking* . . . (Boston, 1790), p. 140.

Over and over the schoolbooks recount the decay and death of glorious empires of the past and point the cautionary moral. The New World empire would last only so long as it kept its youthful innocence and virtue. Caleb Bingham's *Columbian Orator* brought to the attention of schoolboys the words of a Harvard commencement speaker: "Warned by the fate of her predecessors, may she [the United States] escape those quick-sands of vice, which have ever proved the bane of empire. May her glory and her felicity increase with each revolving year, till the last trump shall announce the catastrophe of nature, and time shall immerge in the ocean of eternity."²⁹ "Protect us from evil!" the texts cry out. The subject was America, but the feelings, one suspects, were often personal and morbid.

European travelers in Jacksonian America marveled at the way New World citizens lived in the future. By some incredible alchemy, the swaggering backwoods booster transformed a sleepy village into a bustling city—and he actually saw it! But progress created anxiety. If the divine event toward which creation moves is far off, one can contemplate its advent calmly. But what if it is at hand, may come at any moment in a blinding flash? If I read the schoolbooks right, boastful Americans were shouting down inner voices of doubt and fear. Vaunting optimism had an undertone of desperation. This was cultural, and it was personal. America was beautiful, and so was life. For Young America it was a dawning time, but perhaps, whispered *timor mortis*, a dying time too.

A favorite poem of the American schoolbook anthologist was Bishop Berkeley's "The Muse's Hopes for America." It prophesied that

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
.....
There shall be sung another golden age,
.....
Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
Time's noblest offspring is the last.³⁰

Of similar theme was Timothy Dwight's poem "Columbia." The first stanza has the line: "Thy reign is the last and the noblest of time."³¹

Planet Earth's great drama began, the textbooks said, in 4004 B.C. America was the fifth and final act. It was an exciting but an awesome thought.

²⁹ Caleb Bingham, *The Columbian Orator* . . . (Boston, 1797), p. 34.

³⁰ Cobb's *New North American Reader*, pp. 419-20.

³¹ Bingham, *Young American's Speaker*, p. 44.

One must hesitate before equating the democratic faith of Young America with the schoolbook interpretations of liberty, equality and morality. Nor can we assume that the texts performed a dominant role in shaping the minds of their readers. Although reflecting opinions widely held in American society, the texts did not faithfully mirror republican sentiments, if we may trust other sources that indicate more positive democratic beliefs and a happier, more carefree spirit.

Few of the textbook authors were representative men of their age or of their sprawling country. Most of them spoke with the twang of the New England town, not the drawl of the Southern plantation or the careless slurring of the Western farm. Heirs of the Puritans, whose memory they perpetuated, they had accepted a modified Calvinism, in that they believed that man could by his own efforts curb his inherent sinfulness and follow the narrow path of virtue, but they could not stomach Methodist Arminianism or a Jeffersonian confidence in the essential goodness of human nature. Diehard Federalists, many of them, they wrung their hands over the passing of antique values—and of their own former status—in the pushy society of Jacksonian America. Soft breezes from the South, murmuring of aristocratic ease in the land of slavery, and hurly-burly gales from Western clearings, carrying the raucous shouts of coonskin democracy, did not moderate but made more bitter the winter of their discontent.

In such persons of the "Mugwump" type an anxious temper would prevail.³² They would incline toward a negative view of the trinity of democratic values: Liberty was release from slavery, not opportunity to develop one's talents to the full; equality was a barrier against aristocratic privilege, not a force to promote universal respect for human dignity; morality was a checkrein upon vice, not a spirit to motivate the development of free, responsible individuals living in harmony in an open society.

In what ways, then, did the schoolbooks reflect, transmit and shape popular culture? Most important, perhaps, they imposed restraints upon a people who lacked them. They helped to establish and maintain a tradition in a society that tended to forget or scorn the past. They perpetuated the secular ethic of Puritanism, emphasizing work, thrift and earnestness, and made it seem as fresh and valid for urban-industrial America as for the simpler agrarian republic. They intensified the concern of the age with individual morality, under the guidance of religion, and the belief in man's capacity and responsibility to do good. And they reaffirmed the general belief in the superiority of American institutions and in America's unique mission in the world.

³² See Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (Vintage ed.; New York, 1960), pp. 137-43; William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (New York, 1961), pp. 55-65.

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Faulkner and the Civil War: Myth and Reality

THE CIVIL WAR FIGURES SIGNIFICANTLY IN FAULKNER'S FICTIONAL WORLD OF Yoknapatawpha County. While only *The Unvanquished* and several short stories deal exclusively with the wartime period, this era plays a prominent part in a number of his novels, notably *Sartoris*, *Light in August* and *Absalom, Absalom*. In the broadest sense most of Faulkner's fiction is concerned with the defeat of the South or the effects of that defeat. Rarely does one find a Faulknerian character who is not conscious of the Civil War. Furthermore, the war stands at the center of Faulkner's chronology. Time moves quite freely toward the war from the ante-bellum period or back to it from the latter nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This centrality is demonstrated in "The Jail" section of *Requiem For a Nun* where a girl's name and the date April 16th, 1861, scratched on the jailhouse window four days after Sumter, becomes the symbolic pivot point of the story.¹ Frederick J. Hoffman in a recent book on Faulkner has commented on the novelist's use of the war as a focal point; Hoffman terms it the "Major Event" in Faulkner's time pattern.² However, no critical study has been made of the over-all importance of the Civil War in the author's writings.³ This article will attempt to examine the way in which the South's most significant struggle has been employed by Faulkner, both as myth and reality.

¹ William Faulkner, *Requiem* (New York, 1951), pp. 229-39.

² William Faulkner (New York, 1961), pp. 24-25.

³ Several studies of Faulkner's broad view of the South which have some material on the Civil War include: Warren Beck, "Faulkner and the South," *Antioch Review*, I (Spring 1941), 82-94; Malcolm Cowley, "William Faulkner's Legend of the South," *The Sewanee Review*, LIII (Summer 1945), 343-61; Granville Hicks, "Faulkner's South: A Northern Interpretation," *Georgia Review*, V (Fall 1951), 269-84; Irving Howe, "The Southern Myth and William Faulkner," *American Quarterly*, III (Winter 1951), 357-62; William Van O'Connor, "Faulkner's Legend of the Old South," *Western Humanities Review*, VII (Autumn 1953), 293-301.

Faulkner's position on the war is equivocal. In many respects his presentation of it is romantic, even to the point of perpetuating the storybook version of Southern history. The nostalgia which the author feels for this legendary struggle is evident in this description from *Intruder in the Dust*:

For every Southern boy fourteen years old, not once but whenever he wants it, there is the instant when it's still not yet two o'clock on that July afternoon in 1863, the brigades are in position behind the rail fence, the guns are laid and ready in the woods and the furled flags are already loosened to break out and Pickett himself with his long oiled ringlets and his hat in one hand probably and his sword in the other looking up the hill waiting for Longstreet to give the word and it's all in the balance, it hasn't happened yet.⁴

Other episodes in Faulkner dramatize the legendary exploits of Confederate heroes. In *Sartoris*, Miss Jenny, one of Faulkner's timeless and "undefeated" old women, relates the story of her brother Bayard Sartoris' death while riding with Jeb Stuart prior to the second battle of Bull Run. Her retelling of what had been a foolhardy action by two headstrong youths becomes an adventure worthy of Homeric verse; Stuart and Sartoris are catapulted into a place of honor "like two flaming stars garlanded with Fame's burgeoning laurel and the myrtle and roses of Death."⁵ Similarly, Old Man Falls, a Confederate veteran, spins numerous yarns about Colonel John Sartoris, who emerges from Falls' tales as an army in himself, able to capture a whole company of Yankees single-handedly or to outwit them completely in making his own dramatic escape.⁶

These delightful yarns are part of the frontier folklore tradition of tall tales which can still be heard in the small towns of the deep South. But more than that they are a glorification of the South's "lost cause." In these and other Civil War tales a fairly stereotyped pattern is followed. The Confederate soldier, usually a cavalry officer of good family, is portrayed as a Cavalier gentleman, fighting with a reckless heroism and gallantry that makes even defeat a vindication. At the other extreme the Northern troops are derided as greedy grubbers—an army of knaves and clerks, lacking in courage, dignity and honor. Their victory is the triumph of a coarser material civilization which further absolves the South of any guilt and elevates the "lost" world of the cotton kingdom.

The Confederates in these adventures fight largely for the sake of fighting without attempting to analyze the moral questions involved

⁴ Faulkner, *Intruder* (New York, 1949), pp. 148-49.

⁵ Faulkner, *Sartoris* (New York, 1953), pp. 34-40.

⁶ See esp., *Sartoris*, pp. 41-43, 186-99.

in the bloody holocaust. When Colonel Sartoris' son asks Will Falls, "what the devil were you folks fighting about anyhow?" the grizzled veteran answers, "be damned ef I ever did know" (*Sartoris*, p. 199). Thus in the tradition of epic legend any intellectual probing on the part of the soldiers is lacking.

All that has been stated to this point would lead one to the conclusion that Faulkner in dealing with the Civil War simply accepts the popular version of Southern romance. This is not the case. For one thing he is aware that the Civil War stories told by his characters are, at least in part, myth. He even describes the process by which reality becomes distorted into myth. In describing Miss Jenny's storytelling he writes:

It was she who told them of the manner of Bayard Sartoris' death prior to the second battle of Manassas. She had told the story many times since (at eighty she still told it, on occasions usually inopportune) and as she grew older the tale itself grew richer and richer, taking on a mellow splendor like wine; until what had been a hare-brained prank of two heedless and reckless boys wild with their own youth had become a gallant and finely tragical focal point to which the history of the race had been raised from out the old miamic swamps of spiritual sloth by two angels valiantly fallen and strayed, altering the course of human events and purging the souls of men. (*Sartoris*, p. 33)

This recognition of the myth-making quality of Southern memory lays the basis for a more critical examination of Southern legend.

Much of Faulkner's descriptive detail is far from mythical, having a valid base in historical reality. Northern troops ripped up most Mississippi railways. The normal procedure was to heat the rails in the middle and twist them out of shape around trees. In *The Unvanquished* this practice becomes part of a humorous incident when young Bayard Sartoris' Negro companion Ringo sees his first railroad after the Yankees had demolished it. He exclaims, "You mean hit have to come in here and run up and down around these here trees like a squirrel?"⁷ Other common occurrences during the war which Faulkner incorporates into his fiction include the legions of aimless Negroes wandering about the countryside or following the Union troops, expecting the millennium at any moment, the gangs of lawless men who lived by plunder, and the widespread destruction of property and the scarcity of food that undermined much of the South's vitality and purpose.

Several Civil War incidents are drawn directly from the history of Oxford, Mississippi, Faulkner's model for his fictional Jefferson.⁸ No

⁷ Faulkner, *Unvanquished* (New York, 1959), p. 73.

⁸ The best comparative examination of Faulkner's fictional use of Mississippi history is in Ward L. Miner's *The World of William Faulkner* (Durham, N.C., 1952).

major battles were fought in or near Oxford although several skirmishes did take place in the neighborhood; this is also true in Faulkner's Jefferson. In August 1864, Northern troops under General Andrew J. Smith burned Oxford, leveling all but the main business buildings. Similarly, Jefferson was burned by Smith's soldiers in the latter part of 1864; Faulkner treats this fire rather matter-of-factly, though in *Requiem For a Nun* he has all the buildings burn except the jail, which becomes a symbol of the South's punishment and suffering.

Equally striking evidence of Faulkner's utilization of historical fact is the fictional career of Colonel John Sartoris, which so closely parallels the career of the author's own great-grandfather, Colonel William C. Falkner.⁹ At the outbreak of the Civil War each man organized a regiment at his own expense and went to Virginia as its colonel. Both fought well, but were demoted in rank following a new election of officers (in Faulkner's novels it is Thomas Sutpen who replaces Colonel Sartoris; William Falkner was defeated by a John W. Stone). After this demotion each man returned to Mississippi and organized an irregular cavalry regiment which he led during the remainder of the war.

The physical suffering and material loss caused by the war in Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County was great. Not only did Jefferson burn, but a number of the surrounding plantations were similarly destroyed, including the Sartoris mansion. Other planters such as Sutpen, returning after Appomattox, found that four years of war and neglect had impoverished the land and demolished much property, including slaves. Even Sutpen's superhuman efforts could not restore the prewar prosperity on his plantation. General Compson was forced to mortgage his square mile to a New England carpetbagger in 1866. Other families suffered similar losses, and by the end of hostilities the old economic and social order had collapsed.

This collapse which Faulkner depicts is not overexaggerated. The South, after four years of warfare within its own borders, was not only defeated; its whole pattern of social organization lay in ruins. The fighting and foraging of armies had wrought great desolation; the freeing of the slaves had upset the South's labor system; food and money were both scarce, since crops had not been planted, markets had been closed and transportation systems had been ruined.

However, Faulkner's chief concern is not with the physical destruction caused by the war. He treats the burning, pillaging and general devastation in a direct and unemotional manner, even to the point of underplay-

⁹ A good account of William C. Falkner is found in Robert Cantwell, "The Faulkners: Recollections of a Gifted Family," in *William Faulkner: Three Decades of Criticism* Frederick J. Hoffman and Olga Vickery, eds. (East Lansing, Mich., 1960), pp. 51-66.

ing this aspect of the struggle. What does occupy the author's attention is the less concrete but equally important moral transformation which resulted from four years of fighting and defeat. In the "Appendix" which Faulkner wrote for the *Viking Portable* he states that "after the old town had been burned by the Federal General Smith . . . the new little town [emerged], in time to be populated mainly by the descendants not of Compsons but of Snopeses" (p. 741). In the author's canon the Southern struggle from 1861 to 1865 is the major turning point, forming a watershed between the Old South of the planter-aristocrats—the Sartorises, Sutpens and Compsons—and the post-bellum South dominated by the Snopeses and Popeyes.

When one examines Faulkner as a moralist his previously mentioned tendency to portray the Old South of legend becomes more understandable. Faulkner unquestionably has a nostalgic feeling for the ante-bellum world of the cotton magnates; because of this his story of the Civil War, even while borrowing much from local history, is far from a critical interpretation. On the other hand, Faulkner is not relating the familiar plantation legend embodied in so many romantic novels and Hollywood movies. When Faulkner defends the old order he is not defending the gay world of grand balls, mint juleps, magnolia blossoms and gallant manners; rather he is praising a moral order—a code of personal dignity, courage, honor and integrity. It is this code which the Civil War undermined. With the war and defeat a new South emerged, dominated by the amoral or naturalistic forces of modernism, typified by the Northern carpetbaggers and the Southern scalawags—most ably shown in the Snopes clan which gradually infiltrates postwar Jefferson. Significantly the first successful Snopes to enter the Faulknerian world, Ab, gets his start as a thieving horse trader during the Civil War.

The values of the old order do not cease with secession, war and defeat. They are preserved after Appomattox by the descendants of the planter class, and, more successfully, by the independent backwoods farmers such as Old Man MacCallum and his six sons named after Confederate generals. However, even though the chivalric code of the ante-bellum South is maintained by certain individuals, it is no longer a vital moral force since it lacks the social sanction of the whole community. For some adherents this code is a formalized tradition which has become immobilizing, making them impotent when confronted by Snopesian individuals operating outside of their accepted code. Much of Faulkner's writing is concerned with the inability of the descendants of the old order leaders to deal effectively with the modern South.

To some of these individuals it is the legend of the Civil War that incapacitates them from acting meaningfully in the new South: The war to Faulknerian characters such as the Rev. Gail Hightower or the young

Bayard Sartoris represents all that is noble and courageous in the old order. But the fact that they romanticize the struggle beyond all reality prevents them from acting with purpose in the postwar world. The Rev. Mr. Hightower in *Light in August* is obsessed by the memory of his dead grandfather, who, he believes, had been shot from the saddle in a raid to destroy Grant's supplies stored in Jefferson. Hightower's life is so absorbed by his vision of "those phantoms who loomed heroic and tremendous against a background of thunder and smoke and torn flags" that he is incapable of useful action. Similarly, the young Bayard in *Sartoris*, brought up to accept a romantic version of the valorous exploits of his great-grandfather Colonel John Sartoris, finds when confronted by the harsh reality of World War I that fighting is not all wild bugles and clashing sabers and thundering hooves. He somehow feels cheated of his rightful glory and comes to value only the most destructive aspect of the traditional moral code, the concept that one must die courageously. Unable to achieve this in his own war young Bayard finally commits suicide by flying a faulty airplane. For both Bayard and Hightower, then, the code of the old order, and especially that code as exemplified by legendary Confederate heroes, has become warped so as to lead only to violent death or pathetic impotence.

Faulkner is aware that the flaws so evident in the moral code of the old order as practiced in the postwar South were present even before the barrage was fired against Fort Sumter. In *Absalom, Absalom*, the story of how Thomas Sutpen "tore violently a plantation" from the land as part of his "design," the shortcomings of the ante-bellum planter code are clearly evident. Sutpen, operating within this code, obtains one hundred square miles from the Chickasaws, and with the aid of twenty wild Negroes and a captive French architect, erects the largest mansion in northern Mississippi. But in creating this design Sutpen shows no humanitarian concern. Faulkner implies that the failings of men like Sutpen caused the South to lose the war. In *Absalom* Miss Rosa Coldfield states:

But that our cause, our very life and future hopes and past pride, should have been thrown into the balance with men like that [Sutpen] to buttress it—men with valor and strength but without pity or honor. Is it any wonder that Heaven saw fit to let us lose?¹⁰

In other ways Faulkner is critical of the aristocratic moral law. Bravery was too often a foolhardy self-confidence; the conception of honor was narrow and egotistical, generally serving as an excuse for violence. Furthermore, honor was maintained for its own sake regardless of principles.

¹⁰ Faulkner, *Absalom* (New York, 1951), p. 20.

In the story "Wash," Wash Jones in 1869, after killing Sutpen, realizes the failure of the old order. He says of the former planter leaders, "Better if nara one of them had never rid back home in '65" (*Portable*, p. 183.)

The greatest failing of the old order as Faulkner conceives it is the sin of slavery. In several places he depicts this sin as the fundamental cause of the Civil War, a major admission for a Southern writer. In *Absalom* Faulkner has Mr. Coldfield predict "that day when the South would realize that it was now paying the price for having erected its economic edifice not on the rock of stern morality but on the shifting sands of opportunism and moral brigandage" (p. 260). Ultimately, then, the sonorous concepts of the Old South such as "honor" and "courage," which Faulkner so admires, rested on the hated economic practice of human slavery. In Faulkner's over-all moral view the Civil War was a "fever" sent by God to purge the South of this "disease."¹¹

This brings up the question of the relationship between the Civil War and the ante-bellum moral code. The war, as has been shown, was caused by various flaws in this code. But the defeat of the Confederacy at the hands of the Yankees did not purge the code of its shortcomings. The effect of the war was the opposite. It glorified the most brutal features of the old code and fixed these into a formal pattern by creating the myth of the "lost cause." It is perhaps because of this formalization of a violent tradition, embodied in Civil War legend, that various descendants of the planter class are so ineffectual in the modern South. Their sense of values is warped by a false devotion to an extreme concept of honor—a concept of honor which was actually one of the basic causes of the war. In this respect the Civil War can be viewed as the culmination of the worst aspects of the South's traditional code. And, because the South's struggle was quickly converted into heroic myth, it assured the continuance of a corrupt version of Southern ideals. The war did not cause the bankruptcy of the old order, but it greatly accelerated this process, and consequently aided the rapid postwar rise of the Snopeses.

However, Faulkner is not totally hostile to the earlier Southern values. He defends the moral code purged of the tendency toward rigid formalism and violence, and freed from the sin of slavery. This position is most evident in Faulkner's only novel dealing exclusively with the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction, *The Unvanquished*. Composed of seven semi-independent episodes, *The Unvanquished* centers upon the boyhood and early manhood of Bayard Sartoris, the son of Colonel John and the grandfather of the Bayard in the novel *Sartoris*. The first six chapters are told through the eyes of the young Bayard

¹¹ Faulkner uses this "fever-disease" metaphor in *Absalom*, p. 20.

growing up during the Civil War. These sketches are among the most rhapsodic in Faulkner's fiction, romancing on the war and the heroic deeds of the Sartoris males—the dashing Colonel John Sartoris who appears larger than life, smelling always of "powder and glory," and the boy Bayard, and his friend Ringo, who, along with Granny Millard, carry on their own war against the Yankees in a manner reminiscent of the most ingenious adventures of Tom Sawyer. But beneath the somewhat stereotyped presentation of Southern myth, Faulkner examines various aspects of the moral code of the old order. The main characters delineate differing aspects of this code. Granny Millard with her courage, sense of duty and personal integrity personifies its best features as a functioning entity. However, the code gradually becomes corrupt in her through dealings with Ab Snopes; this corruption eventually leads to her death at the hands of the outlaw Grumby. Drusilla Hawk, the manly young lady who rides with Colonel Sartoris and eventually becomes his wife, is a caricature of the code at its extreme; with her it has become formalized into a rigid pattern of heroic behavior independent of individual circumstances. For the Colonel this code is largely an excuse for blustering gallantry and violence. In the name of honor and courage he commits several avoidable murders. Each of these characters, then, has in one way or another corrupted the traditional code; this process of corruption has been hastened by the wartime situation.

Faulkner's final analysis of the code is contained in the last section of the novel. This chapter takes place nine years after Appomattox when the boy Bayard, now a man of twenty-four, has become "The Sartoris" following the violent death of his father at the hands of an enemy, Ben Redmond.¹² The code of the Old South demands that Bayard revenge his father's death. When he questions the need for killing, Drusilla defends the use of violence for the sake of her cherished moral law, stating that "there are not many dreams in the world, but there are lots of human lives" (p. 170). But Bayard, although tempted by Drusilla's appeal, is not content to act out the formal part expected of him. Instead he re-evaluates his father's code and his place in Civil War legend, concluding that the Colonel was "too much given to headstrong heroics." Through Bayard's criticism of the romantic South and the legendary Confederate heroes Faulkner passes a more sober judgment on the validity of Southern myth. However, the novelist does not repudiate the code of the old order, which the Civil War dramatized. Rather he reinterprets it. In the end Bayard upholds the worthwhile aspects of the code—honor, integrity and courage—while dissociating himself from its

¹² This episode is also taken from Faulkner's family history. Colonel William C. Falkner met his death in a similar manner, being shot by a certain R. J. Thurmond, though the actual year was 1889, not 1874, as in *The Unvanquished*.

violence and formal rigidity. He accomplishes this by confronting his father's assassin unarmed, thereby proving his courage—the most prized possession of the Drusilla-Sartoris code—while at the same time purging the code of egotistical bloodshed and revising it to fit existing realities.

This revision is central to Faulkner's value scheme. It shows him to be a traditionalist in that he reaffirms the ante-bellum code. But it also illustrates his strong sense of individualism. He implies that each person must discover his own principles and not merely accept an established dogma. That Bayard's own code turns out to be nearly identical with the old code is not unusual since to Faulkner these principles are universal truths. What distinguishes Bayard's value system from that of other descendants of the cotton magnates is that he has gained his beliefs through personal experience, whereas such individuals as his grandson Bayard, the Rev. Mr. Hightower or Quentin Compson have only accepted a similar code as part of their inheritance. This factor more than any other explains Bayard's success and their failure in treating somewhat similar crises.

In modifying and preserving the traditional moral code through Bayard, Faulkner has revised the chimerical picture of the Civil War and its heroes. However, the author seems to do this only reluctantly and the South of the popular imagination is never totally rejected. While Faulkner implies that the moral failings of the planter-aristocracy and the economic institution of slavery brought on the war, nevertheless, his planters retain their grandeur, sinning as gentlemen and fighting as heroes.

That Faulkner has not completely divorced myth from reality is natural. Born and bred in the deep South where legend is a part of life, the author is unable to reject his heritage. As a critic of Southern tradition he is the lover who finds fault with his loved one and not an objective analyst. He condemns slavery but relishes the "lost cause"; he scorns magnolia and mockingbird labels without abandoning them; he deflates the Civil War heroes while loving the legends of their heroics.

Furthermore, since Faulkner is primarily concerned with moral problems he often simplifies historical events or uses them symbolically. Thus he over-emphasizes the moral change brought on by the Civil War. Certainly the war, by breaking up the static plantation system and impoverishing the planter leaders, did aid the rise of the horse trader—the person lacking in scruples and abounding in energy. Some of this type profited from the war, as did Faulkner's Ab Snopes. However, the Snopesian individual was not a new phenomenon to the South, and especially to Faulkner's Mississippi. The loose credit structure of the Old South had long given rise to speculators of the worst type. Also it

must be remembered that the prewar planter class of northern Mississippi was a one-generation aristocracy. Even on the eve of the Civil War this region was still somewhat of a frontier society in which the rugged, pushing and ambitious man—not squeamish about "sharp" dealings—was most likely to succeed. What the Civil War did for the deep South was to break up a society which was becoming fixed and reintroduce the frontier conditions that had prevailed in the earlier ante-bellum period.

In the last analysis, then, Faulkner, in spite of his wide knowledge and use of Southern history, is not an historical novelist in the strict sense, any more than are other great writers who have in the past utilized historical materials for literary purposes. There was a period when Faulkner was viewed primarily as a sociologist or regional historian and only secondly as an artist. In the past two decades this attitude has shifted, and rightly so. Faulkner has won a well deserved place among American authors as an artist concerned with man's enduring moral problems. By writing about the region he knows best and dealing with the single event that most affected that region—the Civil War—Faulkner provides his works with a firm base from which to examine significant aspects of man in general.



Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

The Worlds of André Hodeir*

THE ROAD TO INTELLIGENT AND RESPONSIBLE JAZZ CRITICISM HAS BEEN CHARACTERIZED by dead-end detours, half-built bridges, U-turns and frost heaves. When jazz was first introduced to the general public over forty years ago, established critics regarded it with puzzlement, disdain or disgust. By the mid-twenties symphonic jazz like the *Rhapsody in Blue* found support among some liberal critics, but they had no ears for real jazz. Not until the early thirties did writers emerge who showed the differences between the real thing and its dilutions, and who recognized the need to judge the music on its own terms. Understandably the work of these first real-jazz critics was erratic. Since jazz contained unfamiliar elements and techniques, and often evoked other emotions than did conventional music, conventional critical terms and values were frequently unsuitable. And because few readers showed intelligent interest, many writers felt obliged to entertain as well as illuminate. Their writing abounded in personal slurs, flippancy, sensationalism, unchecked enthusiasm and ignorance of the technical aspects of music. It remained for a Frenchman, Hugues Panassié, to publish the first fully developed argument on the place of jazz in the world of art. His book, *Hot Jazz*, now seems full of misleading judgments and too impressionistic, but in 1936, when it was published in this country, many Americans, with their characteristic deference for European authorities on music, accepted it as gospel. For a time thereafter, jazz critics consolidated their gains in relative peace, but the birth of bop in the forties brought new chaos. Despite the appearance of a few thoughtful and informed men, oversimplification, partisan sniping, and pure assertion still marked the writing. Once again a Frenchman, this time composer and critic André Hodeir brought out the first significant full-length study. His *Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence*, which came out in 1956, was more technical than Panassié's *Hot Jazz*, but it too was widely influential and justifiably gave Hodeir a high reputation in the United States. In 1961 Grove Press

* This essay is concerned primarily with two books of jazz criticism by André Hodeir, *Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence* (David Noakes, trans., Grove Press, 1957, \$2.45) and *Toward Jazz* (Noel Burch, trans., Grove Press, 1962, \$5.00). Also mentioned is Hodeir's *Since Debussy: A View of Contemporary Music* (Noel Burch, trans., Grove Press, 1961, \$2.95).

published his second book, *Since Debussy: A View of Contemporary Music*, which deals with Stravinsky, Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, Bartók, Messiaen, Boulez and Barraqué. More recently Grove brought out his third, *Toward Jazz*, a collection of articles printed between 1952 and 1959 in French and American periodicals. He regards it as a "transitional book" which bridges the gap between his old objective outlook and his new subjective viewpoint, the basis for his forthcoming book, to be called *The Worlds of Jazz*.

His objective phase seems to have run its course and we can now judge it with a fair degree of perspective. Essentially it was an effort to apply scientific principles to music criticism. Like scientific literary naturalists, Hodier believed that "ill defined and implacable" laws governed relationships between art and history. He argued that the most important was evolution, and tried to explain aesthetic change in terms of it. Changes in taste conformed to what he called Valéry's golden rule of aesthetic evolution: "As his taste becomes more refined, the admirer of Alfred de Musset abandons him for Verlaine. One who has been brought up on Hugo dedicates himself completely to Mallarmé." Moreover, Hodier maintained that art itself evolves and "progresses," that is, increases in value as it evolves. Thus bop is better than traditional jazz, because more complex, the fulfillment of the earlier imperfect music; and *Le Sacre du Printemps* is better than Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony*. If we don't agree, he concluded, it is because we don't understand the later works.

Of course one can answer that Louis Armstrong's *Tight Like This* is "better" than Charlie Parker's *Ko-Ko*, or that Beethoven's *Ninth* is "better" than *Le Sacre du Printemps*, but these seem to be moot questions. And doesn't this kind of dispute tend to obscure an important point? Every first-rate work—as each of these four is—has something special to say and a unique way of saying it. None expresses the same thing, as Hodier's argument seems to imply. One artist has special meaning for one age-group, or for one generation, and different artists can appeal to different moods of the same person during the course of a single day. I don't suggest that we shouldn't differentiate between first- and second-rate musicians, between an Ornette Coleman and a Frankie Trumbauer, or a Mozart and a Meyerbeer. The point is that between musical geniuses, of distinctly different periods, value comparisons are difficult, to say the least, and often invidious. The best of old and new art should not be in competition with one another; our sensibilities need, and should have room for, both.

In his objective phase Hodier used something of the method of science as well as its discoveries. His criticism was in large measure a reaction to what he called the "old school," which Panassié seems to represent.

Hodeir abhorred the older critics' inclination to give their impressions of the music, and to judge and classify in a manner that led to black marks, boundary lines and eventually excommunication of the tainted. Criticism, he argued, should not be an exposition of the writer's biases. Subjective expression is the artist's province. The critic can't step into the artist's shoes to convey the poetic resonances of music, and even if he could, he would elicit only the reader's superficial approval, which would not alter the basic response to the music. Therefore the proper function of criticism is to provide an auxiliary to the reader's taste, a lens enabling him to magnify, as it were, the details of a work and at times to glimpse certain aspects of it with the naked eye. Attempting to provide such a lens, Hodeir adopted the method of the French scientist and philosopher, Descartes, and hoped that *Jazz: Its Evolution and Essence* would "become in its own small way, the *Discourse on Method* of jazz." Like Descartes he advocated a highly rationalistic approach, demanding a test of radical doubt, close and precise observation and rigorous logic. The result would be lucid description, the true goal of the critic. Hodeir agreed with Camus that the reign of lucidity makes a scale of values unnecessary and thus frees us from the tyranny of value judgment, the root of the "old school's" difficulties.

Hodeir's dislike of subjectivity hardened as his objective phase developed. At first he felt that "analysis alone cannot determine the worth or worthlessness of a work; but, wherever possible, it should provide a support for personal taste." By 1957, however, he had come to believe in complete objectivity: "I am only concerned with objective truth, not value judgments." But can anybody be completely objective, especially about something as abstract as music? Probably not. Perhaps the most objective are those who recognize that complete objectivity is impossible. Some kind of value judgment seems implicit from the moment the critic selects his topic. I don't suggest we shouldn't try to be as objective as possible. Certainly Hodeir's attempts bore rich fruit, allowing him to view his material freshly and to make full use of his sharp ear and brilliant analytical ability. Yet his biggest successes came when he was not "totally objective," when, consciously or not, he combined objectivity and subjectivity. Even when he was adamant about being impersonal, subjectivity crept into his work to refute his argument about objectivity and to provide insight. Take his discussion of a "biologist's section" of part of Count Basie's solo on *Red Wagon*. He lucidly describes this sort of solo as the essence of Basie's style. So far, objectivity has prevailed. But then he goes on to point to Basie's use of melodic silences and to indicate their function: "the beat of the rhythm comes to the fore and, acting as a kind of gauge, actualizes the notion of Time—silences in which one

waits for the next piano note without knowing exactly when it will come (the symmetry of the first two figures is merely meant to tease the ear, since we *know* that the third will be displaced)." Here Hodeir tells us what happens to *him*, and possibly others, when hearing the solo. His italicizing of the three key verbs reveals the depth of his response and emphasizes the subjective element in his comment.

Before he abandoned his objective ideal he became increasingly aware of the problems it posed. More than once he was obliged to warn the reader that he was about to ignore his first principle and make strictly personal remarks. As he now recalls, "The burden of objectivity was growing heavy to bear." The early articles in *Toward Jazz* offer evidence of this, and it is not surprising to find Hodeir altering his position in the last part of the book. It is surprising, however, that the change is so radical. His new-found subjective viewpoint brings him all the way over to the visionary outlook of Nietzsche. He now sees his Cartesian phase as full of "sterile, sectarian polemics" and asserts "there is no point in writing about music unless one 'writes in blood' as Nietzsche demanded." Furthermore, he hopes his next book will be not "about jazz" but a "jazz book" because "any truly poetic commentary should be so thoroughly *appropriate* that it would be indecent to describe it as . . . about something."

Some readers will feel that this shift is an attempt to step into the artist's shoes, in effect a reversion to "old school" practices. Hodeir denies it; he argues that the needs of present-day jazz criticism as well as his own compulsion require the switch, which is not a backward step but "rather an effort toward a broader understanding of jazz as such." Some of the same readers will disagree with his contention that the better essays in *Toward Jazz* are the subjective ones. On the evidence provided thus far, they seem muddy and without the needed poetic resonances. It is, of course, too early to say how successful Hodeir's new adventure will be. Yet my guess is that the subjectivity he speaks of is as difficult to achieve as is true objectivity. Moreover, it is hard to believe that he can long suppress his strong objective inclinations. Hopefully these Appolonian propensities will soon reassert themselves to complement and restrain his Dionysian tendencies. Whatever happens, jazz is in his debt, and we can only admire his boldness, honesty and perceptiveness. The combination produces highly provocative criticism. Everybody truly interested in jazz will look forward to his *Worlds of Jazz*.

NEIL LEONARD, *University of Pennsylvania*

CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN, *Washington: Village and Capital, 1800-1878*. xix, 445 pp. Princeton University Press, 1962. \$8.50.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY observes like Abbé Correa found Washington a lifeless "city of magnificent distances" into which George "emptied the whole" of his small bag of follies; modern ones testify to its imposing bureaucratic beauty. But what is Washington besides its schizodic historical image as the seat of political empire? Miss Green, a longtime student of culture, answers for the viable over-all community "rather than the national capital as such."

In this first volume of her two-part study the author finds Washington a functionally unique urban "anomaly." Comparable to other American cities, it differed seriously in degree (e.g., of municipal poverty, high number of transients, commercial-industrial lack). Moreover, it was conceived to symbolize the new republic's ideals. Her thesis is that this dream faded and then began reviving eighty years later, accompanied by physical growth, civic mismanagement and increasing local dependence on federal economic-political support. The first half is organized into ten-year discussions of seventy years (1790-1860) of local conflict over waning national ideals. Pivoting on the Civil War, the remainder equally treats the sixties, showing "how completely war swept the old life away," and the seventies, noting the "emergence of a national city." This blending of national to local events produces a well-documented saga of high culture progress (notably in science), building-planning through several crises which literally tore the city apart, population growth and conflict. The assemblage of hitherto scattered local data is also useful to many disciplines. Sociologists, for example, will profit from her fine discussion of evolving race relation strategies (the limited Negro "advance" from slavery to separate equality in government and education).

These were largely changes of surface, not structure. Two doubts arise from her definition of the *de facto* "national city." Wartime population boom, realtor interests, Boss Shepard's improvements bankrupting the city and a subsequent three-man Federal Commission holding all non-fiscal powers were indeed crucial developmental factors, just as railroad tracks replacing slave pens on the Mall were symbolic ones. Yet we are shown throughout how social, economic and political dependence on the State increased (sometimes "advanced") without changing basically; the city remained a functional anomaly. However unpleasant to recall now, Washington was a national city in 1802 when federally chartered, in 1846 when Congress reduced the District by a third, and in 1878. Second, the documentation stresses federal area change. District-wide land records, for example, are consulted to lessen the adverse picture of a few large

landowners downtown—clarifying the L'Enfant-Carroll controversy but not the general community saga. Mentioned only in passing, sure to reappear in the next volume, is the Washington which continued festering uptown while beginning to bloom downtown. In short, the "interpretative rather than comprehensive" social history overstresses pivotal events and understresses continuing ones.

However, partisan evaluation of cities seems inevitable. Even if passionately defining the true national city, Miss Green's study of Washington as both a local and national phenomenon is a solid addition to the urban histories (e.g., Chicago, Cleveland, Kansas City, Rochester) currently displacing traveler sketches and community mugbooks.

JOHN L. HANCOCK, *University of North Dakota*

SYLVIA E. BOWMAN ET AL., *Edward Bellamy Abroad: An American Prophet's Influence*. Preface by Maurice LeBreton. xxv, 543 pp. Twayne Publishers, 1962. \$7.50.

IN an age manifestly perilous for international scholarship, Professor Bowman has produced a remarkably original and valuable magnum opus. Possessing creative qualities rare in traditional scholarship, Miss Bowman has harnessed the energies of researchers living in diverse lands to trace the impact of Edward Bellamy's social thought in major areas of the world. Surprisingly unlike so many group endeavors, this book has a unifying thread and compatible tone which stimulate reading interest and convey a sense of authority.

Beginning with an astute analysis of the American roots of Bellamy's Christian democratic socialism, the book then moves abroad to recapture the reception accorded the utopian's social thought in Russia, Britain, Australia, Canada, Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, France and other lands. Here we are afforded valuable material for the sociology of literature: Where class conflict was sharpest, as in turn-of-the-century Russia and Germany, reactions to Bellamy were most extreme in both cordiality and hostility; where class conflict was mild, as in Scandinavia, "there were no frantic enthusiasts who preached that Bellamy was the new messiah [and] . . . no violent opposition to his ideas." In Britain, highly industrialized and strong in parliamentary traditions, Bellamy was most faithfully and fruitfully interpreted.

It has often been observed that as our world shrinks in size, our scholarship must become more imaginative and far-reaching. For American Studies, Professor Bowman's book is a happy augur.

JOSEPH SCHIFFMAN, *Dickinson College*

Research Opportunities in American Cultural History. Edited by JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT. viii, 205 pp. University of Kentucky Press, 1961. \$6.00.

IN this collection of twelve papers delivered at a conference at Washington University, each scholar reports on the present status and future research needs of a particular topic that has engaged his attention. No definitions of cultural history are attempted, and neither uniformity nor completeness of treatment is intended. Some of the topics are vast: the colonial period, art history, immigration history, Indian relations. These papers tend to be casual. The papers on relatively small topics, e.g., scientists on the frontier, are sometimes quite intensive. Two of the most useful chapters discuss a special kind of source material: folklore and the reports of European travelers. Richard Dorson's paper on materials and techniques of folklore research is a particularly effective introduction.

On the whole, the authors take the view of the empirical specialist. Little concerned about conceptual or analytical problems, they want more information. On such subjects as the French in the Mississippi Valley, Middle Western literary history, agencies of popular education, the American booktrade and the history of popular recreation, the footnotes provide a bibliography of existing secondary sources, and the text is peppered with specific suggestions for putting industrious graduate students to work "filling in the gaps."

JOHN HIGHAM, *University of Michigan*

AMERICAN WOMEN: THE CHANGING IMAGE. Edited by Beverly Benner Cassara. xvi, 141 pp. Beacon Press, 1962. \$3.95.

IN brief and variously focused essays, eleven women, including Margaret Mead, Pearl Buck, Bessie Hillman, Ethel Alpenfels, Chase Going Woodhouse and Agnes DeMille, examine the status of their sex in modern America. By the variety of their discontents, they demonstrate not only that the public image of women is indeed changing but that women themselves have a very blurred picture of their own role.

Equality in business and the professions has presumably been won; yet in a labor force one-third of which is female, no woman is (or ever has been) president of a union; contributions of American women to science and engineering compare unfavorably with those of their sisters in Russia; positions of leadership in education, a traditional field for women, are being rapidly pre-empted by men; and eminence in the arts is achieved by a few women only at terrifying personal cost. At the same time, homemakers complain of empty lives devoted to washing dishes,

changing diapers and, later, to the futile "busy work" of women's organizations. Are American women still the victims of male prejudice? Or are they afraid of leadership and responsibility? Is woman's dual role as person and as homemaker inherently more difficult than the role of man? Or does her confusion stem from the notorious ambivalence of her culture toward sex, mother and intellectual achievement?

These are the large questions the book suggests. Individual contributors vary in their view of woman's role. Edith Hunter supports a traditional view of woman's creativity within the home by a warm and charming account of her conversations with her own children about poetry. Agnes DeMille presents the ascetic life of a dedicated dancer with chilling candor. Others who attempt broader treatment of this or that segment of the topic settle for a few facts and a little speculation. The value of the volume lies in the questions it raises. They deserve answers based on far more extended and disciplined analysis than is contained in this brief and loosely organized study.

MARY C. TURPIE, *University of Minnesota*

CLARA MARBURG KIRK, *W.D. Howells, Traveler from Altruria: 1889-1894*. xii, 148 pp. Rutgers University Press, 1962. \$5.00.

HOWELLS suffered a number of emotional crises in the 1880s as he tried in his major novels to resolve and harmonize his religious, social and aesthetic conflicts. Professor Kirk picks up the story at the end of the decade and carries it through the important Altrurian phase.

During this Altrurian period, Professor Kirk writes in the Introduction, "the conflict within Howells' mind was intense and even painful." Indeed, his social ideas were apparently too "potent" for a novel. (A development of the aesthetic implications here would have been welcome later in the book.) What follows are chapters recounting the familiar origins of Howells' Christian socialism and relating it to his coeditorship with Walker of *The Cosmopolitan*, to his impressions of the Chicago Exposition and to the making of *Altruria*. In these chapters, much research has gone into the admirable attempt to illuminate Howells' altrurian debate by placing it in the period. Professor Kirk's American scene, however, becomes largely editorial offices, dinner parties and books rather than the vigorous era of labor and Populist agitation. She notes from time to time that Howells as a social thinker was a "divided" man. That he was a self-dubbed "practical aristocrat" writing his ironic Greco-Christian socialism amid private affluence and comfortably removed from the day-to-day messiness of urban democracy in New York would seem to

be a conflict suggestive enough to have been more closely pursued in this study.

The final chapter is the best. There, Professor Kirk confronts the significant evidence that Howells, with his real-estate holdings and soaring annual income (in 1894, a net income of \$84,000; in 1897, \$93,000), soon made certain uneasy revisions to soften his altrurian criticism that dollars damn America. This last chapter almost succeeds in revealing the mature Howells one senses in the record of his life and work: a crafty, ironic, sensitive, humane, tormented plutocrat-and-altrurian.

KERMIT VANDERBILT, *San Diego State College*

LIONEL D. WYLD, *Low Bridge: Folklore and the Erie Canal*. xi, 212 pp. Syracuse University Press, 1962. \$5.50. Photographs, music, maps.

WHEN refused federal assistance—President Jefferson had said the project was “a hundred years premature”—Yorkers took it upon themselves to finance and build the Grand Western Canal of New York State; and in the words of one of the canal commissioners, William L. Stone: “The authors and builders . . . of the Erie have built the longest canal, in the least time, with the least experience, for the least money, and the greatest public benefit.” The 360-mile canal with its 82 locks, its stone aqueducts and its complex feeder system brought prosperity to the state, praise and condemnation from foreign travelers and a new regional subculture. This multifarious human event is the subject of Lionel Wyld’s *Low Bridge*.

Wyld’s subtitle might be somewhat misleading. Though Erie Canal folklore is described in some detail, it is only one of the major topics of a larger integrated study. As Wyld’s description of the activities and language of the “canawlers” provides a foundation for the study of Erie folklore, so his chapters on folklore reveal the subliterary sources for the fiction of such writers as Walter D. Edmonds and Samuel Hopkins Adams. The climactic fistfight in Edmonds’ *Rome Haul*, for example, has done for the structure of the Erie novel what the climactic gunfight has done for the Western novel. Yet seen in the light of Wyld’s discussion of fighting in the daily life of the “canawlers” and in canal folklore, Edmonds’ structural technique reflects a regional characteristic which is common to canal life.

Wyld’s *Low Bridge* is an interdisciplinary study of the Erie Canal, for “like all monumental human experiences, it proved to be an influence upon the life, literature, and culture of the people.” The very nature of this book should make it of interest to students of American Studies.

FRANK P. RIGA, *D’Youville College*

VAN METER AMES, *Zen and American Thought*. viii, 293 pp. University of Hawaii Press, 1962. \$4.50.

"WHAT then is the Buddha's statement?" "Have a cup of tea." This is the introductory quotation to Mr. Ames' study and an example of the illogical logic of Zen employed to shock the novitiate mind into intuiting the non-conceptual truth of existence. *Zen and American Thought* may also stimulate the Zen devotee looking for spiritual verities, but it cannot contribute much to an objective comparison of East and West. Mr. Ames presents, enthusiastically and well, a series of parallels between Zen and the ideas of certain American philosophers, amateur and professional, ranging from those of the colonial era through the transcendentalists and closing with the realists and pragmatists of this century. Zen being the latecomer on the American scene that it is, however, Mr. Ames can establish next to nothing in the way of historical influences. Thus the correspondences amount to repeated translations of American ideals into Zen terminology, resulting in an ambiguous argument for the universal validity of Zen that could just as well run the other way.

Apart from this inherent weakness, Mr. Ames' choices are neither altogether representative nor up to date. He ignores the individuals who would speak for the pessimistic strain in American thought as well as the modern philosophers who might be closest to Zen, namely, the relativists of Whitehead's school and, above all, the existentialists of the last decade.

For the Westerner who has been skeptical all along about "the sound of one hand clapping," the study will do little to prove that the Buddha's statement is everybody's cup of tea. In fact, it may strengthen his suspicion (already articulated in Arthur Koestler's *The Lotus and The Robot*) that the Orient has nothing much to give us that we don't already have. At best, as Mr. Ames himself says, studies of this sort can help us to appreciate what we've got.

ROBERT DETWEILER, *University of Florida*

DONALD DAY, *Will Rogers: A Biography*. xiv, 370 pp. David McKay Company, 1962. \$5.95.

THE illiterate, diffident, gum-chewing, tousle-haired, roughly dressed comic who shambled onto the New York stages of the Ziegfeld Follies in the 1910s and 1920s, modestly averted his eyes from the surrounding abundance of female flesh, twirled his lariat and drawingly poked fun at politicians and stuffed shirts, was not a new cultural phenomenon. Ever since Nathaniel Ward's seventeenth-century "simple cobbler" and Benjamin Franklin's eighteenth-century "Poor Richard," the American

people had never been without a benignly humorous folk-spokesman whose simple, commonsensical goodness always triumphed over the wicked sophistications of elite learning, urban centers, upper-class society and mysterious institutions. Nevertheless, as Donald Day justly remarks, "the mind is teased for a fuller comprehension" of Will Rogers, whose success was a cultural paradox. By the 1920s, most of the values championed by the self-styled "cowboy philosopher" seem to have been decisively repudiated by the fabric and texture of American life.

Mr. Day has undertaken to provide an understanding of the phenomenon of Will Rogers with "a study and appraisal, an unfolding, literally 'a reading,' of that 'complete human document' against the times, events, and in relation to the people that produced it." Unfortunately, the resulting book is little more than a breathlessly popular reading of Rogers such as the latter might well have compiled about himself for the continued entertainment of his audience. This is indeed most disappointing. An analytical, culturally perceptive study of the part-Indian Oklahoma cowboy who wrote for the *New York Times*, pontificated over the radio and at national political conventions, served as America's cultural ambassador in Europe and hobnobbed with the great in all fields is still to be written. It would help illuminate the fascinating period which witnessed the folksy performance of Will Rogers, the destruction of the League of Nations, the heyday of Teapot Dome and the Ku Klux Klan, the rise of artistic experimentation, the experiment of prohibition and the prosperity that gave birth to our gravest socio-economic crisis.

BROM WEBER, *University of Minnesota*

PERCY G. ADAMS, *Travelers & Travel Liars, 1660-1800*. x, 292 pp. University of California Press, 1962. \$5.95.

JOHN LOCKE thought that it was very important for gentlemen to read history, geography and travels better to fit them to be the ruling class. Such was the enormous appeal of travel books that the ruled as well as the rulers enriched writers and publishers of these works. Fictitious and partly spurious narratives of voyages to exotic lands were shelved with authentic reports of daring voyagers. In regions distant from Europe people and settings assumed grander proportions than those familiar to stay-at-homes. The legend of Patagonian giants was so firmly fixed in the European imagination by the first fanciful reports that it took generations to reduce these South Americans to more normal size.

Professor Adams has ranged widely in his search for this literature which had the same fascination for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century

Europeans that space-age voyaging has for their descendants. As a literary sleuth he has uncovered deceptions by "travelers," but he has also rehabilitated others once held suspect, notably Dr. John Lederer, seventeenth-century explorer in North Carolina and Virginia. Though the pages of travel books contained misinformation, half truths, exaggerations and deliberate deceit, they stimulated Europe to self examination. At the same time that the dimensions of the physical world were being greatly enlarged the mind of man encompassed new realms of thought in literature, science, government and religion. In the home of the arm-chair traveler in Europe American studies were well begun.

MICHAEL KRAUS, *City College of New York*

ROBERT G. ATHEARN, *Rebel of the Rockies: A History of the Denver and Rio Grande Western Railroad*. xiv, 395 pp. Yale University Press, 1962. \$10.00.

ROBERT G. ATHEARN tells for the first time a thoroughly documented story of Colorado's "baby railroad," the Denver & Rio Grande, founded in 1870 by General William Jackson Palmer. In so doing, he has caught the tumult and decline of that period when the railroad dominated America. Yet the widest significance of this fresh 'case study' lies in its addition to our knowledge of the 'railroad wars' between the competing systems and of the behind-the-scenes struggles for the financial control of the railroads by local and 'eastern' interests in the era before World War I. Quite rightly Athearn gives little more than a hundred pages of his text to the period since 1920.

Despite certain periods of receivership, the D & RG remained an independent road caught between the colossi, Union Pacific and Atcheson, Topeka and Santa Fe. As a result, its history became a series of 'wars' and court actions—from that with AT & SF in 1877 over access to, and roadbed in, the Royal Gorge to that with Union Pacific in the 1950's over access to the 'Ogden Gateway' and Pacific Northwest. Meanwhile, in 1879 Jay Gould became, briefly, a stockholder, while in 1900 George Gould became board chairman so that the Rio Grande served as a primary instrument in his struggle with Harriman—a contest from which D & RG did not fully recover until after World War II. Surely, in its own way, its history—which includes the invention of the Vista Dome—serves to illustrate Henry Adams' insight into the evolution of America from an industrially dominated to a financially dominated society.

THOMAS D. CLARESON, *College of Wooster*

MILTON HALSEY THOMAS, *John Dewey: A Centennial Bibliography*. xiii, 370 pp. The University of Chicago Press, 1962. \$6.50.

MR. THOMAS' bibliography has long been a standard reference for students of American civilization. It was begun in 1926 after the author, then philosophy librarian at Columbia, had faced repeated requests for lists of Dewey's works and of materials related to them. Dewey himself, we are told, was kind and helpful in the enterprise, "though nothing could have interested him less than the unearthing of his former writings." The first edition, published in collaboration with Herbert Schneider, appeared in 1929, on the occasion of Dewey's seventieth birthday. (It was this 1929 edition that formed the basis of the Dewey bibliography in *The Philosophy of John Dewey*, edited by Paul Arthur Schilpp.) A second, updated edition appeared in 1939, with a new introduction by Professor Schneider entitled "Dewey's Eighth Decade." The present edition was begun in 1959 in connection with the centenary tributes to Dewey which marked that year. Its most significant feature is a vastly expanded list of writings *about* Dewey, including books, parts of books, articles and unpublished masters' and doctors' theses in American and foreign universities. The work is impressive on many counts and will prove invaluable to scholars in the many fields of Dewey's interest. Now, perhaps Mr. Thomas will give us still another edition, with the bibliographical *pièce de résistance*: a listing of the myriad collections, both public and private, of Dewey manuscripts and letters.

LAWRENCE A. CREMIN, *Columbia University*

MORTON and LUCIA WHITE, *The Intellectual Versus The City*. x, 270 pp. Harvard University Press and The M. I. T. Press, 1962. \$5.50.

MORTON WHITE and his wife have collaborated in writing an important book. The main purpose, they say, "is to describe, analyze, and classify some of the major intellectual reactions to the American city from the eighteenth century to the first part of the twentieth century, and to examine the intellectual roots of anti-urbanism and ambivalence toward urban life in America." They devote chapters to Franklin, Crèvecoeur and Jefferson; Emerson; Melville, Hawthorne and Poe; Henry Adams; Henry James; Howells; Norris and Dreiser; William James and Jane Addams; Robert Park and John Dewey; Royce and Santayana; and Frank Lloyd Wright. The Whites have drawn their evidence from both the lives and the work of these and other important American intellectuals. They conclude that pervasive anti-urbanism "helps explain America's lethargy

in confronting the massive problems of the contemporary city in a rational way." City planners today have "no powerful intellectual tradition of love for the city."

Philosophical analysis reveals that anti-urbanism is by no means synonymous with romanticism and, accordingly, in one of their best chapters, the Whites distinguish two stages of anti-urbanist thought: the pre-Civil War period when anti-urbanism was based on romantic premises and the post-Civil War period when it was largely anti-romantic.

The Whites have charted a course in largely unexplored waters. Errors are to be expected. The authors' evident distaste for romanticism (indistinguishable from primitivism), metaphysics (anything other than scientific pragmatism) and anti-urbanism (to qualify as a pro-urbanist one must be so totally in love with the city as to become, inevitably, an "urban cheerleader") produces some distorted interpretations and faulty logic. Lack of familiarity with the best of recent literary criticism and critical methods sometimes leads to unfortunate reliance on isolated quotations. The Whites make eminently clear, however, that the role of the city in the American imagination is a challenging and important subject, and they point a direction which future scholars will ignore at their peril.

BARRY A. MARKS, *Brown University*

JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER, *That Wilder Image: The Painting of America's Native School from Thomas Cole to Winslow Homer*. xiii, 407 pp. Little, Brown and Company, 1962. \$15.00.

JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER's research and writing skills bring renewed life to paintings long considered dead by many critics. The author candidly observes that American painting from 1825 to 1910 has been grievously undervalued; in reappraisal he states that "the Native School, far from being an aberration to blush at or laugh at, is an aspect of American culture of which we may well be proud."

In an impressive chapter of his book called "Artist Life," Mr. Flexner proves that the accusation of insipid feminine sentimentality can hardly be applied to American landscape painters, for their art was a vigorous masculine undertaking that prompted enthusiastic male patronage. The author devotes much of his attention to landscape painting; and, although other types of paintings are not ignored, it is clear that he considers American landscape painting the most successful expression of the Native School.

It is the author's stated belief that artists of the Hudson River School should not be grouped with those who painted far-western landscapes,

for he claims that there once existed a separate and distinct "Rocky Mountain School." I feel that the thesis, presented in his book for the first time, lacks sufficient proof. I also feel that the book fails to give adequate definitions for such key words found throughout the text as "Virgilian Mode," "Romantic Idealism" and "Neoclassical Mode."

While readers will probably disagree with some of Mr. Flexner's emphatic value judgments and concluding remarks, nevertheless, the narrative is vivid and offers many challenging thoughts. *That Wilder Image* is clearly designed for a popular reading public, but it has qualities high enough to engage the attention of art historians, and could well serve as an introductory text on nineteenth-century American painting for students of American civilization.

JONATHAN FAIRBANKS, *The Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum*

ARTHUR P. DUDDEN, *The Assault of Laughter: A Treasury of American Political Humor*. 523 pp. Thomas Yoseloff, 1962. \$7.50.

ORGANIZED around the subject of politics, this anthology contains selections from Seba Smith in 1830 to James Reston in 1960. Professor Dudden has surveyed 130 years of political satire and put together a highly amusing book reflecting all shades of political position. His collection indicates some interesting aspects of our political humor and raises a few probing questions.

First of all, Professor Dudden demonstrates that political humor has been one of the staples of our cultural history and did not descend upon us with the rise of the "sick" comedian. Secondly, he, by examples, shows that there have been two major traditions in our political humor. One is that in which the writer creates a character to speak for him, such as Seba Smith's *Jack Downing*, Charles Farrar Browne's *Artemus Ward*, Charles Henry Smith's *Bill Arp*, David Ross Locke's *Petroleum Vesuvius Nasby*, and Finley Peter Dunne's *Mr. Dooley*. The other is a tradition of personal invective developed by Mark Twain, Ambrose Bierce and H. L. Mencken. Will Rogers managed to combine both traditions by making himself a character.

Two interesting questions are raised. One is why journalists in general have made better political satirists than our literary men. The other is has a tradition of our political humor come to an end with the corporate changes in modern journalism?

THOMAS RICHARD GORMAN, *Loyola University, Chicago*

The Independent Reflector

By WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

Milton M. Klein, Editor. This polemical essay-journal of 1752-53, republished here for the first time in its entirety, took advanced positions on religious freedom, freedom of the press, and public education. Livingston anticipated and attempted to awaken his readers to many of the basic issues later involved in the Revolutionary War, and provided a trenchant commentary on the culture of pre-Revolutionary America.

The John Harvard Library.

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The Memoirs of an American Citizen

By ROBERT HERRICK

Daniel Aaron, Editor. The ironic, realistic adventures of an Indiana farm boy turned tycoon in the maelstrom of Chicago's age of the robber barons, written by one of the best-known novelists of that era.

The John Harvard Library.

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By MORTON KELLER

Analyzing the major American life insurance companies' quest for power, Mr. Keller defines the nature of the corporate institution in the United States, providing valuable insights into its development. *Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America. A BELKNAP PRESS BOOK.*

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Views of Society and Manners in America

By FRANCES WRIGHT

Paul R. Baker, Editor. A first-hand report by a Scotswoman of early 19th-century America, probing its character and explaining the influences that formed it. An important tribute to early American aspirations.

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The Papers of Benjamin Franklin

Volume 6: April 1, 1755, through September 24, 1756

LEONARD W. LABAREE, *Editor*; RALPH L. KETCHAM, *Associate Editor*

The sixth volume shows Franklin as one of the most important leaders in the defense of Pennsylvania against the French and Indians. While he was building forts and legislating, British scientists were taking steps to confer on him their supreme honor—election as Fellow of the Royal Society.

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By A. N. KAUL

Four of the major novelists of the past century are reinterpreted in terms of their approach to the society of their time. Cooper, Hawthorne, Melville, and Twain are shown to have accepted the American social order, though not without a critical evaluation of it.

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By ROBERT MIDDLEKAUFF

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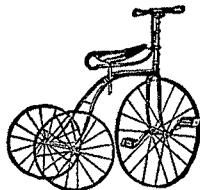
By CLEANTH BROOKS

The clarity of style for which Mr. Brooks has long been noted is displayed to advantage in these essays on five distinguished literary figures whose Christian commitment has been regarded as nonexistent or nebulous.

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American Calendar

Summer



1963

KY.-TENN. A two-day meeting on the campus of the University of Louisville, March 22-23, included a banquet, a guided tour of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and the following addresses: "Forms of American Architecture," by Theodore Brown, University of Louisville; "The Uniqueness of American Education," by Lyman B. Burbank, Vanderbilt University; "The Mid-Century View of Edgar Allan Poe," by J. Lasley Dameron, Memphis State University; "Reflections of the Civil War in Southern Humor," by Wade H. Hall, Kentucky Southern College; and "American Forms of Philosophy," by Charles Breslin, University of Louisville. In addition there was a panel discussion on "The Responsibilities of the Regional Newspaper," led by Ben Reeves of the Louisville *Times* and *Courier* and John Siegenthaler of the Nashville *Tennessean*, followed by a reception at the Arts in Louisville House.

WIS. & NO. ILL. Meeting April 6 at the Wisconsin Center on the

Madison campus, the Wisconsin and Northern Illinois chapter had a program built around two papers: "A Reluctant Witness to Pluralism in Early America," by the Rev. Thomas C. Hanley, S.J., Marquette University, with commentary by Howard Mumford Jones, visiting professor at the University of Wisconsin; and "The Theme Is Freedom: The Political Migrations of John Dos Passos," by Thomas R. Gorman, Loyola University, with commentary by Archibald J. Byrne, Northwestern University.

MIDCONTINENT. At the University of Kansas City, April 6, the eighth annual meeting of the Mid-continent ASA was comprised of a presidential address by Richard Herrnstadt, Iowa State University, and three distinct topics, two of them presented as demonstration lectures. Jack Ralston, University of Kansas City, gave aural illustration of his subject "Old Harp Singin': A Southern Mountain Tradition," for which the commentators were Ernest Manheim, University of Kansas City, and Gordon Steven-

son, Kansas City Public Library. "Religion and Politics in Mid-America: Presidential Voting in Missouri, 1928 and 1960" was the subject on which Richard A. Watson, University of Missouri, spoke and on which Robert Branyan, University of Kansas City, and Howard Neighbor, Park College, commented. And William H. Pierson Jr., Williams College, gave a visual demonstration on "Using Carnegie Slides in Depicting American Culture," for which the commentators were W. Howard Adams, Governor's Council of Fine Arts for Missouri, and George Ehrlich, University of Kansas City. The meeting was arranged by Kenneth J. La-Budde, the chapter's vice president.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST. An afternoon and evening program drawing on the talent of widely traveled speakers made up the substance of the April 20 meeting on the University of Washington campus. At a luncheon chaired by the host institution's Arthur E. Bestor, William E. Woolfenden of the Archives of American Art in Detroit spoke on "Documentary Sources for the History of American Art." Later in the afternoon, Roger Stein, University of Washington, gave a gallery talk on the American collection at the Frye Museum. And at a dinner over which Max Savelle, University of Washington, presided, the keynote address was delivered by Louis Hartz, Harvard University.

MID. ATLANTIC. The spring meeting of the Middle Atlantic States ASA was held April 20 on the campus of Haverford College. Centering on the theme "The Quaker Aesthetic," the program consisted of papers by John Ashmead, Haverford College, on "The Quaker Plain Style in Prose"; by George Winston, Lafayette College, on "Quaker Painting"; and by Perry Hoberg, Winterthur Museum, on "Quaker Furniture"—with commentary on the three by Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College. After a luncheon business meeting at which Richard Shryock, American Philosophical Society, was elected new president, the group toured the vicinity to visit three historic Quaker meeting-houses in Haverford, Merion and Radnor.

OHIO-IND. Western Reserve University was host, May 4, to the Ohio-Indiana chapter meeting at which Kenneth E. Davison, Heidelberg College, spoke on "Presidential Papers and Their Use"; Karl W. Dykema, Youngstown University, spoke on "Cultural Lag and the Reviewers of Webster's III"; and Philip Gleason, University of Notre Dame, spoke on "Melting Pot—Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?" Other parts of the program consisted of a luncheon honoring Carl Witke, Dean of the Graduate School of the host institution, and a brief business meeting which con-

sidered the proposal of the chapter president, Ward Miner, that Indiana and Ohio universities and colleges earmark certain scholarships for American Studies students. A fall joint meeting with the Michigan chapter is planned for October 20 at St. Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana.

ROCKY MT. May 10 was the date of the spring meeting of the Rocky Mountain ASA, at Colorado Woman's College, Denver. Four papers were read: "The American Dream: Cooper and Faulkner," by Charles Nilon, University of Colorado; "A Note on the Safety-Valve Concept," by William Marina, Arlington State College, Texas; "Play Dixie for Sweet Betsy: A Preliminary Speculation," by John A. Barsness, Montana State College, Bozeman; and "The Limits of Reason: The Development of Ambrose Bierce's Philosophy," by Lawrence I. Berkove, Colorado College. Curtis MacDonald, Colorado Woman's College, and Stuart James, University of Denver, were luncheon speakers. Michael McGiffert, University of Denver, arranged the program.

JOINT SESSION. In Omaha, May 3, ASA joined with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association to present a program on "The Role of Constitutional History." Under the chairmanship of Paul C. Nagel, University of Kentucky, the main address was given by Arthur E. Bes-

tor, University of Washington, on "Constitutional Issues: Realities or Rationalizations?" Discussants were Robert H. Bremner, Ohio State University, and Hyman Berman, University of Minnesota. By courtesy of the Asia Foundation, small sums were available to aid highly qualified Asian scholars to attend the MVHA meeting. Other grants for Asian scholars will be offered during the remainder of the year for national meetings at which ASA sponsors a portion of the program. Requests for information are invited from visiting Asian scholars.

NEW OFFICERS. Edwin H. Cady, Indiana University, was elected to the Executive Council to fill the vacancy caused when Russell B. Nye was made ASA's vice president. Representing the Great Lakes region (the membership of the Ohio-Indiana, Michigan and New York State chapters), the new councilman will serve through 1964.

. . . Hitherto unreported new chapter officers are the following: Kenneth J. LaBudde, University of Kansas City, president of Midcontinent; Theodore Greene, Amherst College, president of the New England Association; Thomas J. Pressly, University of Washington, president of Pacific Northwest; and Stanley R. Rolnick, president, Edward Noyes, secretary, of the Wisconsin-Northern Illinois chapter, both of whom are affiliated with Wisconsin State College at LaCrosse.

DIRECTORY. A directory number of *American Studies* planned for summer publication will contain the annual list of financial aids to graduate students, a new list of American Studies courses and programs and the annual membership directory. To enhance the usefulness of the membership directory, members are invited to check their names in last year's directory (published in the summer supplement of *AQ*) and tell us if they wish changes made. Those who wish may have an academic affiliation in the printed list without changing the present mailing address. Especially helpful will be the addition of academic specialties where they do not presently appear in print. Specialties must be listed in broad categories—e.g., *history, English, sociology*—because of space limitations. A post card note before June 10 will be enough to effect the change.

MISS. QUAR. The editors of *The Mississippi Quarterly* offer gratis to ASA members a complimentary copy of the journal devoted to "The Image of America Abroad." This set of five articles, now edited for publication by Arthur W. Thompson, was the substance of an inter-regional ASA meeting last spring in Miami Beach (see *AQ*, XIV, 231-32). Later in the year the same journal will publish a group of articles on the Mississippi River which came out of the eighth annual meeting of the Lower Mississippi chapter (see

AQ, XIV, 641). Requests for either or both issues should be sent direct to Robert Holland, Box 475, State College, Miss. *The Mississippi Quarterly*, devoted to the best of interdisciplinary regionalism, offers annual subscriptions at the bargain price of \$2 a year.

COMING MEETINGS. Theme of the American literature sessions at next December's MLA meeting in Chicago will be "Determinism in American Literature." Henry Nash Smith, University of California, Berkeley, is willing to consider papers which fit the theme. . . . Sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and the Athenaeum of Philadelphia, the fourteenth Conference on Early American History meets in Philadelphia, May 10 and 11. . . . The Southern Historical Association will meet Nov. 7-9 at the George Vanderbilt Hotel in Asheville. . . . The American Indian Ethnohistoric Conference will meet in Chicago at the Newberry Library, Nov. 1-2. . . . The third Conference in the Study of Twentieth-Century Literature meets May 17-18 at the Kellogg Center of Michigan State University. . . . The fifth Conference on International Education will meet at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, Feb. 12-14. . . . The Anglo-American Conference of Historians meets July 11-13 at the Institute of Historical Research in London.

GAFFELBITER. Effective January 1964 the annual subscription price of *American Quarterly* becomes \$7 in countries other than the United States and Canada. . . . A descriptive list of "Foreign Scholars Available under the Fulbright-Hays Act for Remunerative Positions in U. S. Colleges and Universities" may be had by addressing the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, 2101 Constitution Ave., N. W., Washington 25. . . . An American Studies Association for the Punjab State was organized in India April 13, and O. P. Sharma, Punjab University, was elected its first president. . . . Alfred University held its second annual American Civilization Week, April 16-19, with the program centering on the theme "Dynamic Dissent as an Aspect of America Today." . . . Florida State University devoted its 1962-63 American Studies public lecture series to the topic "American Myths," for which William Randle was program director. . . . A new journal, *Abstracts of Folklore Studies*, appeared in January under the sponsorship of the American Folklore Society. Subscriptions at \$3 a year may be addressed to the Society, Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4. . . . A new regional interdisciplinary magazine called *Journal of the Alleghenies* will be published by the Council of the Alleghenies and edited by Arthur

P. Ziegler Jr. Subscriptions at \$5 a year may be sent to the editor at Carnegie Tech, Pittsburgh 13. . . . Edited by C. D. Narasimhaiah, a special number of *The Literary Criterion* (Mysore) has appeared which prints papers coming out of the American literature section of the conference last summer at Mussoorie, Uttar Pradesh, sponsored by the United States Educational Foundation in India. . . . Fellowships for American women are announced in many fields with stipends ranging as high as \$5000, by the AAUW Educational Foundation, 2401 Virginia Ave., N. W., Washington 7. . . . ACLS has announced various fellowships with stipends as high as \$7000. Deadlines vary, with those for grants-in-aid coming as early as Sept. 30. Full information will be sent by Marie J. Medina, ACLS, 345 East 46th St., New York 17. . . . Two summer seminars in folk culture, for which fees are charged, are those at Cooperstown, New York, sponsored by the New York State Historical Association, June 30-July 13, and at the Pennsylvania Farm Museum, Landis Valley, sponsored by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, June 11-14. Information and rates can be had about the former from Louis C. Jones, NYSHA, Cooperstown; about the latter from the Commission, State Museum Building, Harrisburg, Pa. C. B.

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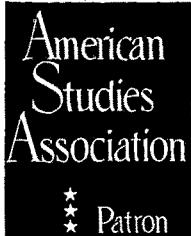
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EDWARD N. SAVETH
New School for Social Research

The American Patrician Class: A Field for Research*

"HISTORY RECEIVES ITS VOCABULARY, FOR THE MOST PART, FROM THE VERY subject matter of its study," remarked the late Marc Bloch. The vocabulary, he added, lacked unity.¹ The word class, for example, had one meaning for John Adams at the end of the eighteenth century and another for his great-grandsons, Henry and Brooks, at the end of the nineteenth. John Adams preferred "rank" to class. He thought of himself as belonging to the "middle rank of people in society" and spoke of a patrician "rank" which "exists in every nation under the sun and will exist forever."² Thomas Jefferson noted the existence of "a Patrician order" in Virginia.³ Jefferson's and Adams' use of "rank" and "order" sustains Professor Briggs' view that prior to the Industrial Revolution the word class was "used in its neutral, 'classifying' sense, and its place supplied by the 'ranks,' 'orders' and 'degrees' of a more finely graded hierarchy of great subtlety and discrimination."⁴

Following the Industrial Revolution, class became increasingly identified with conflict, a category for "the analysis of the dynamics of social conflict and its structural roots." Recently, the tendency has been to treat class as two analytically separable elements: class stratification harking back to the eighteenth-century conception of rank and, secondly, class action or conflict.⁵

* This article is the result of a grant from the American Philosophical Society.

¹ *The Historian's Craft* (New York, 1953), p. 158.

² Quoted in Zoltan Haraszti, *John Adams and the Prophets of Progress* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 248.

³ "Autobiography," *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, eds. Adrienne Koch and Walter Peden (New York, 1944), p. 38.

⁴ Asa Briggs, "The Language of Class in Early Nineteenth-Century England" in *Essays in Labor History*, eds. A. Briggs and J. Saville (London, 1960); Ralf Dahrendorf, *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society* (Stanford, 1959), pp. 3-7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 153.

Since history assigns many meanings to class, definition is the better part of historical wisdom. Class theory, however, includes many definitions and the result, as Bloch observed, is to leave "every man for himself."⁶ The historian, therefore, tends to write about class in the hope that the outline of what he is discussing will flow from the narrative.⁷ This approach avoids the bias inherent in schematization. To write about class without struggling with definition, however, can lead to mistaken analyses of the relationship between class and political action, the kind of analytical errors for which Charles A. Beard and Howard K. Beale have been taken to task.⁸ What is required is interplay between class theory and the actual situation, with the concept refined by the process.

Professor Robert A. Dahl's statement concerning the concept of power is also true of class. "We are not likely to produce—certainly not for some considerable time to come—anything like a consistent, coherent 'Theory' We are much more likely to produce a variety of theories of limited scope, each of which employs some definition . . . that is useful in the context of the particular piece of research or theory but different in important respects from the definitions of other studies."⁹

An important clue to definition is Schumpeter's statement, echoed by Parsons, that "the family, and not the physical person, is the true unit of class theory."¹⁰ This definition is applicable particularly to the patrician family that "has been established for at least one, and preferably two or three generations, as members of the upper class,"¹¹ that has a long tradition of literacy and a "moving sense of the overlap of history."¹²

Schumpeter's approach to class may be less meaningful when applied to the lower classes who have a shorter tradition of literacy, less of what Max Weber called "prestige of descent," and less of a sense of history and precedent. Only relatively recently have the Alfred Kazins and the James Baldwins been telling us how it really was in Brooklyn and Harlem.

Patrician personal literature—memoirs, autobiographies, letters, diaries and similar memorabilia—are plentiful throughout most of our history.

⁶ *The Historian's Craft*, p. 176. For the multiple definitions of class see Leonard Reissman, *Class in American Society* (Glencoe, Ill., 1960), *passim*; Joseph Kahl, *The American Class Structure* (New York, 1957).

⁷ Rowland Berthoff, "The Working Class," in *The Reconstruction of American History*, ed. John Higham (New York, 1962).

⁸ Lee Benson, *Turner and Beard* (Glencoe, Ill., 1960), pp. 108, 111; Robert P. Sharkey, *Money, Class and Party* (Baltimore, 1959), p. 293.

⁹ "The Concept of Power," *Behavioral Science*, III (July 1957), 201-15.

¹⁰ Joseph Schumpeter, *Imperialism and Social Classes* (New York, 1951), p. 148; Talcott Parsons, "Social Classes and Class Conflict in the Light of Recent Sociological Theory," *Essays in Sociological Theory* (Glencoe, Ill., 1954), p. 328.

¹¹ Kahl, *The American Class Structure*, p. 189.

¹² Francis Biddle, *A Casual Past* (New York, 1961), p. 17.

On the other hand, family history which derives from these sources and which could advance us along the road to class definition, is an underdeveloped aspect of American historiography.

There are several reasons for this. If it is true, as many European observers noted, that the family unit was weaker here than in Europe, then the role played by family was less likely to impress itself upon the historian's consciousness.¹³ Stress which American culture has placed upon the individual may have caused the historian to minimize or take for granted the extent to which family is important in providing means of access to education; to social, economic and political opportunity; to marriage; and to the various forms of status.¹⁴

Secondly, there is a tendency for the achieving individual to complicate further the historian's problem by minimizing, in public statements, the role of ancestry. Theodore Roosevelt, according to Howard K. Beale, consistently understated the wealth and accomplishment of his ancestors.¹⁵ Indeed, in a society devoted to egalitarianism, pride of ancestry becomes for the patrician politician an aspect of covert culture that finds expression in privately printed and in manuscript genealogies; in personal and private papers; and in membership in ancestral and patriotic societies.¹⁶

Third, historians have tended to regard the field of family history as allied to genealogy. Those genealogists who interpret the concern of genealogy as limited to date of birth, date of death and the tracing of family relationship, deny the association.¹⁷ On the other hand, most of

¹³ Michael Chevalier, *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States*, edited with an introduction by John William Ward (New York, 1961), p. 398; G. W. Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (New York, 1938), p. 603.

¹⁴ Oscar Handlin, "A Note on Social Mobility and the Recruitment of Entrepreneurs in the United States," *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, Winter Supplement (1956), pp. 1-5; Bernard Bailyn, *New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 87-91, 135-58; John A. Munroe, *Federalist Delaware, 1775-1815* (New Brunswick, 1954), p. 199.

¹⁵ "Theodore Roosevelt's Ancestry, A Study in Heredity," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, LXXV (1954), 196-205.

¹⁶ "By covert culture we refer to traits of culture rarely acknowledged by those who possess them." B. Bowron, L.M. Marx and A. Rose, "Literature and Covert Culture," *American Quarterly*, IX (Winter 1957), 377.

An example of the private satisfactions of genealogy is offered by the late Myron C. Taylor who took great pride in his descent from a vigorous personality named Captain John Underhill, a pioneer settler of Oyster Bay in the early seventeenth century. So devoted was Mr. Taylor to this ancestor that he sponsored and financed a four-volume genealogy of his Underhill ancestors. (J. C. Frost, *Underhill Genealogy* [New York, 1932]). He was also the prime mover of the Underhill Society, composed of the descendants of Captain John Underhill (*New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XC, 92).

¹⁷ Introductory "Note" to Kenneth E. Hasbrouck and Ruth P. Neidgerd, *The Deyo (Deyoe) Family* (1958). See the review of this volume by A. D. Keator in the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* (October 1959).

the family history that has been written by genealogists is, by the standards of professional historiography, not a little amateurish and antiquarian. We have not as yet developed in America a Horace Round or an Anthony Richard Wagner, capable of blending successfully genealogy and history.¹⁸ Lester J. Cappon concluded that the volumes which line the shelves of American genealogical societies, with their overtones of filiopietism, family pleading and amateurism are not likely to interest greatly the professional historian.¹⁹

In all fairness, however, no estimate has been made of this data provided the right questions are asked of it. The field of local history, for example, is a comparable intellectual desert, but Elkins and McKittrick have used the data of local history very effectively in seeking a new meaning for the Turner thesis. So have Curti and his associates.²⁰ Genealogy has the potential of a valuable tool for social analysis, as Joseph Schumpeter indicated decades ago.²¹

As a problem in historiography, family history is complicated by its not inconsiderable sprawl. In the preface of *The Cokers of Carolina A Social Biography of a Family*, George Lee Simpson Jr. described both an "inherent problem" and an "inherent unfairness" in writing the history of a family over four generations. Caleb and Hannah Coker and their ten children, Simpson continued, have hundreds of descendants. "Clearly it is impossible to write in a single coherent volume of all those people who, whether they bore the Coker name or not, are members of the family."

Simpson concentrated on those "who bore the name of Coker and who identified themselves with the location where the family achieved recognition." He further limited himself to those Cokers who, "in the public eye and by common agreement," have been a part of a notable achievement, either as individuals or as a part of a persisting family unit bearing the name Coker.²² Accordingly, it is the achieving individuals within the achieving family who become family history.

¹⁸ Anthony R. Wagner, *English Genealogy* (London, 1960), pp. 178-205, 304-54.

¹⁹ Lester J. Cappon, "Genealogy, Handmaid of History," *Special Publications of the National Genealogical Society*, XVII, 3, 8. Some idea of the scope of genealogical literature, indexed as to family, may be obtained from Freeman Rider, ed. *The American Genealogical Index* (Middletown, Conn., 1942-52) and *The American Genealogical-Biographical Index to American Genealogical, Biographical and Local History Materials* (Middletown, Conn., 1952-date). See also Cappon, "Bibliography of American Genealogical Periodicals," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, LXVI (January 1962), 63-66; Cappon, *American Genealogical Periodicals A Bibliography . . .* (New York, 1962).

²⁰ Merle Curti et al, *The Making of An American Community A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, 1959), pp. 1-11; Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick, "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXIX (September 1954), 349.

²¹ *Imperialism and Social Classes*, p. 169.

²² (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1956), preface and author's note.

Bernard Bailyn is also troubled by the sprawl of family history and its nature "apart from the total of the unrelated careers of a number of people who happened to have the name. . . . In what way, that is, did the family have meaning in itself? What historical importance is there to the fact that these individuals, as opposed to any others, find places on the vast genealogical chart the author furnishes us within his text? What, in other words, can be said about the family as such that illuminates the lives of its members and the evolution of American society?" Bailyn suggests pruning the family tree except for those elements that determine the family life style, that contribute to comprehension of its "permanent identity," that establish the core of its "inner continuity," that are the "symbols of family permanence within the flux of births and deaths and passing careers."²³

Family style, however, does not go on forever. Brooks and Henry Adams believed that three generations was the limit of familial adjustment and that, in the case of the Adams family, the world was too much for the fourth generation.²⁴ Alphonso Taft, father of William Howard and grandfather of Robert A. Taft, reminded a gathering of approximately one thousand Tafts who collected at Uxbridge, Massachusetts on August 12, 1874 that "brilliant political careers have not been characteristic of the Tafts in the past." He added, however, it was not safe to say what the future held in store because even as there was a tide in the affairs of men, there was a tide as well in the destinies of families.²⁵ The tide took its time in the case of the Tafts as it did with the Churchills who, like the Cecils (disguised as Salisburys, Cranbornes and Balfours), for centuries, accomplished nothing except to remain on their estates.²⁶

Insofar as a component of definition of the patrician class is the patrician family, a "working model" of the patrician family, both in its internal structure and external relations, is needed. Professor Bridenbaugh has identified the history of the American family as a priority in American historiography²⁷ and the following variables have been suggested as foundation for such a history: the family's "internal structure (the inter-related roles of father, son, daughter, mother, uncle and other kin), its relationship to the culture and society of which it is a part (the effects of industrialism, urban living, wider educational opportunities, the 'emancipation' of women, and similar elements), and the processes through which

²³ "The Beekmans of New York: Trade, Politics and Families," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIV (October 1957), 605-6; *Idem*, XI (January 1954), 98-104.

²⁴ *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma* (New York, 1949), p. 93.

²⁵ Henry F. Pringle, *The Life and Times of William Howard Taft* (New York, 1939), I, 19.

²⁶ Peter de Mendelssohn, *The Age of Churchill* (New York, 1961), p. 56.

²⁷ "The Great Mutation," *American Historical Review*, LXVIII (January 1963), 323.

changes in internal structure are affected by, and in turn affect, its external relationships.²⁸

To this list of variables should be added, in the case of the patrician family, the figure of the patriarch whose role, Talcott Parsons²⁹ and Daniel Bell³⁰ suggest, is conditioned by different stages in the evolution of capitalism. The patriarchal family is strongest under the conditions of agrarian, mercantile, and the early stages of industrial capitalism—all of which rely heavily upon family capital and family management. The position of the patriarch as head of family is strengthened by his role as chief of enterprise.

From patrician personal literature centered upon the middle decades of the nineteenth century, it is possible to limn the patriarch as a real type.³¹ The patriarch makes his fortune and then establishes roots in the community. He builds a big house—big enough, as the first Nicholas Longworth explained, to accommodate "all the Longworths in the nation."³² Master of the big house, the patriarch tended to be jealous of his brood and of his authority. The patriarch is the first Wade Hampton writing to an acquaintance: "I thank you for your friendly effort to procure me a landed estate for my Sons in the Western Country but must decline it for the present. . . . I do not wish my children at too great a distance from

²⁸ *The Social Sciences in Historical Study*, Bulletin 64 of the Social Science Research Council (New York, 1954), p. 96.

²⁹ "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," *Essays in Sociological Theory*, p. 185.

³⁰ "The Break-Up of Family Capitalism," *Partisan Review*, XXIV (Spring 1957), 317-20.

³¹ The real type differs from the ideal type construct of Max Weber. Writing of the ideal type as "formed by the one-sided accentuation of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent *concrete individual* phenomena, which are arranged according to these one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified *analytical* construct," Weber seems to be outlining the process whereby fictional types are created. (My position on Weber follows closely that of Gabriel Kolko, "A Critique of Max Weber's Philosophy of History," *Ethics*, LXX [1959], 21-36; "Max Weber on America: Theory and Evidence," *History and Theory* [1961], 243.)

Not that fiction and aesthetics are without value for social science research, as Karl Deutsch has indicated. The semi-fiction of the ideal type meets and resembles the semi-reality of the fictional image of the patrician drawn by such careful hands as Marquand, Wharton, Holmes Sr., Auchincloss, Glasgow and Faulkner. ("Summary statement on Results of the Conference on the Social Sciences in Historical Study," [mimeo, June 20-22, 1957], p. 19; A. Arnold, "Why Structure in Fiction: A Note to Social Scientists," *American Quarterly*, X [Fall 1958], 135.) See also the interesting statement by A. J. Toynbee, "History, Science and Fiction," *The Philosophy of History in Our Time*, ed. Hans Meyerhoff (New York, 1959), pp. 117-18.

³² Clara Longworth de Chambrun, *The Making of Nicholas Longworth* (London, 1933), pp. 46-47. Other references to the big house in patrician personal literature include Julia Davis, *Family Vista* (New York, 1958), p. 9; Elting E. Morison, *Turmoil and Tradition* (Boston, 1960), p. 11; E. S. Ives and H. Dolson, *My Brother Adlai* (New

me."³³ The patriarch is James Lides, the South Carolina planter, who permitted his daughter to marry Caleb Coker, the rising young businessman from Society Hill, only after Coker promised that he would not take her West.³⁴ In the West, the hold of the patriarch did not loosen. Lawson Clay, trained in the law, wanted to move away from Huntsville, Alabama, "to some place where my services professional would be required" but he could not "gain the consent of any member of the family." The latter, said Lawson, "wish me to return to Huntsville and finish an existence, miserable in dependence and satiety." Despite efforts to be "on 'my own hook' unpropped by father," Lawson stayed on in the latter's large household which included many relatives in addition to the nuclear family.³⁵

In Cincinnati, noted Clara Longworth de Chambrun, "a model son-in-law, according to the Longworth pattern, [was] content to spend more time in Ohio than in New York, and one who showed an affectionate veneration for his wife's parents. . . ." It was, she continued, a curious "clan" life, as it was lived under their father's roof. "He had invented an extremely simple plan in regard to accounts and allowances, 'hating to be pestered for money,' as he said. Daily, a liberal sum was placed in the open drawer of his desk, accompanied by the verbal recommendation: 'let every one take what he wants or what he needs, and don't bother me.'"³⁶

A great deal more research is needed to establish the patriarch as a real type on a less tentative basis than the above, which is more outline than definitive portrayal. Even more uncertain is the status of the patriarch under the later stages of industrial and on into the era of finance and managerial capitalism. It is apparent that the business fate of the Coker family of South Carolina was typical of many other families as the needs of enterprise for money and managerial skill transcended what the family could provide. The result was separation between family structure and

York, 1956), p. 22; Herman Hagedorn, *The Roosevelt Family of Sagamore Hill* (New York, 1954), pp. 38-40; W. E. Smith, *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics* (New York, 1933), I, 186; Eleanor Roosevelt, *This is My Story* (New York, 1939), pp. 117-23.

The big house and its significance is discussed in Edward C. Kirkland, *Dream and Thought in the Business Community* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1956), pp. 29-49 and by E. L. Godkin, "The Expenditures of Rich Men," *Scribner's Magazine*, XX (October 1896), 495.

³³ *Family Letters of the Three Wade Hamptons*, ed. Charles E. Cauthen (Columbia, S. C., 1953), p. 14. The letter is dated February 6, 1811.

³⁴ *Planters and Business Men The Guignard Family of South Carolina 1795-1930*, ed. Arney R. Childs (Columbia, S. C., 1957), pp. 17, 38-39; *The Lides Go South . . . And West, The Record of a Planter Migration in 1835*, ed. Fletcher M. Green (Columbia, S. C., 1952), p. v.

³⁵ Ruth K. Nuernberg, *The Clays of Alabama* (Lexington, Ky., 1958), pp. 77-78, 85, 93, 103; Allen Tate, "A Southern Mode of the Imagination," *Studies in American Culture*, eds. J. J. Kwiat and M. C. Turpie (Minneapolis, 1960), p. 104.

³⁶ Chambrun, *The Making of Nicholas Longworth*, p. 47.

business. When Charles Coker died in 1931, the board of directors of the family-founded Sonoco enterprises was composed entirely of members of the Coker family. A quarter of a century later, nonfamily outnumbered family board members, two to one.³⁷

What happens to the patriarchal status under industrial, finance and managerial capitalism is better established in theory than in fact. Talcott Parsons,³⁸ A. A. Berle³⁹ and Daniel Bell⁴⁰ have discussed the waning of family capitalism and Bell, particularly, has emphasized the relationship between this phenomenon and the weakening of family structure. However, additional research is needed to determine the extent to which multi-millionaire oilman, J. Paul Getty is a representative mid-twentieth-century patriarch. He was divorced five times; his four sons by different wives are all but lost in the structure of the far-flung Getty business empire. Said one of the half brothers, "we don't keep up. Years and years go by when I see none of them, although recently we have been meeting about twice a year—once at the annual meeting of the family trust."⁴¹

While the Getty family pattern appears to sustain the thesis that the weakening of family structure is a concomitant of giant enterprise to which family is only remotely related, the Kennedy family experience demonstrates that there are factors beyond business which serve as basis for family cohesion.⁴²

The patriarchal role may have altered since John Hay married Clara Stone in 1874 and Amasa, Hay's rich and patriarchal father-in-law, gave Hay a fine residence in Cleveland and a place in the business.⁴³ It seems logical to assume that there has been a change in the patriarchal role. But so little is known about the process of transformation that it is hard to say what it was, how it came about if, in fact, it has come about. Is Joseph P. Kennedy less of a patriarch than was Nicholas Longworth? What of the continuation of family influence in large, publicly-owned corporations such as Du Pont? What of managerial dynasties or continuities like the Sarnoffs in Radio Corporation of America?⁴⁴

There is every indication that there are additional variables, beyond the economic factors stressed by Parsons and Bell, which condition family structure. The scope of these, however, is not likely to be revealed prior

³⁷ Simpson, *The Cokers of Carolina* . . . , p. 291.

³⁸ "The Kinship System of the Contemporary United States," p. 185.

³⁹ *Power Without Property* (New York, 1959), p. 74.

⁴⁰ "The Break-Up of Family Capitalism," pp. 317-20.

⁴¹ Ralph Hewins, *The Richest American* (New York, 1960), pp. 17, 20, 39, 391-92, 395.

⁴² "How Joe Kennedy Made His Millions," *Life*, January 25, 1963.

⁴³ Tyler Dennett, *John Hay* (New York, 1933), p. 101.

⁴⁴ Osborn Elliott, *Men at the Top* (New York, 1959), pp. 37, 67-68. For executive continuity along family lines in Russia see David Granick, *The Red Executive* (New York, 1960), p. 53.

to intensive research into family history.⁴⁵ Only a history of the American family could comprehend these variables and provide basis for an accurate typology of the patriarch at various stages in American history as well as a contribution to class theory.

Family history is particularly relevant to that aspect of class which Max Weber called the "life-style." An important component of the latter is an inherited pattern of family culture—a rare emphasis in historiography and an important one that finds expression in Elting E. Morison's biography of Henry L. Stimson.⁴⁶ The current social science emphasis upon "achievement"⁴⁷ has no counterpart in historical studies of families which have been prominent in successive generations. Most family histories, those that are something more than puffed-up genealogical trees, revolve around the records of a business enterprise and the enterprise rather than family structure, or the aptitude that made possible the continuity of the enterprise, is stressed.⁴⁸ We have had political dynasties, now as in the past, but histories of political families such as W. E. Smith's *Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics* are by no means plentiful. Still more uncommon is the tracing of professional or artistic talent over the generations.

The facts of material inheritance, to say nothing of their implication for family culture, are barely known. In England, the continuity of aristocracy has been ascribed less to family feeling and blood ties than to the perpetuation of "the family estate, which provided the family not only

⁴⁵ Closest to such an account is A. W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family* (3 vols.; Cleveland, 1917-19). This is more than a half-century old and inadequate on many levels.

Without such a history, the tendency is to flounder in controversy that cannot be readily resolved. Witness the current sociological dispute over whether the American family is characteristically "extended" or characteristically "nuclear." Ruth Cavan, *The American Family* (New York, 1959), pp. 119-47; A. B. Hollingshead, "Class and Kinship in a Middle Western Community," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (1949), 469-75; John Sirjamaki, *The American Family* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 141-43; Eugene Litwak, "Occupational Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion," *American Sociological Review*, XXV (February 1960), 9-21; "The Use of Extended Family Groups in the Achievement of Social Goals: Some Policy Implications," *Social Problems*, VII (Winter 1959-60), 177-87; Marvin B. Sussman, "The Isolated Nuclear Family: Fact or Fiction," *Social Problems*, VI (Spring 1959).

Theoretical studies of the American family, not solidly grounded in history, have caused Richard Titmuss to exclaim: "much of the nonsense that is written in the subject [of family structure] to-day requires challenging." Especially, he added, "the theoretical studies of family emanating from the United States." Preface to Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957).

There is an echo of this controversy in historical literature, Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society*. . . (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1960), p. 250.

⁴⁶ *Turmoil and Tradition* (Boston, 1960).

⁴⁷ See especially David C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (Princeton, 1961).

⁴⁸ See, for example, William J. Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company* (Cambridge, 1961) and other volumes of the Harvard Studies in Business History.

with its revenue and residence, but with its sense of identity from generation to generation. . . ." ⁴⁹ In America, inheritance was of no less significance. Professor Habakkuk has indicated that the role of inheritance has been little studied in this country. He ascribed this to the absence of a backlog of materials.⁵⁰ Perhaps a more accurate statement of the problem in its American context is not the lack of materials—but that the materials have been neither systematized nor used widely in historical and sociological treatises.⁵¹ Legal history has failed to "tell of the shaping force exercised by law from outside it, by what people wanted, by the functional needs of other institutions, and by the mindless weight of circumstances."⁵² The reverse is also true. So admirable a study as Edmund S. Morgan's *The Puritan Family* places slight stress upon legal factors and inheritance.⁵³

Primogeniture, an aspect of inheritance with manifold implications for family structure, lacks a full-scale treatment. Joel Barlow asserted that "the simple destruction of these two laws, of *entailment* and *primogeniture*, if you add to them the *freedom* of the press, will ensure the continuance of liberty in any country where it is once established."⁵⁴ However, the last significant study of primogeniture and entail was by Richard B. Morris more than thirty years ago.⁵⁵ At about the same time Charles R. Keim wrote of the "Influence of Primogeniture and Entail in the Development of Virginia."⁵⁶ More recently, knowledge of entail in Virginia has been extended by brief treatment in an article by Dr. Bailyn.⁵⁷ However,

⁴⁹ Lewis B. Namier, *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (London, 1930), pp. 22-23; H. J. Habakkuk, *The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. A. Goodwin (London, 1953), p. 2.

⁵⁰ "Family Structure and Economic Change in Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Journal of Economic History*, XV (1955), 1, 4.

⁵¹ There is, for example, ample material in the debates of the various state legislatures and the proceedings of the state constitutional conventions.

Wills, as sources of insight into family structure and also into family relationships, have been much neglected. There was a time when the making of a will was not the cut-and-dried procedure that the legal profession has made of it. Wills were more personal documents than they now are; individuals not only disposed of property but told why they acted as they did and it is the whys which are of interest to the student of family history. Eugene E. Prussing, *The Estate of George Washington Deceased* (Boston, 1927), p. 3. Washington declared that in the construction of his will, "it will readily be perceived that no professional character has been consulted, or has had any agency."

⁵² James W. Hurst, *Law and Social Process in United States History* (Ann Arbor, 1960), p. 10.

⁵³ (Boston, 1944).

⁵⁴ *Advice to the Privileged Orders . . .*, p. 29.

⁵⁵ "Primogeniture and Entailed Estates in America," *Columbia Law Review* (1928).

⁵⁶ Unpublished doctor's thesis, University of Chicago, 1927.

⁵⁷ "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," *Seventeenth Century America*, ed. James M. Smith (Chapel Hill, 1959), pp. 110-11.

so significant an observation as that by Professor Morris that on the eve of the American Revolution there was a revival of entail in Massachusetts, has not been followed up.⁵⁸ It would be interesting to examine the background against which Thomas Cheseborough, in 1756, advised Ezra Stiles, perhaps facetiously and perhaps not, never to divide or alienate any land or other estate but leave it to the eldest son: "'tis not good to be upon a Level or under the Foot of every Scoundrel." This scheme was to be kept quiet even as others were to be encouraged "to Divide their Estate."⁵⁹

It is well known that in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, state legislation was enacted prohibiting entail and primogeniture. However, only in Virginia has the background of the legislation been explored.⁶⁰ Certain questions remain unanswered. Did legislation by the various states against primogeniture and entail apply only to cases of intestacy? What legal sanctions were there against individuals who wanted to concentrate the bulk of their property as a legacy to a single heir? What were the popular sanctions against such practices and how did they evolve?⁶¹ What of the beneficiaries of partible inheritance who elected to leave an estate undivided that it might function better as an economic unit?⁶²

Inheritance is an important factor determining family position within a class over the generations. Movement into and out of the patrician class has been more observed than analyzed largely because the elements that determine the patrician life style are difficult to isolate.⁶³ Using methods of genealogy and family history, it is possible to trace the status of individual families over successive generations. However, what did Schumpeter mean when he spoke of "the mobility of a whole social class?" Schumpeter himself insisted that any estimate of class mobility would be less "science" than "party slogan." He then went on to frame, virtually without proof, his own account of the ascendancy of European families as "uniformly along the lines of the American saying: 'Three generations from shirt-sleeves to shirtsleeves.'"⁶⁴

⁵⁸ *Studies in the History of American Law* (New York, 1930).

⁵⁹ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt* (New York, 1955), p. 138.

⁶⁰ Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," pp. 110-11.

⁶¹ Sigmund Diamond, *The Reputation of the American Businessman* (Cambridge, 1955).

⁶² R. Richard Wohl, "Three Generations of Business Enterprise in a Midwestern City: The McGees of Kansas City," *Journal of Economic History*, XVI (December 1956), 514-28.

⁶³ G. W. Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America*, pp. 117, 368, 603; *Journey to England and Ireland*, ed. J. P. Mayer (New Haven, 1958), p. 70.

⁶⁴ *Imperialism and Social Classes*, p. 169. Schumpeter's conclusion as to the mobility of the European aristocracy, that the class could be likened to a "bus whose passengers are always changing," avails us little because there is almost no society without some mobility. The problem is not whether there is mobility, but its extent and rate; the

The "American saying" was a "slogan" put forth by Oliver Wendell Holmes Sr. who, in 1861, spoke of three generations as marking the duration of powerful New England families.⁶⁵ There remains a continuing tendency on the part of historians to write of mobility in terms of "slogans."⁶⁶

Difficulties with respect to the ascertainment of "whole class" mobility⁶⁷ return the analyst to the individual family,⁶⁸ "the relative position of families within a class," and the discovery of what there is about family "life" and "spirit" which causes one family to adjust and go forward and another to decline.⁶⁹ In many respects, a model for this kind of investigation is William T. Whitney's account of the rivalry between the Derby and Crowninshield families for priority in Salem.⁷⁰ Yet, generalization about the movement of a "whole class" on the basis of what is known about a few families, involves a problem in sampling no easier to resolve in the case of the American patriciate than with respect to the status of the English gentry in the seventeenth century.⁷¹

Virtually all that is known about class is on the local and community levels, the domain of the community sociologists. Professor W. L. Warner and his associates identified a patrician class in Newburyport which was described as an "upper-upper class" within a pattern of stratification which included five other classes. The upper-upper class was identified as a precipitate of the economic activities of previous generations and prevailed in the older sections of the country, along the Atlantic seaboard and in the South.⁷²

relationship of mobility rates to time and place; whether the passengers change more rapidly in America than in Europe and in one period of history rather than another; and, finally, the circumstances of the change.

⁶⁵ *Elsie Venner* (Boston, 1861), pp. 1-2.

⁶⁶ Professor Richard B. Morris, referring to mobility in colonial America, affirmed the applicability of "the expression from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations." "Class Struggle and the American Revolution," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XIX (January 1962), 27. N.S.B. Gras speaks vaguely of the "chronic tendency of mercantile families to dry up." *Business and Capitalism* (New York, 1946), p. 162.

⁶⁷ Certain problems involved in historians' concern with mobility are noted by Oscar Handlin, "Ethnic Factors in Social Mobility," *Explorations in Entrepreneurial History*, IX (October 1956), 1-7; *Class, Status and Power*, eds. R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, pp. 5-6; Oscar and Mary Handlin, *The Dimensions of Liberty* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 133-54.

⁶⁸ Catherine S. Crary, "The Humble Immigrant and the American Dream, 1746-1776," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (June 1959).

⁶⁹ Schumpeter, *Imperialism and Social Classes*, pp. 140, 149, 166, 169.

⁷⁰ William T. Whitney Jr., "The Crowninshields of Salem 1880-1808," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* (April and June 1958).

⁷¹ H. R. Trevor-Roper, "The Gentry 1540-1640," *The Economic History Review Supplements* (n.d., Cambridge), pp. 6, 31 and *passim*; Alan Simpson, *The Wealth of the Gentry 1540-1660* (Chicago, 1961), p. 21.

⁷² W. L. Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America* (Chicago, 1949), pp. 16-17.

To mention the Warner system of community stratification is to invite a large body of criticism of it by historians and sociologists.⁷³ The historian sees the Warner approach as lacking in depth and rarely transcending what the late C. Wright Mills described as "that dull pudding called sketching in the historical background."⁷⁴ One of the best of the community studies is Robert A. Dahl's account of New Haven, a chapter of which deals with the period 1784-1842 when "public office was almost the exclusive prerogative of the patrician families." Yet, in his discussion Dahl shows scant awareness of newer understandings by historians of the nature of power in colonial America and its relationship to class structure and "patrician control."⁷⁵

Understanding of the patrician class could be increased by integrating community sociology and local history. Eric Lampard has pointed to the need for a blend of historical and social science techniques within an ecological framework.⁷⁶ Studies by Merle Curti and his associates and by Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick working together have advanced local history beyond mere narrative to engage it with such questions as mobility, social role, decision-making, group formation and elite function.⁷⁷ The effect of this kind of an approach is not only to contribute a time dimension to community sociology, but to endow class with historical continuity.⁷⁸

While discussions and analyses of class enter into numerous community

⁷³ See especially the criticisms by Ruth R. Kornhauser, "The Warner Approach to Social Stratification," in *Class, Status and Power*, eds. Bendix and Lipset; Harold W. Pfautz and Otis D. Duncan, "A Critical Evaluation of Warner's Work in Community Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, XV (April 1950), 205-15; Oscar Handlin, *New England Quarterly*, XV (1942), 554; XVIII (1945), 523; *Journal of Economic History*, VII (1947).

⁷⁴ C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York, 1959), p. 154.

⁷⁵ Who Governs? *Democracy and Power in an American City* (New Haven, 1961), p. 11. The book contains no reference to important historical studies such as Leonard W. Labaree, *Conservatism in Early American History* (New York, 1948), and M. M. Klein, "Democracy and Politics in Colonial New York," *New York History*, XL (July 1959), 221-46, that could have contributed depth to the earlier chapters. For additional references that could have improved Dr. Dahl's understanding of power and its exercise in the colonial period see Bernard Bailyn, "Political Experience and Enlightenment Ideas in Eighteenth-Century America," *American Historical Review*, LXVII (January 1962), 341, n2. See also Roger Champagne, "Family Politics versus Constitutional Principles: The New York Assembly Election of 1768 and 1769," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XX (January 1963), 57-79.

⁷⁶ Eric E. Lampard, "American Historians and the Study of Urbanization," *American Historical Review*, LXVII (October 1961), 49-61.

⁷⁷ "A Meaning for Turner's Frontier," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXIX.

⁷⁸ "Local History Contributions and Techniques in the Study of Two Colonial Cities," *Bulletin of the American Association for State and Local History*, II (February 1959), esp. the comment by Bayrd Still, pp. 246-50, which has important bearing upon the integration of local history and community sociology. See also Philip D. Jordan's survey, *The Nature and Practice of State and Local History* (Washington, 1958).

studies, on the national level class is virtually undefined.⁷⁹ Efforts to depict a national elite by Mills⁸⁰ and Hunter⁸¹ have met with sharp critical attack. Equally vulnerable is the attempt by E. Digby Baltzell to go beyond his rather good study of the Philadelphia upper class and in the direction of identifying a "national aristocracy." According to Baltzell, the communications revolution, the nationalization of business and the attendance by scions of prominent families at far-from-home New England boarding schools and Ivy League colleges where they allegedly meet marriage partners of the same life style but from different communities, has disrupted the local roots of aristocracy.⁸² Unfortunately, however competent Mr. Baltzell's treatment of the Philadelphia scene, his assumptions nationally are unproven. They seem particularly vulnerable in the light of changes that have taken place in the admissions policies of the Ivy League colleges.⁸³

With the patrician class difficult to define and identify nationally, the kind of research problem formulated by Dr. Pumphrey with reference to England has no American counterpart. Pumphrey sought to determine the extent to which industrialists penetrated the British peerage.⁸⁴ This problem, if it could be stated in terms of the American scene, would shed light upon mobility between old families and new wealth. But what is the American equivalent of an English peer?

The late Marc Bloch defined nobility as a class having legal status with its social privileges and hereditary succession receiving legal recognition.⁸⁵ However, at the time when the legal privileges of the nobility of most European nations were being defined constitutionally, the United States Constitution banned the class altogether.⁸⁶ Not only is there no American establishment to sustain the American patriciate, but there is also no vestigial establishment which would give this class even a derivative basis.⁸⁷

⁷⁹ Heinz Eulau, *Class and Party in the Eisenhower Years* (Glencoe, Ill., 1962), p. 19; Reissman, *Class in American Society*, 203-5.

⁸⁰ *The Power Elite* (New York, 1956).

⁸¹ *Top Leadership U.S.A.* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1959).

⁸² E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentleman* (Glencoe, Ill., 1958), p. 21.

⁸³ Lawrence Bloomgarden, "Our New Elite Colleges," *Commentary* (February 1960).

⁸⁴ "The Introduction of Industrialists into the British Peerage: A Study in Adaptation of a Social Institution," *American Historical Review* (October 1959), pp. 1-16.

⁸⁵ *Feudal Society*, pp. 283-85.

⁸⁶ R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* (Princeton, 1959), pp. 508-17.

⁸⁷ Not that an establishment or even a vestigial establishment is an infallible guide. Compilations such as Burke's *Peerage* and the *Almanach Da Gotha* and its successor, the *Genealogisches Handbuch Des Adels*, are by no means decisive in establishing antiquity and continuity in family lines. (Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 84). Even so, they are rough indices of class belonging which, with all their faults, are probably more useful as a finder for European aristocracy than is the *Social Register* for the American patriciate. (My observations as to the *Social Register* are based on a conversation with Norton Mezvinsky who is preparing a study of Boston and New York aristocracy between 1875

A third aspect of class, not unrelated to its economic basis and to the expression of a particular life style, is the political: "class oriented toward acquisition of 'social' power . . . toward influencing a communal action. . . ."⁸⁸ Among the concerns of research into the political role of the patriciate is the extent to which inherited ideas of responsibility and service, of what Edmund Burke called the gentle uses of power, developed in the course of centuries by the English aristocracy and the American patriciate, are incorporated into political action.⁸⁹ There is also the question, posed by Professor Hesseltine, as to the extent to which a political tradition is class-oriented and how much of it is diffused across class lines.⁹⁰

Implied in political action is the concept of power. Social scientists disagree as to whether power in American society is concentrated in an elite or diffused throughout the structure of society.⁹¹ Historians have expressed different viewpoints concerning the nature and exercise of power in colonial society. Becker,⁹² Sydnor⁹³ and Labaree⁹⁴ see power as concentrated in an elite composed of the great colonial families whose political actions were said to be expressive of a unified class interest. Another point of view regards interest group rather than class as the focus of power.⁹⁵ Interest group, in so far as it transcends class lines and is a basis

and 1925. He has compared *Register* data with other materials and places less reliance upon the *Register* than does Baltzell.)

⁸⁸ H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *From Max Weber* (New York, 1958), pp. 180-95; Kahl, *American Class Structure*, p. 16.

⁸⁹ Arthur B. Ferguson, *The Indian Summer of English Chivalry* (Durham, N. C., 1960), pp. 119-20, 182; Lewis Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (London, 1957), p. 10; Frank Freidel, "The Education of Franklin Delano Roosevelt," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXXX (Spring 1961), 158-67.

⁹⁰ William B. Hesseltine, "Four American Traditions," *Journal of Southern History*, XXVII (February 1961), 4.

⁹¹ Robert A. Dahl, "A Critique of the Ruling Elite Model," *American Political Science Review*, LII (1958). The literature on the nature of community power is a large one. The extent to which power is concentrated or diffused has been shown to be much influenced by the researcher's procedure. (R. E. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of 'Community Power,'" *American Sociological Review*, XXV [October 1960], 636-44; David B. Truman, "Theory and Research on Metropolitan Political Leadership: Report on a Conference," *Items, Social Science Research Council*, March 1961, p. 3).

Using one type of research design, Floyd Hunter developed an elitist conception of power. Other approaches to power, like that employed by Dahl in his study of New Haven, see power as more diffused than concentrated with the balance likely to shift with the issue being decided. N. W. Polsby, "The Sociology of Community Power: A Reassessment," *Social Forces*, XXVII (March 1959), 232-36.

⁹² *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776* (Madison, Wis., 1909).

⁹³ *Gentlemen Freeholders* (Williamsburg, Va., 1952).

⁹⁴ *Conservatism in Early American History* (New York, 1948), pp. 1-31.

⁹⁵ See, for example, Robert P. Sharkey, *Money, Class and Party* (Baltimore, 1959), 290-311; Forrest McDonald, *We The People* (Chicago, 1958), pp. 358-99.

of divergence within the class framework, encourages a conception of power that is more fragmented than concentrated. Dr. Klein's account of family politics in colonial New York, for example, is of alliances cemented and broken; of shifting configurations of power within the framework of the patrician stratum.⁹⁶ The class concept, having become operational in terms of interest and conflict, breaks up into tangents of individual and family action.

How is group interest ascertained? Charles A. Beard's use of the technique of economic biography is generally credited with having established the rudiments of career line analysis. This is, essentially, a biographical approach to history in which certain questions are posed with reference to the individuals involved in a particular group. The answers are the basis upon which individuals are grouped and group attributes are correlated with political action so that a relationship between them becomes apparent.⁹⁷ I use correlate rather than cause because career line analysis, since it cannot comprehend all possible variables as well as for other reasons, has methodological limitations restricting it as a form of proof to correlation rather than cause.⁹⁸ How causation itself can be established is far from clear.⁹⁹

Use of the technique of career line analysis by David Donald, Richard Hofstadter, Alfred D. Chandler Jr., George E. Mowry, Ari Hoogenboom, among others, has illumined aspects of patrician political behavior.¹⁰⁰ However, career line analysis, correlating biographical factors with political action, does not explain how one leads to the other. One explanation of patrician political behavior is in terms of reference group

⁹⁶ Klein, *New York History*, XL, 240; Champagne, "Family Politics. . . ."

⁹⁷ J. E. Neale, "The Biographical Approach to History," *History*, New Series, XXXVI (October 1951), 193-203.

⁹⁸ Herbert Butterfield, "George III and the Namier School," *Encounter*, 1957, pp. 70-76; *George III and the Historians* (New York, 1959); Lee Benson, *Turner and Beard*, pp. 159, 195.

⁹⁹ The difficulties involved in establishing cause are dealt with by Sidney Hook in *Theory and Practice in Historical Study* (New York, 1946), pp. 110-15. Among the better more recent accounts is Cushing Strout's in *History and Theory*, I (1961), 175-85.

¹⁰⁰ David Donald, "Toward a Reconsideration of the Abolitionists," in *Lincoln Reconsidered: Essays on the Civil War* (New York, 1956); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York, 1960); Alfred D. Chandler Jr., "The Origins of Progressive Leadership," in Elting E. Morison, ed. *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge, 1954), VIII, appendix III, 1462-65; George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), pp. 86-104; Ari Hoogenboom, *Outlawing the Spoils. A History of the Civil Service Reform Movement* (Urbana, Ill., 1961), pp. 190-97; Gerald W. McFarland, "The New York Mugwumps of 1884: A Profile," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXVIII (March 1963), 40-65. Critiques of this method include R. A. Skotheim, "A Note on Historical Method. . . .," *Journal of Southern History*, XXV (1959), 356-65; Richard B. Sherman, "The Status Revolution and Massachusetts Progressive Leadership," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXVIII (March 1963), 59-65.

theory which "aims to systematize the determinants and consequences of those processes of evaluation and self-appraisal in which the individual takes the values or standards of other individuals and groups as a comparative frame of reference."¹⁰¹

Using reference group theory as an explanation of motivation Professor Donald and Professor Hofstadter asserted that a certain amount of anxiety over status with reference to competing groups in the population led men of old family background into the abolitionist and, at a later date, into reformist political movements in an effort to recoup lost power and prestige. Recently, the reference group concept has been amplified to include not only a contemporary competing group but individuals and groups in the past, such as ancestry, for example, whose achievement must be equaled or exceeded.¹⁰²

My own researches into the history of the American patriciate tend to support Herbert H. Hyman's conception of the role of ancestry as reference group, apparent particularly in the careers of Henry Cabot Lodge, Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Adams, Brooks Adams and Charles Francis Adams Jr.¹⁰³

Other explanations are advanced of patrician political behavior. Dr. Berthoff accounted for the prominence of the man of family in contemporary American political life in terms of the reintegration of "society somewhat as it was before 1815" in which the "Roosevelts, Tafts and Rockefellers [he might have added Kennedy, Morgenthau, Steers, Stevenson, Wallace, Wadsworth, Scranton, Plimpton, Dilworth, Byrd, Saltonstall and Stimson] not only accept responsibility of their class to lead the common voter but are in turn accepted by him, it is evident that we once again have an established upper class with privileges and duties roughly equivalent to those of the eighteenth-century gentry." Thus far in my own researches I have found little to sustain this aspect of Mr. Berthoff's "conservative hypothesis."¹⁰⁴

Nor would I agree with Mr. Lipset's attempt to compress the patrician political tradition within the framework of the Republican party.¹⁰⁵ This thesis would be reasonable, if not altogether valid, applied to the politics of the 1890s when Republicanism qua Republicanism had a real meaning for Roosevelt, Lodge and the neo-Federalists. However, C. Vann Wood-

¹⁰¹ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), pp. 50-51.

¹⁰² Herbert H. Hyman, "Reflections on Reference Groups," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Fall 1960), pp. 383-96.

¹⁰³ Edward N. Saveth, "Henry Adams: Waning of America's Patriciate," *Commentary*, October 1957.

¹⁰⁴ Rowland Berthoff, "The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis," *The American Historical Review*, LXV (April 1960), 511.

¹⁰⁵ Seymour M. Lipset, *Political Man* (New York, 1959), p. 301.

ward has shown that even during this period the Virginia Populists were inclined to entrust leadership of their movement to Virginia's old families.¹⁰⁶

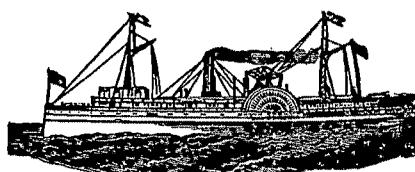
There is no simple definition of the patrician class. It is possible, however, to present a model of what such definition involves. The model includes family history with stress upon the factors, material and cultural, which make for family continuity; the structuring of real types of the patrician family centered in factors related to the family's internal structure and external relationships. The development in history of these attributes contributes to a general description of the patrician class as "rank."

To comprehend class as cause involves awareness of group structure and component factors. The latter enter into career line analysis and, when correlated with action, contribute to ascertaining the group interest. Reference group theory, advanced as suggestive of motive underlying the expression of patrician group interest, has been attacked sharply in recent years and it is my impression that the assumptions of reference group theory, even as modified by Dr. Hyman, have marked limitations as explanation of patrician political behavior.

Even career line analysis, which takes less for granted about motivation than does reference group theory, is a device that must be used discreetly and with reference to the reservations expressed in Mr. Butterfield's critique of Sir Lewis Namier.¹⁰⁷ That is to say, there is more to history than its relationship with theory which has been stressed in this article. Theory and analysis are subsumed by the flow of historical narrative and this includes unique factors, which may be alien to an analytical framework but are very much part of the history of the American patrician class.

¹⁰⁶ C. Vann Woodward, "Populist Heritage and the Intellectual," *American Scholar*, XXIX (Winter 1959), 70.

¹⁰⁷ George III and the Historians, *passim*.



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American Studies and the Concept of Culture: A Theory and Method

AMERICAN STUDIES IS YOUNG, AND THUS, INEVITABLY, HAS BEEN UNSURE OF its goals and methods. Part of its uncertainty is due to the skeptical attitudes of some scholars who identify themselves with the older, more respectable and secure disciplines. But despite the matter of prestige, the problem of theory and method is very real. As yet there is no generally recognized theory of American Studies, and thus we do not really know who we are, and what we are doing. There is even disagreement as to whether or not such a theory is desirable at this time. While a number of scholars have suggested theories and methods, others feel that the best procedure is to avoid dogmatic definition of content or method, and to wait for the discipline to define itself through practice. Henry Nash Smith writes: "Method in scholarship grows out of practice, or rather out of repeated criticism of practice intended to remedy observed shortcomings."¹

While those who suggest that practice must come before theory deserve our respect, especially because of their outstanding practical successes, it seems doubtful to me whether anything is to be gained from the neglect of theory, provided that theoretical suggestions are treated as just that, as suggestions, and not as dogmatic attempts to circumscribe a new and developing field. Theory and definition have the value of clarification, of suggesting useful distinctions and possibly fruitful hypotheses. There comes a point when the justification of a new field must exceed a reaction against the narrow perspectives of either the New Criticism or purely quantitative social science. Nor are the suggestions that the defining characteristic of

¹ "Can American Studies Develop a Method?" in *Studies in American Culture: Dominant Ideas and Images*, Joseph J. Kwiat and Mary C. Turpie, eds. (Minneapolis, 1960), p. 14. At the outset I would like to acknowledge my obligation to several who have read and criticized this paper in one or more of its various revisions, though by doing so I do not imply that they necessarily agree with my point of view. Many of the basic ideas were originally developed in a seminar taught by Dr. Brom Weber. I also wish to thank Professors Leo Marx, Arnold Rose and especially Charles Foster. Of course the final responsibility is mine.

American Studies is "the effort to view any given subject of investigation from new perspectives," or to view it from an interdisciplinary standpoint adequate.² Hopefully the student of any discipline will attempt to look at his subject from new perspectives, and an increasing number of studies in both the sciences and humanities are interdisciplinary.

What then is American Studies? Briefly defined, it is the study of American culture. Culture is the key concept, the unifying concept, the root word which suggests both theory and method. It is a branch of culture studies, and as such is closer to the social sciences theoretically than to the humanities. It is a specialized branch of cultural anthropology.³ The materials studied may be literary, but the approach will be that of the student of culture, not the critic. It is time to recognize this fact openly and to start working out its implications.

The skeptic will now ask: If American Studies is merely a culture study, then how does it differ from other culture studies? Has it any special defining characteristics? Of course the obvious unique characteristic is that it is American. It is concerned with a culture which can be defined according to certain spatio-temporal dimensions. In the long run this will be its only distinguishing characteristic, for if American Studies fulfills its promise, it is highly likely that similar investigations will be undertaken of other national cultures. It will be but a branch of culture studies of modern literate societies.

Many, perhaps most studies by anthropologists have been of nonliterate cultures. In most primitive societies culture is communicated by oral, not written means. Even in high civilizations only a small minority of the population was capable of reading or writing until after the invention of the printing press. Systems of universal free public education organized to transmit culture have been created only in modern times, made necessary by the increasing complexity of modern cultures, and especially by their dependence on specialization and literacy.

American Studies may be the unifying result of trends in both the humanities and anthropology. To the student of the humanities, culture is becoming more and more important. To the anthropologist the written and artistic expressions of modern literate societies are of increasing significance. Redfield writes:

"Regional studies" may have one development into a study not so much

² Smith in Kwiat and Turpie, p. 3, and Richard M. Huber, "A Theory of American Studies," *Social Education*, XVIII (October 1954), 267.

³ This is recognized by William Randel when he writes that "of all established disciplines, cultural anthropology, more specifically social anthropology, is the closest to American Studies in governing purpose." In "Toward a Method in American Studies," *Quarterly Journal of the Florida Academy of Science*, XXIII (Spring 1960), 67.

of a region as of a culture; a single localized long-standing way of life composed of a Little Tradition of the nonliterate and illiterate and a Great Tradition of the literate and philosophic few. These two aspects of the one reality are to be found, respectively, in the community study of the anthropologist and in the study of the art and literature by the humanist. The two traditions have made each other . . . and anthropologists are likely to join with . . . other specialists of literature and history in the complete study of these culture-civilizations.⁴

It is not unreasonable to suggest that the co-operative study Redfield foresees may be improved by creating a discipline which combines special knowledge of both culture and humanities. The student of modern literate societies requires special training in the use and interpretation of written artifacts. These include not only such things as government documents, personal diaries and other such usual historical resources, but also literature, for to the student of culture, as contrasted with the historian, it may be more useful in discovering cultural significances than merely descriptive documents.⁵ Yet the understanding and proper use of documents of fiction, as of other documents of art, require knowledge, not only of content, but of craft and form. They are documents, but in a very special way. The student of modern literate culture must acquire a considerable special knowledge of the techniques of the high arts as well as of popular culture and mass communication. American Studies as a branch of modern literate culture studies requires a general theoretical orientation to culture study, and additional special knowledge of the written artifacts that are one of the defining characteristics of modern cultures.

The necessity of knowledge of literary technique is especially evident in historically oriented culture research. Unlike the anthropologist who observes the natives of an existing primitive culture, students of historical American Studies must use the surviving documents of a past era. This is one of the reasons it requires knowledge of many disciplines. It is also the reason it seems at times more like one of the humanities. Thus far most effort at inferring the psychological states of past natives of our culture has been centered on written documents. The American Studies student has often confused his concern with written kinds of evidence—especially with great American literature—with American Studies as a whole and its direction. The artifacts from which a culture is inferred include not just written documents, certainly not just literature, but also

⁴ Robert Redfield, "Relations of Anthropology to the Social Sciences and to the Humanities," in A. L. Kroeber, chm., *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory* (Chicago, 1953), p. 737.

⁵ See section below, p. 266, for a fuller consideration of the use of literature in culture studies.

the creations of the other arts, as well as the products of technology and science. The true reason why American Studies is interdisciplinary becomes evident. It is so not just to get a new angle on a traditional subject matter, or to look on an event from several angles, but because the concept of culture around which American Studies revolves cuts across and includes the content of all the other disciplines. These disciplines are, in fact, the means our society uses to communicate a knowledge of culture, and are thus one of the best sources for an investigator of culture.

If culture is the key concept in American Studies, a closer examination of the concept and its uses should be worthwhile.

Of course the meaning of culture traditional in the humanities is not that implied here. It is used here in the sense common to the social sciences, and initiated in English by Tylor in his *Primitive Culture* in 1871.⁶ The concept was developed gradually as the many travelers, scholars and merchants of the modern era observed that there were ways of life different from their own. A certain self-consciousness grew regarding ways of life and patterns of living.

Students of culture themselves have by no means been agreed as to the precise meaning of the word. In their monograph *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn include and comment on some 164 definitions. Despite differences in emphasis among definitions the authors suggest that most social scientists would define culture more or less as follows:

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action.⁷

Culture is a concept, an abstraction. It is not a thing. In the words of Kroeber and Kluckhohn: "Culture is an abstract description of *trends toward* uniformity in the words, acts, and artifacts of human groups."⁸ Culture is not generally considered actual behavior itself, nor need the actual products or artifacts of culture be considered as culture itself. Cul-

⁶ Alfred L. Kroeber, "The Concept of Culture in Science," *Journal of General Education*, III (April 1949), 183.

⁷ Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. XLVII-No. 1 (Cambridge, 1952), p. 181. Hereafter referred to as Kroeber and Kluckhohn.

⁸ Kroeber and Kluckhohn, p. 182.

ture is that which is constructed by inference from behavior and artifacts. For instance there are a number of works of fiction called novels. None of these is exactly the same, yet they have certain common similarities. They are enough alike to be labelled "novels." The form exists only in its specific embodiments. In one sense the novel form is a culture pattern, a construct, inferred from all its specific embodiments. Ralph Linton makes a similar distinction when he differentiates between real culture patterns and culture construct patterns. Real culture patterns are all the actual novels. Culture construct patterns, which are formulated by students of culture, are the average patterns, the generalizations which describe the mode of specific actual occurrences.⁹

Many anthropologists distinguish between explicit or overt, and implicit or covert or latent culture.¹⁰ There is some difference of opinion as to the exact meaning of these contrasting terms. One reason for the disagreement is that one's definition of covert culture depends on one's definition of culture in general. Linton, for instance, who includes behavior as part of culture, defines covert culture as "a matter of psychological states, and such states can only be inferred from the overt behavior to which it gives rise."¹¹ Those anthropologists who do not include overt behavior as part of their definition of culture, and to whom "culture" is entirely conceptual, define covert culture as those patterns, significances and values according to which people act, but of which they are unaware, in contrast to those values, patterns and significances on which they act, but of which they are aware. Kroeber and Kluckhohn refer to these covert culture phenomena as *cultural enthymemes*, or tacit premises.

It looks to an inner coherence in terms of structuralizing principles that are taken for granted by participants in this culture as prevailing in the world. Patterns are forms—the implicit culture consists in interrelationships between forms, that is, of qualities which can be predicated only of two or more forms taken together.¹²

I think they are suggesting that behind two or more culture patterns, which on the surface seem dissimilar, one may find a third pattern, a tacit premise that is common to both. An example of an implicit culture pat-

⁹ Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York, 1945), pp. 30-54.

¹⁰ Linton refers to overt and covert culture as do Bernard Bowron, Leo Marx and Arnold Rose, "Literature and Covert Culture," in Kwiat and Turpie, pp. 84-95. F. Stuart Chapin refers to latent patterns in "Latent Culture Patterns of the Unseen World of Social Reality," *American Journal of Sociology*, XL (July 1934), 61-68. Kroeber and Kluckhohn generally use explicit and implicit. See p. 157. A method of detecting covert culture is suggested by Arnold Rose in *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences* (Minneapolis, 1954), chap. xxi, "Popular Logic in the Study of Covert Culture."

¹¹ Linton, p. 39.

¹² Kroeber and Kluckhohn, p. 171.

tern might be language. Usually a culture possesses a common language. Few Americans are aware that the patterns and relationships which structure the English language significantly determine how they think about reality, and that certain other languages are structured very differently. The subject-object relationship which is the basis of our sentence structure is not the only one possible. Without being aware of it, all Americans grow up using the same language and thinking about reality in that language, however else they differ.¹³

Because of the rather ambiguous use of the words explicit and overt; implicit, covert and latent among anthropologists themselves, an attempt at definition, clarification and comment for American Studies purposes may be worthwhile.

1) Culture is a pattern of constructs of modes of meanings, values and ideas about acting, inferred from noninstinctive human behavior. Behavior is human action and the products of action. Products of action include written artifacts of historic cultures including documents of all kinds; newspapers, manuscripts, books of fiction and poetry. Among artifacts of culture are paintings, music, sculpture and the products of technology and science.

Culture should be distinguished from society. Society is the group itself. Culture is the meanings, values and ideas about action which are in the minds of the members of a society.

2) A subculture is a group within a larger culture which can be characterized by certain patterns peculiar to itself.

A subculture should be distinguished from a group organized with a particular purpose in mind such as a political party, business, art appreciation club or denomination. These groups may be composed of persons from different subcultures. Usually a culture or subculture is not best described as goal-directed. A culture or subculture is a way of life. In America important subcultures have been sectional, national (immigrant), racial and religious. In 1850 some of the subcultures one could have observed were: Protestant New England, Irish Catholic New England; the Negro, Chinese and Indian; the Jewish, Pennsylvania Dutch and Shaker subcultures. It will be observed that in all cases these "rule of thumb" labels point to what was probably the most popularly obvious characteristic of each group.

3) All cultures are characterized by certain patterns of behavior. These are learned and passed on from generation to generation. They regularize virtually all the areas of life important to the existence of that culture. They involve customs of eating, housing, earning a living, rearing children, marrying, burying and worshiping. There is a certain variation of custom along a continuum. Of course no one event is exactly the same as another,

¹³ See *Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, ed. John B. Carroll (New York, 1956).

but it is possible to describe what most of the members of a culture do most of the time in most areas of life. From their behavior is inferred the meanings, values and ideas about acting which inform it. From sermons delivered by the clergymen of any one denomination it is possible to derive a kind of pattern of what preachers and congregations expect in a sermon. That which is inferred from behavior or the products of behavior is a *culture construct pattern*. Many times when we speak of a culture construct pattern we shall actually mean a subculture construct pattern, because it is seldom that a pattern, especially before the late twentieth century, will be shared by all Americans.

4) In speaking of culture construct patterns it is possible to distinguish between those which are *avowed*, *masked* and *metapatterns*. I shall use this terminology to replace covert-overt, explicit-implicit, terms which suffer from considerable ambiguity.

An *avowed pattern* is one which is publicly practiced and expressly recognized by those who practice it. It is usually legal and openly approved. It is not necessarily a majority pattern for there are many minority culture patterns which are avowed. On the other hand a pattern may actually be shared by most members of a majority and not be avowed.

A *masked pattern* has at least some of the following characteristics: It is seldom openly discussed or publicly sanctioned, though it may be admitted in intimate groups. In some cases it is masked because the members of a culture do not realize that it is a generally shared pattern. In some cases virtually all members of a culture may be unaware that any pattern exists, not because it is consciously hidden, but because it is taken for granted. It is too habitual to be noticed. In some cases a pattern may be masked because it is repressed. Members of a culture may feel anxious about a particular danger or threat, but fear to admit their anxiety. Members of a culture may feel a kind of unmet need, but be unable to verbalize it. Often a masked culture pattern exists because it contradicts an already avowed pattern. Masked patterns must often be isolated by indirect means.

It should be emphasized that one makes a judgment of whether or not a pattern is masked or avowed along a continuum. There are no absolute distinctions. In American culture, where there are a number of culture detectives employed full-time, it is unlikely that a great many patterns will be completely masked. In many primitive societies much of the culture is masked simply because it is taken for granted. It should be noted that a pattern is not avowed or masked depending on the observer's point of view. It is avowed or masked according to the attitudes toward it, or the degree to which it is self-conscious among those who practice it.

A *metapattern* is one shared by two or more patterns. It is what has previously been labelled "implicit." The structure of language is a metapattern.

It is shared by all participants in a culture possessing a common language.

The search for masked patterns and metapatterns is one of the most intriguing and difficult aspects of culture studies. Avowed patterns are usually obvious, though they differ in subtlety. It is an avowed pattern in contemporary American culture for Christians to go to church on Sunday. It is an avowed pattern for a politician to attack another politician or political party in terms which would not be allowed in another context. In the South segregation is an avowed pattern. All of these patterns are publicly practiced and expressly recognized and sanctioned. They are mostly ideas about action, though certain value patterns, sometimes masked, are implicit in them. It is an avowed pattern to seek profit in business or a higher wage for labor. On the other hand certain ways of making a profit are not avowed. We know they exist, but they are masked. In the North discrimination is often masked. If Mr. Kinsey is correct there are many masked sexual patterns. Four books will provide us with brief examples of the search for patterns in historic American culture.

a) *Railroad Leaders, 1845-1890: The Business Mind in Action* by Thomas C. Cochran. From an analysis of the business letter files of some sixty-one presidents of American railroads between 1845-90 the author abstracts norms (patterns) for social role, that is, for "a shared expectation of a general type of response to certain situations." "A primary aim . . . was to establish some norms of thought and attitude for American railroad presidents of the period. . . ." Before the study the author drew up a list of attitude categories including such headings as: expansion of business, competitors, social problems and innovation. In content analyzing the letters every significant expression of the writer's attitude toward those items included in the list was recorded. The result was a profile of the presidents' attitudes on those items. Insofar as many of the men shared similar attitudes on many of the items it is evident that patterns existed. Some of these patterns were avowed and others masked. It is possible that a great many of the attitudes were masked because the presidents may not have realized that what seemed to them private attitudes were so extensively shared by their fellow presidents. They were also masked since they would not have been openly acknowledged either to the general public or to the boards of directors of the railroad companies.¹⁴

b) *Popular Religion: Inspirational Books in America* by Louis Schneider and Sanford M. Dornbusch. This is a very carefully designed study of forty-six best sellers of inspirational religious literature (nonfiction) in America between 1875-1955. From the methodological standpoint alone *Popular Religion* is of interest to students of American Studies. The

¹⁴ (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 14, 15.

authors composed a lengthy list of religious ideas. General headings in their list included: functions of religious faith; God, man and nature; changing the self and the world; salvation; wealth and health; ways of salvation. One subitem, for instance, was "religion brings physical health." Whenever this idea appeared in a paragraph of a book analyzed, it was recorded so that when the analysis was completed the proportion of the book devoted to that particular idea could be estimated. "After reading a paragraph, the reader recorded one or more coding categories which were explicitly treated in it." Two readers spent thirteen weeks reading thirty-one of the forty-six books paragraph by paragraph. Half of the books were assigned randomly to each reader. Two of the books were assigned to both readers and their classifications compared, paragraph by paragraph. Out of 212 possible categories both readers chose the same one 66 per cent of the time.¹⁵

While *Popular Religion* is intended primarily as a study in the sociology of American popular religion, it has considerable relevance to the culture-concept-approach to American Studies, for it locates certain patterns and trends in the minds of many Americans about religion, patterns not at all similar to the formal theology of many traditional churches. Many ideas found in these books are like those found in New Thought and Christian Science. Certainly these patterns are avowed in the sense that many of the authors of these books were well-known clergymen. On the other hand they have a masked quality in that no major denomination and very few responsible theologians would advocate "the power of positive thinking" and similar ideas. Nevertheless these ideas are popular among a large proportion of the American middle class. This study tends to confirm the suggestion of some American Studies scholars that masked patterns may be discovered through the investigation of certain small, seemingly eccentric movements such as New Thought that avow ideas which may be generally masked but still in the minds of many others. An avowed pattern of a small group may lead to a masked pattern in the larger culture.

c) *The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* by R. W. B. Lewis. It is by no means necessary for American Studies to be entirely or even primarily concerned with high art, or with "great" American literature. Nevertheless this has been a fascination to many, and some of the frustrating problems of American Studies are a result of this preoccupation. Inquirers have sought patterns in the literature itself and have tried to use literature as an indicator of masked culture patterns. The idea has been that the images and metaphors

¹⁵ (Chicago, 1958), p. viii.

used in literature may by indirection express masked anxieties and value premises.¹⁶

In *The American Adam* Lewis locates in certain images used by several writers in the mid-nineteenth century the clue to a masked pattern in American literature, and by implication in American culture in general. ". . . the image contrived to embody the most fruitful contemporary ideas was that of the authentic American as a figure of heroic innocence and vast potentialities, poised at the start of a new history."¹⁷ Presumably the discussion among American artists over the validity of such an image is the key to understanding everyone from Whitman to Melville. Obviously this is an attempt to isolate a masked pattern. The attempt is a failure for several reasons. In the first place a masked pattern, even if it exists, is not a magic key to understanding several complex works of art. But secondly, *The American Adam* fails because of defects of method common to American Studies generally. One of the most common sources of literary imagery is the Bible, and it is not at all unlikely that writers will make reference to Adam or the cluster of ideas associated with him. But this does not confirm the existence of a pattern, especially when references which explicitly contradict ideas associated with the image may be found. Such contradictory ideas are present in virtually all the authors included in *The American Adam*. Students should guard against projecting their own preoccupations into materials which, so to speak, cannot talk back. Actually *The American Adam* is more useful as an example of projection which indicates a somewhat masked pattern in our own contemporary culture, a pattern of ideas about the nature of modern man.

d) *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* by Henry Nash Smith. Through a wide variety of high and popular art, as well as purely descriptive documents, Smith finds myths and symbols which existed in the minds of many Americans during the nineteenth century. "Myth" and "symbol" are "words to designate larger and smaller units of the same kind of thing, namely an intellectual construction that fuses concept and emotion into an image."¹⁸ The author has certainly isolated a pattern in American thought. His emphasis on the two-dimensional aspect of "myth" is also important. His presentation gives depth that is lacking in ordinary intellectual history. The patterns found were in some cases avowed, but as an influence on behavior they were often masked, for Americans may not have realized the extent to which they were influenced. In fact the resistance to some of Smith's insights may be an index to the power which this masked pattern still has in the American consciousness, and which some may not wish to examine critically. Yet I

¹⁶ (Chicago, Phoenix Paperbacks, 1955). ¹⁷ Lewis, p. 1. ¹⁸ (New York, 1957), p. v.

think it may be asked legitimately whether the terms myth and symbol are most useful. More often they confuse the issue, it seems to me, than clarify it, not only because they are words with long and devious histories from which it is difficult to disassociate them, but because they have a certain connotation of the divine and mysterious. So-called myths do not fuse concept and emotion into an image which is important in a culture unless the members of that culture already have a predisposition which makes such a myth appeal to them. There are many purely propositional kinds of documents which fuse concept and emotion without resort to the symbolism common in literature, the Gettysburg Address, for example. If myth becomes vital in a culture it is because it expresses an avowed or masked pattern of values. These were the values to which American agrarian culture has given expression many times. The Myth of the Garden is but one pattern of images which expresses this generally avowed value pattern. It becomes interesting when taken into an urban industrial situation where it no longer applies. A myth is simply a pattern of values which has real force in the life of a people and which has received metaphoric expression, as contrasted with values and ideas which have only intellectual appeal. The use of such words as "myth" and "symbol" tends to obscure rather than emphasize this distinction. To refer to a pattern as a myth only implies that it is no longer masked.

The four books dealt with above are all attempts to discern patterns in American culture. Each book hypothesizes certain culture construct patterns. The problem of theory and method in American Studies is especially evident in the last two, particularly because of the complications of dealing with imaginative literature. But if the theory informing research is carefully worked out in advance it should aid and clarify. One reason a concern for precise definition is important is that it helps avoid confusion such as that over just what covert and overt culture patterns are. Another reason is that it helps ensure that terms are "operational." According to Cafagna: "A term is said to be operationally defined when it is used to connote properties which are empirically observable and measurable."¹⁹ Measurement of the kind customary in sociology and psychology is not often useful in culture studies, but it is necessary that the evidence on which conclusions are based be observable in some way. Studies which deal with modern literate cultures at particular times in the past have a special problem. Unlike contemporary cultures, historic cultures cannot be observed "in the flesh," so to speak. All that remain are artifacts, the products of past behavior, written and material. It would

¹⁹ Albert Carl Cafagna, "A Formal Analysis of Definitions of 'culture,'" in *Essays in the Science of Culture*, eds. Gertrude E. Dole and Robert L. Carneiro (New York, 1960), pp. 111-32.

seem to me that the student of historical American Studies would gain from explicitly recognizing that real culture, for his purposes, is defined as those documents and artifacts which survive from the historical period under study. These are empirically observable. When he infers avowed or masked patterns he is doing so on the basis of this evidence. He need not assume that the actual historic culture was the same as the artifacts remaining, for such an assumption would be impossible to prove. This distinction is important because it enables the student to avoid endless disputes over matters for which there can be no final proof. Historic culture is defined in terms of the surviving evidence, and findings and disputes about findings confined to that evidence. The methodological problem then becomes how to infer patterns from the products of behavior, i.e., cultural artifacts.

American Studies method involves three stages of approach. First one perceives a pattern. Certain patterns are obvious, but many are not. Probably the original perception will be an insight or intuition. This will then be stated clearly and explicitly in the form of a hypothesis. The second stage involves proving the hypothesis true or false. Since scholarship is an undertaking that requires co-operation of many, it is best that it proceed according to a kind of public standard. The evidence must be public and convincing. The third stage is that of presentation of findings to other scholars. I will not deal with either stage one or three except for the following observation. I think Roy Harvey Pearce is referring to the method of presentation when he writes:

It may well be that one of the main achievements of the American Studies movement will be its contribution toward a new kind of historiography, in which intellectual history becomes not a matter of ideas analyzed but of ideas dramatized, ideas so placed in their cultural matrix that they are shown to be possible beliefs.²⁰

This is what imaginative anthropologists have been doing for some time when writing about primitive cultures, but Pearce's suggestion succinctly describes the work of Perry Miller, Henry Nash Smith and other scholars. The great virtue of their work at its best is that it communicates a kind of sympathetic inner understanding of historic American culture. Their books are almost works of high art. But their weakness is that they tend to depend too much on their own authority, on what might be described as impressionism. Another scholar, using the same documents, might come to very different conclusions. The traditional method of footnoting is inadequate because the purpose of the study is not documenta-

²⁰ "The American Adam" and the State of American Studies," *Journal of Higher Education*, XXVII (February 1956), 106.

tion of one particular event, as in history, but the discovery of patterns shared by many. A case in point where the inadequacy of method shows very clearly is Lewis' treatment of Theodore Parker in *The American Adam*. He forces his personages into preconceived categories and thus comes up with a pattern. In the case of Parker he ignores a mass of well documented evidence that runs counter to his whole interpretation. If there were better understood canons of method and for the use of documents this would not be quite so easy to do. Thus we turn to the second stage in the methodological paradigm. How can a hypothesis of a culture construct pattern, avowed or masked, be proved in such a way that the evidence, so to speak, will speak for itself to anyone who examines it? How can an undue amount of subjectivity be avoided in research?

There are two problems involved. The first, in the terminology of social science, is sampling. One can substantiate almost any hypothesis if the statements used as evidence are taken out of context or are not representative. One can generalize about Orestes Brownson, or Theodore Parker, or Emerson and be almost meaningless, unless some indication is given of the period meant and the documentary basis. If one is searching for patterns which characterize several writers how does one equate stages in the lives of different persons? Even when one is making studies of a somewhat more impersonal nature in the realm of popular culture what sampling procedures does one use? At the very least the scholar should state what his sample is and how he took it. It is not enough to say that one is familiar with all the literature of a particular period, for even if this is true one must deal with selections from it and justify one's selection. Usually a sample should be representative, and if it is not the reader should be warned. Further study needs to be given to the problem of the representativeness of samples used in American Studies.

Besides the sampling problem itself, it must be shown that the hypothesized pattern exists therein. Perhaps there are several ways to do this, but I would suggest that one very likely way is by content analysis. There are those who argue that this is only useful in studies of mass communications, not in high art, but this is only partly true. Content analysis cannot do justice to high art in its totality, but it can provide a useful protection against unsubstantiated generalization. As Schneider and Dornbusch remark: "Content analysis can perform an important sensitizing function. It enables a certain control of various elements in a body of material that might otherwise be hard to come by. But these outcomes can be expected, of course, only if the analysis is imaginatively, and not mechanically used."²¹ If it is claimed that a particular image or pattern of values is

²¹ P. viii.

especially significant in a writer or writers, it is possible to use content analysis to discover the frequency with which it appears as well as the author's attitude toward it. Content analytic techniques are constantly being refined to accommodate more complex and subtle problems. A number of studies already made demonstrate its usefulness. Besides *Popular Religion* and *Railroad Leaders* two briefer examples might be "The Image of the Scientist in Science Fiction: A Content Analysis," and "The World of the Daytime Serial."²² Certainly it is a method which can help establish patterns and guard against over-subjectivity.

The problem of the use or even appropriateness of high literature as an object of culture study has occupied the attention of American Studies scholars for some time. While the words and grammatical forms in a work of fiction are the same as those in other documents, their use is based on a different premise. A work of fiction is the creation of a disciplined imagination. It is the molding of selected experience into dynamic verbal form. It is a combination of thought and feeling, logic and emotion. The whole is greater than the sum of its parts. It cannot be taken for an objective description of reality. Neither the characters nor the scenes, neither the comments that the characters make, nor even the words of the narrator are to be taken literally. Fiction, in a sense, exists outside of real culture. As literature it is created and should be judged according to canons of its own genre.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that because a work of literary art has its own special characteristics, that it is somehow completely *acultural*. It is obvious, for instance, that the greater part of the meaning of the words and symbols an author uses is already shared by him with his culture. In what way is it possible to approach culture through literature while still giving due consideration to the art? Below I will suggest one very limited application of the culture theory of American Studies to high literature.

Culture is a pattern of constructs of modes of meanings, values and ideas about acting, inferred from noninstinctive human behavior. Part of any particular culture consists of beliefs about how particular individuals should act. These beliefs have a personal and a public side. We expect others to act in certain predictable ways, and we have similar expectations of ourselves. We shall call such ways of predictable behavior

²² Walter Hirsch, *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII (March 1958), 506-12. Rudolf Arnheim, *Radio Research 1942-43*, P. F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton, eds. (New York, 1944). There are a number of useful and suggestive articles on "qualitative content analysis." Among them is Siegfried Kracauer's "The Challenge of Qualitative Content Analysis," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVI (1952-53), 631-42.

"roles." Expectations of oneself are "personal roles," and expectations of others, or that others have of us are "public roles." If someone is a college professor, for instance, the college administration, students and general public expect him to act in certain predictable ways. At the same time the professor has expectations of himself which are generally in rough accord with what others expect of him. Every culture defines the roles which its participants usually play. Role is more or less defined according to sex, age, occupation and status. When one examines any culture, simple or complex, one possible approach is through the role expectations of that culture, through the beliefs that people have about how individuals perform or should perform.

If we examine a work of fiction in the light of the foregoing, we find that in many cases it assumes expectations of personal and social role. In a great many cases the focus of interest centers on the conflict between the personal role expectations of the main character and social role expectations. Sometimes the conflict is internal, i.e., the character knows and himself believes in the social role expected of him by his culture, but because of impulse or other reason is unable to fulfill it. Arthur Dimmesdale, for instance, suffers because his behavior has violated the expectations of his culture regarding the ministry. Much of the point of *Elmer Gantry* lies in the obvious contrast between the behavior of the preacher and the expectations which the writer's audience had of the minister's role.

Another story that involves a minister is "The Strength of God" in Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*. "The Strength of God" tells of the inner conflict through which the Rev. Curtis Hartman goes when he discovers that from his study window in the church bell tower he can see a local school teacher, Kate Swift, as she sits and reads after she has gone to bed. Much of the story is told through the guilty sensibility of the pastor, though the author is not far in the background and there is a good deal of plain narration. The minister prays for the strength to keep from spying on the teacher, but he is not given it, and he gives in to what he considers his evil impulses. The climax is reached when a naked and distraught Kate Swift appears on her bed one late night, and in her despair, the cause of which is unknown to the minister looking from his window, begins to pray. The terrible irony of the situation is revealed to the minister, and he interprets the event as a sign from God. He is delivered from his temptation.

"The Strength of God" deals with several characters in various roles, but the focus of character is Curtis Hartman in at least three roles: male, husband, minister. Anderson tells us something about him in all three roles. Is it possible to analyze the role expectations which the author attributes to his character and from them infer something about real

culture? Does the story tell us anything about early-twentieth-century ministers and American culture? What are the alternative answers to the question?

1) Since he is an imaginary character in an imaginary town, the minister's personal and social role expectations have no validity. Art is a kind of sleight of hand affair in which the author tricks the reader into belief. Nothing can be learned about real culture.

2) Despite the fact that "The Strength of God" is not intended to be a realistic short story, it must, to a degree, reflect real culture. If the ways in which it reflects real culture can be isolated, then it may be useful in culture studies. The question then is: In some way are the expectations of the Rev. Mr. Hartman connected with real culture? Can this be proved?

The value to culture studies of a work of fiction such as "The Strength of God" depends, it seems to me, on what we are looking for when we consider the two positions stated above. Certainly Hartman and everything in Winesburg are the creation of a unique imagination. It would be foolish to think of Winesburg as a real town or of Hartman as a real minister, or of either as somehow the prototype of their kind. Anderson himself said as much. Yet perhaps it is equally foolish to give up the use of fiction in culture studies with that admission, for in culture studies *we are not exploring the real world, but rather what people believe about the real world.* We do not study behavior, but beliefs about behavior.

I would suggest that a useful approach is to examine the Rev. Mr. Hartman, not for himself, but rather for what his characterization tells us, indirectly, about his creator, and perhaps about the creator's audience. A work of fiction involves the judicious selection of experience which is given verbal form. But the selection of experience is not random. The very essence of fiction is the effect (or affect) that the author wishes to realize through his selection and forming of experience. This tacitly involves a premise on his part that the meanings he expresses in carefully chosen words and images will have a certain predictable echo in the reader. True, in many cases the author will express himself in relatively private images and meanings which the reader will only partially share, but even these will be discovered by the critic over a period of time. Much of the effect of literature is created by associations which the reader makes in his own mind, not spelled out by the author, but which the author can depend on to occur. For instance in "The Strength of God" Anderson tells us that Hartman's wife was the daughter of an underwear manufacturer, and he, of a Muncie wagon maker. Such details, if taken literally, seem somewhat irrelevant, but if taken for what they *suggest*, become powerful. They will only suggest something if the author and the reader share many tacit meanings, significances and values.

If the above argument is correct then it becomes possible to say more specifically what use a work of fiction has as a culture document. Its use is not direct. It would be a most serious error to try to find out about actual ministers from "The Strength of God," but it is possible to examine a work of fiction for what it tells us about the expectations, values and meanings of the author, and more importantly, of those shared by him with at least some of his readers. One assumes that the selection of experience has some shaping purpose, and that such experience will in turn stimulate certain associations, meanings, prejudices, often of a very ambiguous kind, in the mind of the reader. The very fact that an author includes or does not include certain details of experience is significant. While the selection and its form depend on the canons of the art, it also depends on the mind of the culture in which the work of art is created.

In "The Strength of God" Anderson tells us that Hartman was a Presbyterian minister, that he was well liked by his congregation, that he was just a mediocre preacher, that he was serious if not enthusiastic in his faith, that he had certain attitudes toward women and sex. The curious thing, though, is that we know more about the Rev. Mr. Hartman than Anderson tells us, and this is because the details included in the story suggest to us as readers a whole complex of expectations about Protestant religion of a certain kind, and about ministers. These expectations have a long history in American culture. If one looks at the small details in the story it becomes possible to "date" it even more specifically, because while there may be a general set of culture patterns of long duration, there are some of brief duration. Hartman was "horror stricken at the thought of a woman smoking." It is unlikely that a writer of the later twentieth century would include such a detail.

It seems evident that the role expectations of characters in fiction tell us something about the expectations of authors and readers, which in turn lead the student to the value patterns of a culture. Likewise the author's selection of experience suggests what may have meaning to others in his culture.

The above is only one small way in which fiction may be approached as a culture document. If possible, insights based on literature should be supplemented by evidence from other sources. Many other approaches need to be explored. Does the choice of a focus of narration, for instance, sometimes help the author express meanings that he could not otherwise easily express, as in *Huckleberry Finn*, or *Catcher in the Rye*? Looking upon certain great symbolic and especially ambiguous works of fiction as a kind of verbal Rorschach, would it be possible to use a generation's reaction to them as a kind of projection, and to analyze their reactions

for masked patterns? *Moby-Dick* might be a good subject for such a study. Would it be possible to take certain images that appear in a work of fiction with a kind of double meaning and look at the less socially acceptable meaning for evidence of a masked pattern? In "The Strength of God," for instance, Hartman spies on Kate Swift through a hole in the corner of a stained glass window picturing "Christ laying his hand on the head of a child." One gets the feeling that the child is staring up at Christ and this one associates with the minister staring up at Kate Swift. What did Anderson have in mind? Surely it wasn't an avowed culture pattern. Could this be generalized in any way beyond the author's private vision? These are a few of many unanswered questions.

No doubt many techniques will be developed to approach a work of art for culture studies. No such technique will ever do full justice to the creation as a work of art, but that is not the purpose of American Studies anyway. We might as well reconcile ourselves to the fact that criticism and culture studies, however legitimate both may be, approach literature with different needs and purposes. The American Studies scholar is obliged to recognize the special character of high literature, but such a recognition need not prevent him from using literary documents for his own purposes.

In this paper I have tried to outline a consistent approach to American Studies based on the concept of culture, culture pattern and culture construct pattern. Such an approach is truly interdisciplinary, unites many of the seemingly disparate methods used so far, and suggests rewarding ways in which to approach the subject and solve the problem of method. It also has implications for the teaching of American Studies which I would like to mention briefly in closing.

Given this concept of American Studies, its teaching would logically be concentrated in three areas: concept, method and content. Basic to any curriculum should be a course in the meaning and development of the concept of culture and its application to American Studies. In the areas of method, besides training in general approaches to culture, certain courses should impart the special knowledge of technique necessary for the study of written artifacts of modern literate societies. These courses should include historiography, communications analysis, the craft of fiction, methods of social research and perhaps one in the projective techniques used in contemporary psychological testing. Content courses would be those concerned with whatever "American" it is in which the student wishes to specialize. Thus the American Studies curriculum would not only be interdisciplinary but possessed of a logical and methodological unity.

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Selected Writings on American National Character

THIS BIBLIOGRAPHY, WHILE NOT EXHAUSTIVE, COMPRISES THE PRINCIPAL WRITINGS of social scientists and historians on culture and personality, national character and American character since 1940. It is limited to published studies in English. Patently impressionistic writings are omitted, without derogation of their value, which is often considerable. It is, however, admittedly difficult and perhaps unwise to distinguish sharply between impressionism and the literature of "social science." If none but rigorously empirical studies were listed here, the bibliography would be very slim indeed. Many are the fringe cases, and this listing aims to survey the literature rather than to prescribe any rigid or invidious principle of exclusion.

An asterisk (*) indicates that the item so marked contains a useful bibliography. Paperbacks and paperback reprints are identified by a dagger (†).

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I. CULTURE AND PERSONALITY

Since the 1930s, students of culture and personality, representing the disciplines of psychology, anthropology and sociology, have made vigor-

ous efforts to build bridges which will join conceptually what is felt to be united in experience. The resulting literature is voluminous; it is analytical, descriptive, critical and sometimes polemical. Following is a selective listing of some of the more significant and illuminating writings in the field. In general it may be said that the theoretical underpinnings of the study of national character, as an enterprise of social science, rest on the foundations of culture-and-personality analysis.

* Bateson, Gregory. "Cultural Determinants of Personality," in J. McV. Hunt, ed., *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: Ronald Press, 1944), II, ch. 23.

The investigator's task is to identify the cultural regularities in the complex of variant individual behaviors.

Eaton, Joseph W. "In Defense of Culture-Personality Studies," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XVI (Feb. 1951), 98-100.

Because culture and personality studies may often have "broad social significance" they ought not to be abandoned on account of methodological imperfections.

* Hallowell, A. Irving. "Culture, Personality, and Society," in A. L. Kroeber, ed., *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory*, *infra*, 597-620.

Surveys the field and summarizes the literature to 1952.

Haring, Douglas G., ed. *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu*, 3rd rev. ed. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1956).

First published in 1949, a valuable compilation. See especially the essays by Bateson, Gorer, Kardiner, C. Kluckhohn and Sapir.

* Honigmann, John J. *Culture and Personality* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954).

How culture "patterns" the "modal personality."

Hsu, Francis L. K. "An Anthropologist's View of the Future of Personality Studies," *Psychiatric Research Reports*, II (Dec. 1955), 155-68.

Analysis of certain unsolved problems of method, with a forceful plea for more cross-cultural studies in depth. "The student of culture and personality must know the way of life of his own society and the values that are prevalent in it; these he will employ in his studies of other ways of life as a comparative basis from which to draw generalizations."

, ed. *Aspects of Culture and Personality: A Symposium* (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1954).

Papers and discussions from the Wenner-Gren "Conference on Anthropology and Psychiatry," May 1951. See especially the remarks of Klineberg, Henry and Linton.

, ed. *Psychological Anthropology: Approaches to Culture and Personality* (Homewood, Ill: Dorsey Press, 1961).

At once a textbook and a report on "the up-to-date gains in the field of culture-and-personality."

Inkeles, Alex. "Personality and Social Structure," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Bloom & Leonard S. Cottrell Jr., eds., *Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects* (New York: Basic Books, 1959), ch. 11.

A theoretically oriented appraisal of the field, arguing that "adequate sociological analysis of many problems is either impossible or severely limited unless we make

explicit use of psychological theory and data in conjunction with sociological theory and data," with suggestions as to how this can best be done.

_____. "Some Sociological Observations on Culture and Personality Studies," in Clyde Kluckhohn, Henry A. Murray & David M. Schneider, eds. *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture, infra*, ch. 37. Charts the "four major foci" in the literature of culture and personality, and urges caution in the attempt to "explain the functioning of specific institutions, and particularly of complex social systems, on the basis of observed group regularities in personality."

Kardiner, Abram. "The Concept of Basic Personality Structure as an Operational Tool in the Social Sciences," in Ralph Linton, ed., *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), 107-22.

Anticipates the fuller statement made in Kardiner's *The Psychological Frontiers of Society, infra*.

_____. *The Individual and His Society: The Psychodynamics of Primitive Social Organization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

"Basic personality structure"—the "constellation of personality characteristics which would appear to be congenial with the total range of institutions comprised within a given culture"—in primitive societies.

_____. *et al. The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

The concept of "basic personality structure," a refinement of the concept of national character, provides "a precise means of delineating the interrelationship of various social practices through their compatibility or incompatibility with certain constant identifiable human needs and desires" in both Alor and "Plainville, U.S.A."

† Kluckhohn, Clyde. "Personality in Culture," in Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man: The Relation of Anthropology to Modern Life* (New York & Toronto: Whittlesey House, 1949), ch. 8.

Sprightly discussion of the pervasive influence of culture on personality.

_____. & O. H. Mowrer. "'Culture and Personality': A Conceptual Scheme," *Amer. Anthropologist*, XLVI (Jan.-Mar. 1944), 1-29. Reprinted in Arthur Weider & David Wechsler, eds., *Contributions Toward Medical Psychology* (New York: Ronald Press, 1953).

An attempt "to delineate a conceptual scheme which would accommodate all of the determinants of social stimulus value and which would also systematically order the components of 'personality' as thus defined." Updated and substantially revised in the following work.

_____. Henry A. Murray & David M. Schneider, eds. *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*, 2nd ed., rev. & enl. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953).

The basic anthology, first published in 1948. Argues that culture-and-personality investigation is "in the last analysis directly or indirectly oriented to one central type of question: What makes an Englishman an Englishman? an American an American? a Russian a Russian?"

* Kroeber, A. L., ed. *Anthropology Today: An Encyclopedic Inventory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

See especially the selections by C. Kluckhohn, Hallowell, Mead and Redfield.

* La Barre, Weston. "The Influence of Freud on Anthropology," *Amer. Imago*, XV (Fall 1958), 275-328.

Critique of culture-personality studies from a Freudian standpoint. With distinguished exceptions American anthropologists have been unwarrantedly mistrustful of psychoanalytic method and theory.

Lindesmith, Alfred R. & Anselm L. Strauss. "A Critique of Culture-Personality Writings," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XV (Oct. 1950), 587-600.

Commentary on unresolved conflicts, especially between the psychoanalytically oriented and those who describe cultural configurations with slight attention to genetic explanations or psychoanalytic concepts.

Linton, Ralph. *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1945).

With Kardiner's books, required reading on the theory of "basic personality."

_____. "The Personality of Peoples," *Sc. Amer.*, CLXXXI (Aug. 1949), 11-15.

Raises the "ultimate question": "Is it possible, by extinguishing some of the patterns of a culture and substituting others, to bring about a lasting change in the society's personality norms?"

Riesman, David. "Some Problems of a Course in 'Culture and Personality,'" *Jour. of General Education*, V (Jan. 1951), 122-36.

Rewards and risks of interdisciplinary integration in "Social Sciences 2" at the University of Chicago, as seen by both instructors and students.

† Sapir, Edward. *Culture, Language and Personality*, ed. David G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961).

A useful introduction to Sapir's pioneer explorations of the field. "To him, more than to any other single person, must be traced the growth of psychiatric thinking in anthropology"—Clyde Kluckhohn.

Sargent, S. Stansfield & Marian W. Smith, eds. *Culture and Personality* (New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 1949).

An important early collection. See especially the essays by Fromm, Murphy and Bidney.

Spiro, Melford E. "Culture and Personality: The Natural History of a False Dichotomy," *Psychiatry*, XIV (Feb. 1951), 19-46.

The dualistic propensities of western thought have hampered the development of an integrated concept of culture-and-personality.

* _____ & Raymond D. Fogelson. "Culture and Personality," in Bernard J. Siegel, ed., *Biennial Review of Anthropology*, 1961 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962).

Descriptive review of trends and literature in the field, 1958-60.

*† Wallace, Anthony F. C. "The Cultural Distribution of Personality Characteristics," in Wallace, *Culture and Personality* (New York: Random House, 1961), ch. 3.

Critical review of concepts and approaches to the study of culture and personality, grouping them under the general rubrics of "replication of uniformities" and "organization of diversities." Argues that insufficient attention has been paid to the second, though both are essential to "a progressive science of human behavior."

Whiting, John W. M. & Irvin L. Child, *Child Training and Personality: A Cross-Cultural Study* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).

Analysis of how "culture is integrated through the medium of personality processes" with specific examination of child training practices and customary responses to illness.

Especially valuable for attack on methodological problems. Employs data from a careful sample of seventy-five societies, using the methods of the Yale Cross-Cultural Survey.

II. NATIONAL CHARACTER: CONCEPTS AND METHODS

This section focuses on matters of theory and practice, omitting the extensive literature on national stereotypes and the large number of studies of specific nations and peoples. For the most complete listing of such writings see Duijker and Frijda, *National Character and National Stereotypes, infra*.

Beaglehole, Ernest. "Character Structure: Its Rôle in the Analysis of Interpersonal Relations," *Psychiatry*, VII (May 1944), 145-62.

"If the study of national character is worthwhile, it can apparently only be fruitfully studied by the use of better conceptual tools than have been employed in the past" by, e.g., Fromm and Madariaga.

Berger, Morroe. "'Understanding National Character' — and War," *Commentary*, XI (Apr. 1951), 375-86.

A highly critical review of national character studies.

Bierstedt, Robert. "The Limitations of Anthropological Methods in Sociology," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology*, LIV (July 1948), 22-30.

Anthropological methods are not adequate to the study of character in large, diverse, literate societies. Specific criticisms of Mead, Gorer *et al.* See Clyde Kluckhohn's "Comment," p. 30.

* Duijker, H. C. J. & N. H. Frijda, *National Character and National Stereotypes: A Trend Report Prepared for the International Union of Scientific Psychology* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1960). The most extensive treatment of recent and current trends in the study of national character: concepts, methods and prospects. Massive bibliography.

Endleman, Robert. "The New Anthropology and Its Ambitions: The Science of Man in Messianic Dress," *Commentary*, VIII (Sept. 1949), 284-91.

National character studies suffer from an excessive impressionism, an oversimplified and anti-historical holism, an unexamined "American quality" and a naïve ambition to reform the world.

Farber, Maurice L. "The Problem of National Character: A Methodological Analysis," *Jour. of Psychology*, XXX (1950), 307-16. Reprinted in Howard Brand, comp., *The Study of Personality: A Book of Readings* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1954), 387-97.

The cultural heterogeneity and behavioral instability of modern nations, together with certain unsolved methodological "riddles," cast doubt on the validity of national character studies to date.

_____. "The Study of National Character: 1955," *Jour. of Soc. Issues*, XI, No. 2 (1955), 52-56.

Brief cautionary comments on the methodology of national character study.

Fyfe, Hamilton. *The Illusion of National Character* (London, 1940).

The idea of national character is an evil fiction employed by a "ruling class" to "deceive people; to make them subservient . . .; to keep up the delusion that war is natural and necessary." In this work of demolition Fyfe identifies national character with "dangerous and deceptive" national stereotypes.

Ginsberg, Morris. "National Character," in Ginsberg, *Reason and Unreason in Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), ch. 7.

Rescues a "scientific" concept of national character from the strictures of Fyfe, *supra*. National character is best studied by empirical investigation of "the qualities manifested in the collective life of nations, their traditions and public policy."

Gorer, Geoffrey. "The Concept of National Character," *Science News*, No. 18 (1950), 105-22. Reprinted in Kluckhohn, Murray & Schneider, eds., *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*, *supra*, ch. 14.

"The structure, the combination of motives, the national character of a society, is always unique." Psychological tests which emphasize individual differences rather than shared traits should be used with caution.

_____. "National Character: Theory and Practice," in Margaret Mead & Rhoda Métraux, eds., *The Study of Culture at a Distance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 57-82.

Critique of investigative methods.

Hertz, Frederick. *Nationality in History and Politics: A Study of the Psychology and Sociology of National Sentiment and Character* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1944).

Large-scale generalizations on national character, here defined as "the totality of traditions, interests and ideals which are so widespread and influential in a nation that they mould its image, both in the mind of the nation concerned and in that of others."

* Inkeles, Alex. "National Character and Modern Political Systems," in Francis L. K. Hsu, ed., *Psychological Anthropology*, *supra*, ch. 6.

Surveys the rather meager number of systematic empirical studies of "the relations between personality patterns . . . and the rise, functioning, and change of political systems," and proposes more effective ways and means of investigation and of delineating, specifically, the "democratic character."

_____. "Social Change and Social Character: The Role of Parental Mediation," *Jour. of Soc. Issues*, XI, No. 2 (1955), 12-23.

Discusses the role of the family as transmitter of character traits, drawing on the work of the Harvard Russian Research Center.

_____. & Daniel J. Levinson. "National Character: The Study of Modal Personality and Sociocultural Systems," in Gardner Lindzey, ed., *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), II, 977-1020.

An exploratory technical essay in methodology to determine "whether national character constitutes a genuine field of study." The most cogent statement of the "modal personality" position: "National character refers to relatively enduring personality characteristics and patterns that are modal among adult members of a society."

Klineberg, Otto. "Recent Studies of National Character," in Sargent & Smith, eds., *Culture and Personality*, *supra*, 127-42.

Studies by Benedict, La Barre, Gorer *et al.*, leave unresolved the questions of "how basic, how similar, how universal" are character traits said to be national; they take insufficient account of individual variations within and from the cultural norm. Discussion of Klineberg's paper by Benedict, Bateson, Powdermaker.

_____. "A Science of National Character," *Jour. of Soc. Psychology*, XIX (Feb. 1944), 147-62.

Appraisal of the literature, stressing method and difficulties to be overcome. "I am reasonably pessimistic about the present status of our 'science,' but I have considerable hope for its future."

Lindesmith, Alfred R. & Anselm L. Strauss. "A Critique of Culture-Personality Writings," *supra*.

Studies of national character to date have been boldly impressionistic. "One must view the results and methods with a generous measure of skepticism."

Linton, Ralph. "The Concept of National Character," in Alfred H. Stanton & Stewart E. Perry, eds., *Personality and Political Crisis* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), 133-50.

The concept of national character rests on the concept of "basic personality" although the connection has not yet been empirically validated: "the development of objective techniques which might be used for the study of national character has barely begun."

_____. "What We Know and What We Don't," in Francis L. K. Hsu, ed., *Aspects of Culture and Personality, A Symposium*, *supra*, ch. 9.

The methods employed to discover "basic personality" in small, relatively homogeneous groups do not apply to the study of *national* character. Nation-states are so heterogeneous that "one questions whether the common denominator of such diverse groupings would differ very much from the common denominator of human personalities generally." See discussion, pp. 216-18, 271-72, 277-78.

Mandelbaum, David G. "On the Study of National Character," *Amer. Anthropologist*, LV (Apr.-June 1953), 174-87.

A penetrating critique of Mead's paper published in Kroeber, ed., *Anthropology Today*, *infra*.

_____. "The Study of Complex Civilizations," in William L. Thomas Jr., ed., *Current Anthropology: A Supplement of Anthropology Today* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

Critical review of the literature, 1946-54. Concludes that the anthropological investigation of complex civilizations has made a vigorous and promising beginning. See also in this volume the remarks of Kroeber, pp. 302-15; Bennett and Wolff, pp. 335-36.

Mead, Margaret. "Anthropologist and Historian: Their Common Problems," *Amer. Quar.*, III (Spring 1951), 3-13.

National character studies provide a bridge between the interests and procedures of the cultural anthropologist and the historian.

_____. "Effects of Anthropological Field Work Models on Interdisciplinary Communication in the Study of National Character," *Jour. of Soc. Issues*, XI, No. 2 (1955), 3-11.

Comments on the need and nature of interdisciplinary collaboration, with special reference to primitive cultures.

_____. "National Character," in A. L. Kroeber, ed., *Anthropology Today*, *supra*, 642-67.

Discussion of the assumptions on which the study of national character rests, with reply to the critics of the anthropological approach. Present need is for "field studies within accessible complex modern states, involving systematic cooperation with historians and members of other disciplines who work on aspects of modern culture." See commentary on this paper in Sol Tax *et al.*, eds., *An Appraisal of Anthropology Today* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), 134-41, especially the remarks of Mandelbaum.

_____. "National Character and the Science of Anthropology," in Seymour Martin Lipset & Leo Lowenthal, eds., *Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961), ch. 3.

Critique of *The Lonely Crowd* from an anthropological standpoint, emphasizing problems of method and value-judgments.

*_____. "The Study of National Character," in Daniel Lerner & Harold D. Lasswell, eds., *The Policy Sciences: Recent Developments in Scope and Method* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1951), ch. 4.

The combination of "the basic Freudian theories and the methods of cultural anthropology" affords diverse approaches, here reviewed, to the exploration of national character.

Metzger, Walter P. "Generalizations about National Character: An Analytical Essay," in Louis Gottschalk, ed., *Generalization in the Writing of History: A Report of the Committee on Historical Analysis of the Social Science Research Council* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), ch. 6.

An illuminating essay on the problems of character definition and classification. Especially valuable for its discussion of the "dramaturgical model" for the concept and analysis of national character.

Pauker, Guy J. "The Study of National Character Away From That Nation's Territory," *Studies in International Affairs*, I (June 1951), 81-103.

A student of international affairs, deterred by evidence of subjective "bias" and conceptual confusion in national character research to date, suggests that dominant national values be studied instead. *Studies in International Affairs* was issued by the Committee on International and Regional Studies, Harvard University.

† Potter, David M. *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

An historian explores the possibilities for co-operation with the behavioral sciences in the study of national character.

Riesman, David. "Psychological Types and National Character," *Amer. Quar.*, V (Winter 1953), 325-43.

Although "in the present state of our knowledge, the question must remain open whether each nation has a 'national character,'" the concepts of inner- and other-directedness, despite difficulties, may provide clues to a description of character as "broader than Freud's concept of genitality and narrower than fate."

Shafer, Boyd. "Men Are More Alike," in Shafer, *Nationalism: Myth and Reality* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1955), ch. 12.

An historian's homily on the brotherhood of man which strongly questions the validity of the idea of national character but, in fact, succeeds only in demolishing national stereotypes.

Sulzbach, Walter. *National Consciousness* (Washington, D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1948), ch. 4.

An argument for international amity which criticizes the concept of national character as a simplification which exaggerates the differences between nations and conceals intranational diversities.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. "Individual Differences and Cultural Uniformities," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XVII (Dec. 1952), 747-50.

The "infinite variability" of individual experience casts doubt on the concept of homogeneous national character.

III. AMERICAN CHARACTER

Aaron, Daniel, ed. *America in Crisis: Fourteen Crucial Episodes in American History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952).

Essays by fourteen scholars, ranging in subject from the Great Awakening to the Nazi-

Soviet pact, relating to the ways in which American character and values "have manifested themselves in moments of crisis."

Barrett, Donald N., ed. *Values in America* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961).

Essays on American education, economic life, religion and mass communications.

† Bell, Daniel. "The Refractions of the American Past: On the Question of National Character," in Bell, *The End of Ideology* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960), ch. 5.

Review of Lerner's *America as a Civilization*; challenges the tendency in American Studies to seek holistic definitions of American character.

* Boorstin, Daniel J. *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Random House, 1958).

A scholarly and provocative re-examination of early American thought and society, developing the main theses of *The Genius of American Politics*.

†_____. *The Genius of American Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

These historical observations on the "non-exportable uniqueness" of American political ideas and institutions constitute an important contribution to the analysis of characterological consensus.

*_____. *The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream* (New York: Atheneum, 1962).

A critical look at "the bewitching unrealities" (synthetic images, pseudo-events, contrived illusions) which "clutter our experience and obscure our vision."

Bredemeier, Harry C. & Jackson Toby. *Social Problems in America: Costs and Casualties in an Acquisitive Society* (New York & London: John Wiley & Sons, 1960).

Readings and comment on the American pursuit of success conceptualized as materialism, self-reliance, competition and "negotiated exchange."

Brogan, D. W. *America in the Modern World* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960).

Observations by a friendly critic.

†_____. *The American Character* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944).

A once-over-lightly commentary on American values, institutions and behavioral styles "to encourage sympathetic understanding of the Americanism of America."

Caudill, William & George De Vos. "Achievement, Culture and Personality: The Case of the Japanese Americans," *Amer. Anthropologist*, LVIII (1956), 1102-26.

This examination of the hypothesis that there is "a significant compatibility" between Japanese and middle-class American value systems stresses the "need for systematic investigation and interrelation of (a) overt and underlying culture patterns, (b) individual psychodynamic factors, (c) the structure and emotional atmosphere of crucial small group interactive settings. . . ."

Cochran, Thomas C. "The Social Scientists," in Robert E. Spiller & Eric Larrabee, eds., *American Perspectives: The National Self-Image in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961).

Traces the development of American-character analysis since the 1930s.

Coleman, Lee. "What is American? A Study of Alleged American Traits," *Social Forces*, XIX (May 1941), 492-99.

Analysis of most common trait ascriptions emphasizes "the amazing diversity of American life and character" and shows "the hazard involved in asserting that any trait is unqualifiedly American, to the exclusion of all opposing or modifying traits."

† Commager, Henry Steele. *The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

The first and final chapters summarizes the salient characteristics of, respectively, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century American.

_____. "Portrait of the American," in John W. Chase, ed., *Years of the Modern: An American Appraisal* (New York & Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1949), ch. 1.

An historian's delineation of "some of the more pronounced traits of the American in the mid-twentieth century."

"Conference on the American Character," *Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions Bull.*, Oct. 1961.

Report on the initial conference for the Center's program for the study of American character. See also the Center's current pamphlet series, "Interviews on the American Character."

Cunliffe, Marcus. "The American Character," in Cunliffe, *The Nation Takes Shape: 1789-1837* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), ch. 8.

This portrait of the Jacksonian American by a British historian identifies character traits and polarities of orientation which, in general, "support the assertion that American 'national character' has not altered fundamentally since its early definitions."

Curti, Merle. "American Philanthropy and the National Character," *Amer. Quar.*, X (Winter 1958), 420-37.

"American experience in philanthropy has both expressed American character and . . . helped to shape it."

Denney, Reuel. "How Americans See Themselves," *Annals of the Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Sc.*, CCXCV (Sept. 1954), 12-20. Reprinted in Joseph J. Kwiat & Mary C. Turpie, eds., *Studies in American Culture: Dominant Ideas and Images* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1960), 16-26.

Perceptive critical commentary on the approaches to the study of American character and the problems of definition.

Du Bois, Cora. "The Dominant Value Profile of American Culture," *Amer. Anthropologist*, LVII (Dec. 1955), 1232-39.

Schematic discussion of three major "focal" values—material well-being, conformity and "effort-optimism"—and of the "strain for consistency in the American value system."

Erikson, Erik H. "Reflections on the American Identity," in Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950), ch. 8. "The functioning American, as the heir of a history of extreme contrasts and abrupt changes, bases his final ego identity on some tentative combination of dynamic polarities such as migratory and sedentary, individualistic and standardized, competitive and co-operative, pious and freethinking, responsible and cynical. . . ."

Farber, Maurice L. "English and Americans: A Study in National Character," *Jour. of Psychology*, XXXII (1951), 241-49; "English and Ameri-

cans: Values in the Socialization Process," *ibid.*, XXXVI (Oct. 1953), 243-50.

Comparison by questionnaire of English and American insurance clerks leads to conclusions which are "consonant with existing material" on national character "obtained by other methods."

Fromm, Erich. *Man for Himself: An Inquiry into the Psychology of Ethics* (New York & Toronto: Rinehart & Co., 1947).

Though this study is not explicitly concerned with national character, Fromm's discussion of the "marketing orientation" as an ideal-type of modern social character anticipates Riesman's "other-directed" personality and Whyte's "organization man."

Gillin, John. "National and Regional Cultural Values in the United States," *Social Forces*, XXXIV (Dec. 1955), 107-13.

Regional "twists" and special emphases with respect to the national value system, here partially defined.

Gorer, Geoffrey. *The American People: A Study in National Character* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1948).

Perceptions and interpretations, sometimes barbed and often erratic, of a Freudian anthropologist.

Hsu, Francis L. K. *Americans and Chinese: Two Ways of Life* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1953).

An extensive and provocative analysis of cultural contrasts from a "broadly Freudian" angle of vision. No other comparative study, of which we have all too few, approaches it in depth and scope.

_____. "American Core Value and National Character," in Hsu, ed., *Psychological Anthropology*, *supra*, ch. 7.

Difficulties in defining American character, while substantial, are not insurmountable. "What we need to see is that the contradictory American 'values' noted by the sociologists, psychologists, and historians are but manifestations of one core value," namely, "self-reliance."

Joseph, Franz M., ed. *As Others See Us: The United States through Foreign Eyes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959).

Twenty versions of the national image by contemporary observers, especially prepared for this volume.

† Klapp, Orrin E. *Heroes, Villains, and Fools: The Changing American Character* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962).

An impressionistic sociological survey and analysis of "the major social types of American society which serve prominently as its models." Argues that a "deterioration" of the national character is reflected in the presently "dominant role models of Good Joe-smart operator-playboy."

Klineberg, Otto. "American Culture and American Personality: Some Methodological Considerations," *Jour. of Soc. Issues*, VII, No. 4 (1951), 40-44.

Brief resumé of the formidable methodological problems in the study of American character. All conclusions so far are hypothetical.

Kluckhohn, Clyde. "Mid-Century Manners and Morals," in Bruce Bliven, ed., *Twentieth Century Unlimited: From the Vantage Point of the First Fifty Years* (Philadelphia & New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1950), ch. 16.

Reflections on the crisis of values in contemporary America.

†———. "An Anthropologist Looks at the United States," in Kluckhohn, *Mirror for Man, supra*, ch. 9.

A "sketch of characteristic thought patterns, values, and assumptions," with a plea for "scientific humanism."

*———. "Have There Been Discernible Shifts in American Values During the Past Generation?" in Elting E. Morison, ed., *The American Style, infra*, 145-217.

A wide-ranging compendium of findings since 1941. Notes, *inter alia*, decline of Protestant Ethic, increase in "other-directedness," explicit valuation of "psychological health," emphasis on "individuality" as against "rugged individualism."

——— & Florence R. Kluckhohn. "American Culture: Generalized Orientations and Class Patterns," in Lyman Bryson, Louis Finkelstein & R. M. MacIver, eds., *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture: Seventh Symposium, Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), ch. 9.

"It is the purpose of this paper: (1) to analyze out some of the important generalized orientations of our culture; (2) to outline the specific goals of the middle and lower class groups; (3) to point to some of the discrepancies between specific goals and general orientations that seem to be especially productive of tension and aggression."

Kluckhohn, Florence R. "American Women and American Values," in Lyman Bryson, ed., *Facing the Future's Risks: Studies Toward Predicting the Unforeseen* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), ch. 8.

The role of the American woman is "badly defined, shot through with contradictions, and in need of major alterations." Such alterations will have to accord with certain dominant values: "Individualism, a future-time orientation, a belief in mastering nature, the conception of human nature as evil but perfectible, and a high evaluation of men in action."

Lambert, Richard D., ed. "America Through Foreign Eyes," *Annals of the Amer. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Sc.*, CCXCV (Sept. 1954).

Articles devoted to the contemporary image of America, especially as seen by foreign students in the United States, with occasional reference to traits of national character.

LaPiere, Richard. *The Freudian Ethic* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1959).

An apprehensive account of the replacement of the Protestant Ethic by the "Freudian ethic," here related to "the current American ethos with its liberality toward self-indulgence and irresponsibility." Dustjacket subtitle: "An Analysis of the Subversion of American Character."

Laski, Harold J. *The American Democracy: A Commentary and an Interpretation* (New York: Viking Press, 1948).

Comprehensive interpretation of American culture and character stressing the advance of technology and the system of business power.

Lee, Alfred McClung. "Sociological Insights into American Culture and Personality," *Jour. of Soc. Issues*, VII, No. 4 (1951), 7-14.

On criminality and ethnocentrism in American culture.

Lee, Everett S. "The Turner Thesis Re-examined," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Spring 1961), 77-83.

"The Turner thesis is too simple an explanation for such complexities as American democracy and American character." Argues that it should be regarded as "a special case of an as yet undeveloped migration theory" because "there are few characteristics which are shared by so many Americans as migrant status and spatial movement."

†* Lerner, Max. *America as a Civilization: Life and Thought in the United States Today* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1957).

Encyclopedic observations and reflections "on the grand theme of the nature and meaning of the American experience."

Lipset, Seymour Martin. "A Changing American Character?" in Lipset & Lowenthal, eds., *Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed, supra*, ch. 7.

"A monistic materialistic interpretation of the correlates of American values and behavior sharply underestimates the extent to which basic national values, once institutionalized, affect the consequences of technological and economic change."

Martin, William E. & Celia Burns Stendler. "The American Character" and "Variations in the American Character," in Martin & Stendler, *Child Development: The Process of Growing Up in Society* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1953), 261-82.

Observations, following Fromm, on the themes of conformity, rejection of authority, independence, success, industry, friendliness and puritanism, with a comment on variations of sex, age and social class. See also the discussion of "socialization" in America, chs. 10-16.

McGranahan, Donald V. "A Comparison of Social Attitudes among American and German Youth," *Jour. of Abnormal and Soc. Psychology*, XLI (1946), 245-57.

An experimental contribution to the task of locating "international norms in psychology by which to judge the attitudes and traits of character of the people of an entire nation."

_____ & Ivor Wayne. "German and American Traits Reflected in Popular Drama," *Human Relations*, I (Aug. 1948), 429-55. Reprinted as "A Comparative Study of National Characteristics" in James Grier Miller, ed., *Experiments in Social Process: A Symposium on Social Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950), ch. 7.

An experimental comparison of national traits reflected in the 45 "most popular" plays in each country in 1927 and 17 plays in each country in 1909-10.

Mead, Margaret. *And Keep Your Powder Dry: An Anthropologist Looks at America* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1943).

The pioneer anthropological study of American character, evoked by the imperatives of the war and the postwar problem of "reorganizing the world."

Morison, Elting E., ed. *The American Style: Essays in Value and Performance* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958).

Papers and discussions of the Dedham Conference, May 1957. Five of the six papers also appear, somewhat shortened, in *Daedalus*, LXXXVII (Spring 1958).

† Parkes, Henry Bamford. *The American Experience: An Interpretation of the History and Civilization of the American People* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947).

An historian's attempt to "explain the historical forces that molded the American character and to show how that character has been exhibited at different periods both in thought and in behavior."

Parsons, Talcott & Winston White. "The Link Between Character and Society," in Lipset & Lowenthal, eds., *Culture and Social Character: The Work of David Riesman Reviewed, supra*, ch. 6.

An alternative interpretation of the institutionalization of the American value system in the social structure.

Perry, Ralph Barton, *Characteristically American* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949).

Philosophical reflections on American values, thought and character with focal emphasis on the spirit of "collective individualism" and on the "characteristic American blend of buoyancy, collective self-confidence, measuring of attainment by competitive success, hope of perpetual and limitless improvement, improvising of method and organization to meet exigencies as they arise."

Pierson, George W. "The M-Factor in American History," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Summer 1962 Supplement), 275-89.

"What made and kept us different . . . was, first of all, the M-factor: the factor of movement, migration, mobility."

Potter, David M. "American Women and the American Character," *Stetson University Bull.*, LXII (Jan. 1962), 1-22.

"The historic character of American women is important . . . as a coordinate major part of the . . . study of the American character as a whole."

†———. *People of Plenty*, *supra*.

The importance of the historical dimension in the study of national character is shown in a perceptive investigation of the influence of economic abundance on American character.

†———. "The Quest for the National Character," in John Higham, ed., *The Reconstruction of American History* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), ch. 11.

The contrasting images of American character—the American as individualist and idealist (Jefferson, Turner); the American as conformist and materialist (Tocqueville)—raise questions concerning the validity of generalizations about national character but may perhaps be partially reconciled in terms of a common American equalitarianism.

Powdermaker, Hortense. *Hollywood, the Dream Factory: An Anthropologist Looks at the Movie-Makers* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1950). Hollywood is "not a reflection, but a caricature" of certain tendencies in American culture "which, in turn, leave their imprint on the movies."

† Riesman, David. *Individualism Reconsidered* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954).

———. "From Morality to Morale," in Alfred H. Stanton & Stewart E. Perry, eds., *Personality and Political Crisis* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), 81-120.

Summary statement of the main themes of *The Lonely Crowd*.

———. "The Saving Remnant: An Examination of Character Structure," in John W. Chase, ed., *Years of the Modern*, *supra*, ch. 5.

Concise statement of the ethical imperative in Riesman's characterology. The "self-consciously autonomous people" are the "saving remnant" in an other-directed society.

———. "Some Observations on the Study of American Character," *Psychiatry*, XV (Aug. 1952), 333-38.

Comments on "some of the perplexities of working with the concept of character in a modern, highly differentiated society," especially with respect to questions of conformity and autonomy.

———. "The Study of National Character: Some Observations on the American Case," *Harvard Library Bull.*, XIII (Winter 1959), 5-24.

Observations on the relations of history and historians to the study of national character, with particular reference to *The Lonely Crowd*.

_____ with Nathan Glazer, *Faces in the Crowd: Individual Studies in Character and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952).

Twenty-one "portraits," drawn from interviews, which "may indicate the possible usefulness" of Riesman's typology "in the understanding of individual character in its social setting."

†_____ with Reuel Denney & Nathan Glazer, *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

Schlesinger, Arthur M. "What Then is the American, This New Man?" *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (Jan. 1943), 225-44. Reprinted in Schlesinger, *Paths to the Present* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949), ch. 1.

An historian's reflective definition of American character and its determinants, with particular emphasis on "the protracted tutelage to the soil."

Sirjamaki, John. "A Footnote to the Anthropological Approach to the Study of American Culture," *Social Forces*, XXV (Mar. 1947), 253-63.

Some tentative definitions of psychological and institutional patterns in American culture, with a plea for specific field studies. "The ironical fact is that more is actually understood about the culture of the Trobriand Islanders . . . than of America."

† Smith, Henry Nash. *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

Examines the 19th-century myths and images of the West and the western hero as keys to American values and character.

Spindler, G. Dearborn. "American Character as Revealed by the Military," *Psychiatry*, XI (Aug. 1948), 275-81. Reprinted in Yehudi A. Cohen, ed., *Social Structure and Personality: A Casebook* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961), 227-34.

Contrast of American and German values and attitudes in a "control situation" which approximates the heuristic ideal.

Stone, Gregory P. "American Sports: Play and Dis-Play," *Chicago Rev.*, IX (Fall 1955), 83-100.

An attempt "to demonstrate how certain tensions in American society—between production and consumption, work and play, and between the sexes—and how the tension between play and dis-play [i.e., sport as game and sport as spectacle] contained within sport, itself, cast sport in a uniquely American mold."

Stouffer, Samuel A. *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties: A Cross-section of the Nation Speaks Its Mind* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1955).

An investigation by opinion poll (over 6000 interviews in 1954) of American political tolerance; casts sidelights on the American character in a period of crisis.

† Taylor, William R. *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (New York: George Braziller, 1961).

An examination of the self-images of America in pre-Civil War literature, focusing on the idea of the "divided culture." "The problem for the South was not that it lived by an entirely different set of values and civic ideals but rather that it was forced either to live with the values of the nation at large or, as a desperate solution, to invent others. . . ."

† Ward, John William. *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

,"Through the age's leading figure were projected the age's leading ideas"—the ideas

of nature, providence and will—so that “of Andrew Jackson the people made a mirror for themselves.”

† Warner, W. Lloyd. *American Life: Dream and Reality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

An effort to place the social behavior and values of Americans “in the scientific framework of social anthropology.”

Wecter, Dixon. *The Hero in America: A Chronicle of Hero-Worship* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941).

National character is revealed in the choice of national heroes whose selection is “an index to the collective mind and heart.”

† Whyte, William H. Jr. *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1956).

Argues a current shift in America from the Protestant Ethic to the “Social Ethic” among “the dominant members of our society.”

Williams, Robin M. Jr. “Value Orientations in American Society,” in Williams, *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation*, 2nd ed., rev. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), ch. 11.

Schematic survey and classification of the patterns of interests, values and general orientations of American culture in relation to its total social structure. Originally published in 1951.

Wolfenstein, Martha. “The Emergence of Fun Morality,” *Jour. of Soc. Issues*, VII, No. 4 (1951), 15-25. Reprinted with abridgment in Yehudi A. Cohen, ed., *Social Structure and Personality: A Casebook* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961), 99-106.

A review of changing ideas of child training suggests that “fun, from having been suspect if not taboo” in American culture, “has tended to become obligatory.”

— & Nathan Leites. *Movies: A Psychological Study* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950).

Movie themes (e.g., the “good-bad girl”) and their emotional bases in relation to the larger patterns of American culture.

IV. THE USES OF NATIONAL CHARACTER STUDIES

* Adorno, T. W., Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson & R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

This pioneering study “seeks to develop and promote an understanding of social-psychological factors which have made it possible for the authoritarian type of man to threaten to replace the individualistic and democratic type prevalent in the past century and a half of our civilization, and of the factors by which this threat may be contained.” Notable for use of psychoanalytic theory and projective techniques with especial reference to anti-Semitism. While not specifically concerned with “national” character, it draws on predominantly American materials.

† Almond, Gabriel A. “American Character and Foreign Policy,” in Almond, *The American People and Foreign Policy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950), ch. 3.

Ambivalences in the American character make for instability in foreign policy.

Bell, Daniel. “The National Style and the Radical Right,” *Partisan Rev.*, XXIX (Fall 1962), 519-34.

Discussion of the institutional irrelevance of the “classic American style” as “ideologized” by the radical Right.

Bronfenbrenner, Uri. "Some Possible Effects of National Policy on Character Development in the United States of America and the Soviet Union," in Harold D. Lasswell & Harlan Cleveland, eds., *The Ethic of Power: The Interplay of Religion, Philosophy, and Politics* (New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, 1962), ch. 17.

Studies of recent changes in family structure and behavior appear to indicate "a change in American character structure in the direction of a milder, less aggressive person more interested in getting along than in getting ahead, perhaps more sensitive to ethical and social issues but less able and less likely to fight for his beliefs." The author finds in this a "threat to our Western civilization" in the cold-war conflict.

Christie, Richard & Marie Jahoda, eds. *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality": Continuities in Social Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954).

Critique and continuation of the earlier work.

Inkeles, Alex. "National Character and Social Structure," *Antioch Rev.*, IX (June 1949), 155-62.

Comment on the conflict between the "political" and "psychological" schools with reference to the question of how national character (specifically German) changes or can be changed.

Klineberg, Otto. *Tensions Affecting International Understanding* (New York: Social Science Research Council, Bull. 62, 1950).

A product of the UNESCO "Tensions Project," this critical survey of techniques and stereotypes argues that the crucial problem is "the development of adequate methods for the scientific study of national differences."

Leites, Nathan. "Psycho-Cultural Hypotheses about Political Acts," *World Politics*, I (Oct. 1948), 102-19.

Criticism of impressionism in national character studies, with an appraisal of the utility of psycho-cultural analysis for political science. Concludes with hope that "the advance of psycho-cultural research may furnish more genetic explanations of more complicated dynamically explained syndromes."

Mead, Margaret. "The Application of Anthropological Techniques to Cross-National Communication," *New York Acad. of Sciences Trans.*, ser. 2, IX (Feb. 1947), 133-52.

Comparative study of British and American traits of behavior in the interest of "hands across the sea."

Platt, Washington. *National Character in Action—Intelligence Factors in Foreign Relations* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1961).

A "common sense" understanding of national character, instructed by the behavioral sciences but free from their "technical jargon," has utility in intelligence operations.

Rostow, W. W. "The National Style," in Elting E. Morison, ed., *The American Style, supra*, 246-313.

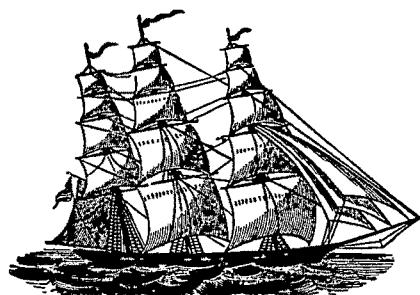
"If the study of national character is an effort to establish a collective personality, the examination of national style seeks to define how that collective personality reacts to and acts upon its environment." Examines the "question of how the national style . . . and recent changes in it strengthen or weaken the society's ability to deal with certain major problems it confronts and is likely to confront over the foreseeable future."

Shils, Edward A. *The Torment of Secrecy: The Background and Consequences of American Security Policies* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956).

An illuminating discussion of the nativist component in the American character, with its "traditions" of parochial intolerance, paranoid fear of subversion and conspiracy, and distrust of urbanity and intellectuality, in relation to national security policies.

Williams, Richard Hays. "American Culture, National Character, and Problems of Mobilization," in Williams, ed., *Human Factors in Military Operations* (Chevy Chase, Md.: Operations Research Office, The Johns Hopkins University, 1954), 91-126.

Though the compression of this study makes for an overgeneralized definition of normative national character traits, the application of findings to the problems of military mobilization is instructive.



ARTICLES IN AMERICAN STUDIES, 1962

THIS IS THE NINTH ISSUE OF THE ANNUAL ANNOTATED INTERDISCIPLINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY of current articles in American Studies. Compiled primarily for those persons interested in the broad implications of American Civilization, it does not pretend to be a comprehensive listing of all items in the field that appeared during the year. Rather, it is quite selective, the principal editorial criterion for listing an article being the extent to which it manifests a relationship between two or more aspects of American Civilization. Even so, limitations of space make it impossible to print many items that the editor would otherwise include.

Articles are listed under the single most immediately relevant category although each might appear under at least one other; in consequence the reader interested in a particular field should examine the entire list—or at least the code concluding each entry.

Items for the 1963 bibliography should be sent to Professor Myron H. Luke, Department of History, C. W. Post College, Greenvale, L. I., New York, Acting Bibliographer in the absence of Professor Koster on sabbatical leave. They should be of interdisciplinary character.

The Committee on Bibliography of the American Studies Association of Metropolitan New York is responsible for this work. The Bibliographer wishes to thank all of those who have given so generously of their time in the reviewing, and to thank Adelphi University for providing financial aid and secretarial assistance in the preparation of manuscript and otherwise.

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To indicate fields of interdisciplinary relevance, the following symbols have been employed:

A—Art & Architecture

MU—Music

E—Economics

P—Philosophy

ED—Education

POL—Political Science

F—Folklore

PSY—Psychiatry & Psychology

H—History

PA—Public Address

L—Language

R—Religion

LAW—Law

SC—Science & Technology

LIT—Literature & Drama

S—Sociology & Anthropology

MC—Mass Culture

ART & ARCHITECTURE

Ackerman, James S. "Abstract Art and the Critics," *Atlantic*, CCX (Oct. 1962), 73-78.

The need for universal standards in criticism which will be conscientiously employed by critics of contemporary art. (MC-P)

Bensman, Joseph & Bernard Rosenberg. "The Culture of the New Suburbia," *Dissent*, IX (Summer 1962), 267-70.

The growing consumption of art in suburbia is not matched by artistic output. (MC)

Church, Thomas D. "Landscape Architecture," *Amer. Rev.*, II (May 1962), 122-25.

The All-American Backyard is a natural outgrowth of the need for a foil against the pressure of city living or the alarming congestion of suburbia. (S)

Cooke, Hereward Lester Jr. "Early America as seen by her Native Artists," *National Geographic*, CXXII (Sept. 1962), 356-89.

Traces the development of a unique painting style which preserved a visual record of early America. (H)

Erwin, Robert. "Up, Up and Away with the Arts," *Amer. Scholar*, XXXI (Autumn 1962), 572-83.

Sardonic evaluation of the contemporary enthusiasm for the arts in American culture. (ED-Lit-MC-MU)

Fitch, James Marston. "Avant-Garde or Blind-Alley," *Horizon*, IV (Mar. 1962), 30-39.

Discussion of and suggestions for resolving the problem of distinguishing the durable from ephemeral in new forms in architecture. (MC)

Flexner, James T. "The Dark World of David Gilmour Blythe," *Amer. Heritage*, XIII (Oct. 1962), 20, 76-78.

The art of a cynical painter which reveals a seamy side of American life in an age of burgeoning optimism. (S)

Fox, Daniel M. "The New Arts Patronage in Europe and the United States," *So. Atlantic Quar.*, LXI (Spring 1962), 223-34.

A plea for government patronage of art in the U. S. comparable to European practice. (POL)

Gowans, Alan. "New England Architecture in Nova Scotia," *Art Quar.*, XXV (Spring 1962), 7-33.

Historic and cultural relationships which account for its presence there. (H)

Harris, Neil. "The Gilded Age Revisited: Boston and the Museum Movement," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Spring 1962), 545-66.

Contrary to usual accounts the art museums formed after the Civil War (at least in Boston) were pedagogical in purpose. (ED-H-MC)

Hogarth, Burne. "Outline of American Painting," *Amer. Artist*, Pts. 5-10, XXVI (Jan.-June 1962).

Short-but-perspicacious studies of American painting from the Federal period to the present as products of social conditions of the times. (H-MC-S)

Kennedy, Michael S. "Paul Dyke Portfolio: Indians of the Overland Trail," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, XII (July 1962), 56-66.

Rancher-artist Dyke and his collection of pre-contact Indian paintings, including some reproductions. (H-S)

Kuh, Katharine. "Art in America in 1962. A Balance Sheet," *Sat. Rev.* (Sept. 8, 1962), A-O.

Appraisal of the year's achievements and failures in art production, museums, patronage, art market. (MC)

Langsner, Jules. "The Artist and the Scientist," *Art & Architecture*, LXXIX (July 1962), 18-19; (Aug. 1962), 14-15.

New characteristics of contemporary culture arising from scientific advances and their effects on the artist. Role of the artist in contemporary society vis à vis the scientist. (SC-MC)

Mayer, Martin. "New York's Monument to the Muses," *Horizon*, IV (July 1962), 4-11.

The complicated and illuminating history of the struggle to create Lincoln Center. (E-MC-MU)

Modisette, Eldon L. "The Legitimation of Modern American Architecture," *Jour. of Aesthetics & Art Criticism*, XX (Spring 1962), 251-61.

Developments in modern architecture which are symptoms of maturity. (H-MC)

Muller, Herbert. "Environment," *Arts & Architecture*, LXXIX (Nov. 1962), 16-17, 28-30.

Creative energies, resourcefulness and optimism in the contemporary situation belie the prophets of destruction of our society. (H-MC-S)

Mumford, Lewis. "The Case Against 'Modern Architecture,'" *Arch. Rec.*, CXXXI (Apr. 1962), 155-62.

The corrective for the multitude of fashions in recent architecture lies in principles: nature, history and human psyche. (MC)

_____. "The Future of the City: The Disappearing City," *Arch. Rec.*, CXXXII (Oct. 1962), 121-28.

Introduction to a five-part analysis of modern cities: the failures of urban design at present. (H-MC-S)

_____. "The Future of the City: Yesterday's City of Tomorrow," *Arch. Rec.*, CXXXII (Nov. 1962), 139-44.

Social, economic and aesthetic limitations of Corbusier's city in a park as a solution of urban design problems. (H-MC-S)

_____. "The Future of the City: Megalopolis as Anti-City," *Arch. Rec.*, CXXXII (Dec. 1962), 101-8.

The potential for cultural destruction inherent in suburban development. (H-MC-S)

Norton, Paul F. & E. M. Halliday. "Latrobe's America," *Amer. Heritage*, XIII (Aug. 1962), 32-56.

Paintings, drawings and writings of a perspicacious architect after the Revolution. (H-Lit)

Peterdi, Gabor. "Humanism and Hucksterism in Contemporary Art," *Yale Lit. Mag.*, CXXX (Mar. 1962), 41-56.

Dangers inherent in popular consumption and mass production of art. (MC)

Richman, Irwin. "Charles Wilson Peale and the Philadelphia Museum," *Pa. Hist.*, XXIX (July 1962), 257-77.

The story of Peale's highly successful eclectic museum which, founded as a gallery for paintings in 1782, emerged as a museum of natural history and curiosa, and became defunct in 1845. (MC-SC-H)

Smith, David Loeffler. "The Heritage of the Thirties," *Amer. Artist*, XXVI (Oct. 1962), 27-31, 74-77.

Interbellum painting and the residue of its influence upon today's artists. (H-MC)

Steinberg, Leo. "Contemporary Art and the Plight of its Public," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (Mar. 1962), 31-39.

The art public comprises not mere Philistines but the avant-garde themselves who undergo a continuous process of academization. (MC)

Tebbel, John. "Cinderella Magazine: 'Art in America,'" *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (Oct. 13, 1962), 54-55.

History of and tribute to *Art in America*, with emphasis on its special anniversary issue. (MC-Lit)

Vale, Charles. "Four Artists of Mid-Nineteenth Century Buffalo," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (Jan. 1962), 49-78.

Exhibition of Lars Gustave Sellstadt, William J. Wilgus, Thomas Le Clear and William Holbrook Beard, and an appreciation of their role in the 1840s and 1850s in Buffalo's cultural development. (H)

Wagner, William. "William Foster—Early Iowa Architect," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXVI (Summer 1962), 345-53.

Des Moines architect who designed some of the best buildings in Iowa and Nebraska at the end of the 19th century. (H)

Weisman, Winston. "The Emergence of the American Mode in Architecture," *Amer. Rev.*, II (May 1962), 72-81.

Various reasons for the development of a uniquely American functional architectural style. (E-H-S)

ECONOMICS

Andrist, Ralph K. "Gold," *Amer. Heritage*, XIII (Dec. 1962), 7-27.

The California and other "Gold Rushes" provided much rushing and little gold. (H-F)

Arrington, Leonard J. & Jon G. Perry. "Utah's Spectacular Missiles Industry: Its History and Impact," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXX (Winter 1962), 3-39. Estimates that about one-ninth of state's population is directly or indirectly dependent upon missiles industry. (H-S)

Bator, Francis M. "Money and Government," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Apr. 1962), 110-18.

Money is a means of mediating the allocation of resources, to serve our needs for private and public things. (POL)

Beloff, Max. "American Attitudes," *Spectator*, no. 7006 (Oct. 5, 1962), 468-70.

The problems of a British-American economic alliance and its role in world affairs. (H-S)

Burnham, John C. "The Gasoline Tax and the Automobile Revolution," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (Jan. 1962), 435-59.

Highway improvement and expansion have been made possible through increases in revenue from the gasoline tax introduced in 1919. (H-Law)

Chamberlain, John. "A History of American Business," *Fortune*, LXV (Jan., Feb., Mar., Apr., May 1962).

Parts 9-13 of a series cover the Rise of Money Power, the Age of Edison, the Rise of Detroit, the New Frontier of the Depressed Thirties and the New World of Enterprise. (H-POL-S)

Chambers, Clarke A. "The Cooperative League of the United States of America, 1916-1961: A Study of Social Theory and Social Action," *Agricultural Hist.*, XXXVI (Apr. 1962), 59-81.

Movement reflects fear of institutional bigness, of government intervention and of melting pot assimilation of newer ethnic groups, as well as a climactic struggle between Socialists and Communists for control in the 1930s. (ED-H-MC-POL-R-S)

Cole, Arthur H. "The Price System and the Rites of Passage," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Winter 1962), 527-44.

Commercial enterprise has penetrated the most intimate rites of life and death. (H-S)

Davis, G. Cullom. "The Transformation of the Federal Trade Commission, 1914-1929," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (Dec. 1962), 437-55.

In 1925 the character of the FTC was so drastically altered that the positions of progressives (its warmest defenders) and businessmen (its sharpest critics) toward it were suddenly and completely reversed. (H-Law-POL)

Drucker, Peter F. "The Economy's Dark Continent," *Fortune*, LXV (Apr.-June 1962).

How much of the cost of distribution of products is really "value added" and how much is merely "waste added" remains unknown. (MC)

Fite, Gilbert C. "Farmer Opinion and the Agricultural Acts, 1933," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (Mar. 1962), 656-73.

Most farmers demanded federal aid for their depressed industry but resented production controls. (H-POL-Law)

Friedenberg, D. M. "Can the Alliance for Progress Work?" *Commentary*, XXXII (Aug. 1962), 93-101.

Questions the wisdom of subsidizing private interests in Latin America out of U. S. funds. (POL)

Genovese, Eugene D. "The Significance of the Slave Plantation for Southern Economic Development," *Jour. of So. Hist.*, XXVIII (Nov. 1962), 422-37.

"Plantation slavery so limited the purchasing power of the South that it could not sustain much industry." (H)

Glazier, William. "Automation and Joblessness," *Atlantic*, CCX (Aug. 1962), 43-47.

More drastic economic steps than retraining are needed to offset technological unemployment. (SC-ED)

Hauser, Philip M. "More from the Census of 1960," *Scientific American*, CCVII (Oct. 1962), 30-37.

Data on U. S. education, occupations and incomes. (ED-S-POL)

Iselin, Sally. "How Women Spend," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Apr. 1962), 98-109. Motives and areas of buying by women, the big spenders in our economy. (S-Psy)

Iwata, Masakazu. "The Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture," *Agricultural Hist.*, XXXVI (Jan. 1962), 25-37.

They played a major part in developing California agriculture, especially fruits and vegetables, the rice industry and the cooperative marketing system. (H-S)

Jackson, Barbara Ward. "Foreign Aid: Strategy or Stopgap," *Foreign Affairs*, XLI (Oct. 1962), 90-104.

The gap between the developed and undeveloped countries is widening. (POL-S)

Jacobs, Paul. "David Dubinsky: Why His Throne is Wobbling," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Dec. 1962), 75-84.

As in other unions, Dubinsky's success has led to his present failure: lack of new leadership in an age of technological and social change. (S-SC)

_____. "Dead Horse and the Featherbird: The Specter of Useless Work," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Sept. 1962), 47-54.

Recent featherbedding disputes in air transportation point up need of clear study of technology, displacement of workers and "unwork." (SC)

Johnson, Arthur M. "Antitrust Policy in Transition, Ideal and Reality," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (Jan. 1962), 415-34.

Demonstration of softening of the antitrust policy in the wake of the Supreme Court's decision in 1911 to follow "the rule of reason." (POL-Law)

Karihara, Kenneth K. "The 'Principia Ethica' of an Affluent Society," *Amer. Jour. of Economics & Sociology*, XXI (Apr. 1962), 159-64.

Pleads for an ultruistic individualism in a mixed public-private economy of the Keynesian type. (POL-P)

Killingsworth, Charles, ed. "Automation," *Annals of Amer. Academy of Political & Social Science*, CCCXL (Mar. 1962), 1-116.

The nature, current practice and impact of automation and related public and private policies. (ED-H-POL-Psy-SC-S)

Kuh, Edwin. "Economic Problems of the Kennedy Administration," *Pol. Quar.*, XXXIII (Apr.-June 1962), 183-95.

Problems facing the U.S.: need for economic growth and planning, the balance of payments, price stability and unemployment. The obstacles offered to their solution by political conservatism. (POL)

Layton, Edwin. "Veblen and the Engineers," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Spring 1962), 63-72.

Explains Veblen's naive belief that engineers would become a revolutionary class. (SC-P-H)

McKenna, Joseph P. "Financing the American City," *Amer. Rev.*, II (May 1962), 86-94.

Various means of financing American cities to provide for such things as the arts, education, slum clearance, urban renewal and unemployment compensation. (A-ED-Law-S)

"Money in American Life," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Apr. 1962), 76-135.

Eleven articles covering money in labor unions, government, the stock market, real estate. (ED-MC-S)

Piel, Gerard. "Can our Economy Stand Disarmament?" *Atlantic*, CCX (Sept. 1962), 35-40.

Economic readjustment could be made if we disarmed, but political considerations are entrenched against the necessary changes. (POL)

Raskin, A. H. "The Unions and their Wealth," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Apr. 1962), 87-95.

Vigilance is necessary to prevent the men who govern union money from surrendering to the idea that power, public acclaim and soft living are the important things. (S-POL)

Richman, Irwin. "The History of the Tomato in America," *Proc. of the N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXXX (July 1962), 153-73.

Records the development and promotion of an American contribution to the world food market. The acceptance and improvement of the tomato, and the growth of the tomato canning industry. (H-SC)

Schlesinger, James R. "Emerging Attitudes toward Fiscal Policy," *Pol. Science Quar.*, LXXVII (Mar. 1962), 1-18.

Argues for the adoption of a new concept by the elimination of outworn ideologies. (H-POL)

Scott, Roy V. "Railroads and Farmers: Educational Trains in Missouri, 1902-1914," *Agricultural Hist.*, XXXVI (Jan. 1962), 3-15.

A colorful part of the agricultural extension movement, the "educational" or "demonstration" train, locally known as the "agricultural college on wheels"; the railroads cooperated not for philanthropic motives but to build up freight traffic and reduce public dislike. (ED-H-MC)

Seib, Charles B. "The Martinsburg Monster: A True Horror Story for Taxpayers," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (Apr. 1962), 33-36.

Internal Revenue Service has automated with a huge IBM machine. (SC)

Seligman, Ben. "Mass Work and the Automated Feast," *Commentary*, XXXIV (July 1962), 9-19.

The need for a new approach to the distribution problem to alleviate social and economic stresses by technological advances. (S-SC)

Trelease, Allen W. "The Iroquois and the Western Fur Trade," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (June 1962), 32-51.

The relative economic power and strategic importance of the Iroquois. (H-POL)

Von Nardroff, Ellen. "The American Frontier as Safety-Valve—The Life, Death, Reincarnation and Justification of a Theory," *Agricultural Hist.*, XXXVI (July 1962), 123-42.

Growth of the safety-valve as idea and historical thesis: concludes that the socio-psychological and economic safety-valve idea is sound, but the historians' attempt to interpret it solely in terms of human migration (rather than economic growth) was tangential and doomed to disastrous error. (H-S)

EDUCATION

Beck, Robert H. "The New Conservatism and the New Humanism," *Teachers College Rec.*, LXIII (Mar. 1962), 435-44.

There is "congruence" between the social and educational philosophies of the New Humanists (Paul Elmer More, T. S. Eliot, Norman Foerster *et al.*) and the New Conservatives (Russell Kirk, Douglas Bush, Harold Clapp *et al.*) (H-P)

Bell, Laird. "Admit and Flunk," *Atlantic*, CCX (Oct. 1962), 54-56.

Greater selectivity in college admissions runs counter to democratic dogma, yet college must be made a privilege. (S)

Berkman, Dave. "You Can't Make Them Learn," *Atlantic*, CCX (Sept. 1962), 62-65.

Exposé of the slum schools of New York City, where education cannot take place until social and economic changes occur. (S-E)

Bolster, Arthur S. Jr. "History, Historians, and the Secondary School Curriculum," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXII (Winter 1962), 39-65.

A history and criticism of the claims historians have advanced since 1899 for the teaching of secondary-school history. (H)

Boroff, David. "West Point: Ancient Incubator for a New Breed," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Dec. 1962), 51-59.

The military academy is "a second-class college for first-class students." (POL)

Carstensen, Vernon. "A Century of the Land-Grant Colleges," *Jour. of Higher Ed.*, XXXIII (Jan. 1962), 30-37.

The particular problems that these colleges faced in the late 19th and early 20th centuries are today the general problems of all American universities. (H)

Cater, Douglass. "Aid to Higher Education: The One That Got Away," *Reporter*, XXVII (Oct. 25, 1962), 28-30.

"There were many losers but no winners in Congress's prolonged and ultimately futile deliberations over Federal aid to higher education this year." (E-POL-R)

Colwell, James L. "The Populist Image of Vernon Louis Parrington," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (June 1962), 52-66.

Argues that Parrington was not a youthful Populist radical, but a Kansas Republican whose conversion to liberalism probably came at the hands of his colleague, J. Allen Smith, at the University of Washington between 1910 and 1918. (H-Lit-PA)

Commager, Henry Steele. "McGuffey and His Readers," *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (June 16, 1962), 50-51, 69-70.

The McGuffey Readers made their greatest contribution to cultural nationalism, not by purveying a chauvinistic Americanism, but by providing 19th-century school children with a common body of allusion and common frame of reference. (H-MC)

Crane, Theodore R. "Francis Wayland: Political Economist as Educator," *R. I. Hist.*, XXI (July & Oct. 1962), 65-90; 105-24.

Biographical and historical essay. (E-R)

Crick, Bernard. "The Campus and the Caucus," *Pol. Quar.*, XXXIII (Apr.-June 1962), 208-17.

The changing attitude of educated Americans toward involvement in politics is related to changing ideas in schools and universities about the purposes of education as "training for citizenship." (POL)

Culmsee, Carlton F. "Democracy Enrolls in College," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXX (Summer 1962), 199-213.

The Land-Grant Colleges, with special reference to Utah State University; written in commemoration of Morrill Act centennial. (H)

Davis, Rennard C., Bruce L. Payne *et al.* "Integration and Survival," *Nation*, CXCIV (May 19, 1962), 431-46.

Five articles survey student attitudes toward political and social issues. (POL-S)

DeMott, Benjamin. "The Math Wars," *Amer. Scholar*, XXXI (Spring 1962), 296-310.

The controversies—social as well as intellectual—surrounding the current reform of the school mathematics curriculum. (S)

Eaton, Clement. "Professor James Woodrow and the Freedom of Teaching in the South," *Jour. of Southern Hist.*, XXVIII (Feb. 1962), 3-17.

The uncle of Woodrow Wilson waged a long and tenacious battle to retain his chair at the Columbia, S. C., Theological Seminary and to attain his freedom to teach the theory of evolution in that institution. (H-POL-R)

Eurich, Alvin C. "Education in America Yesterday and Today," *Overseas*, II (Sept. 1962), 27-31.

Educational developments and trends from Colonial times to the present. (H-S)

Friedenberg, Edgar Z. "The Gifted Student and His Enemies," *Commentary*, XXXIII (May 1962), 410-19.

The organizational structure of the schools breeds *ressentiment*—or "free-floating ill-temper"—among teachers and principals. This *ressentiment*, almost always under the guise of a philanthropic equalitarianism, is often directed against the more gifted students. (Psy-S)

Goodman, Paul. "For a Reactionary Experiment in Education," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Nov. 1962), 61-72.

Charges that our colleges are crippled by the system of tenure and administrative hierarchy. (E)

Handlin, Oscar. "Are the Colleges Killing Education?" *Atlantic*, CCIX (May 1962), 41-45.

An outmoded grading system does more harm than good in the educational process. (Psy)

Harlan, Louis R. "Desegregation in New Orleans Public Schools during Reconstruction," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVII (Apr. 1962), 663-75.

The rise and fall of desegregated education in New Orleans during the 1870s. (H)

Haunton, Richard H. "Education and Democracy: the Views of Philip Lindsley," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXI (June 1962), 131-39.

The first president of the University of Nashville, a believer in thorough-going majority rule, who felt that the fate of democracy rested with an educated and enlightened farmer and mechanic class. (H-POL)

Hechinger, Fred M. "The Story Behind the Strike," *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (May 19, 1962), 54, 56, 78; Aaron Bender *et al.* "Teachers View Their Strike," *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (June 16, 1962), 55.

A political analysis of the New York City teachers' strike of April, 1962, along with a criticism of the analysis by four members of the United Federation of Teachers. (POL)

Heist, Paul. "The Motivation of College Women Today: A Closer Look," *AAUW Jour.*, LVI (Oct. 1962), 17-19.

Identifies the motives for women's going to college and points out that many women do not go on to graduate school for fear of jeopardizing their opportunity to marry. (E-S)

Herbst, Jurgen. "Liberal Education and the Graduate Schools," *Hist. of Ed. Quar.*, II (Dec. 1962), 244-58.

Challenges the view that the emerging graduate schools of the late 19th century had a detrimental effect on American undergraduate colleges. (H)

"Higher Education in America, 1862-1962," *School & Society*, XC (May 5, 1962).

Articles by Robert M. Hutchins, Willis Rudy, George P. Schmidt, John S. Brubacher, Earle D. Ross and Paul Woodring on collegiate and university development over the last century. (H-MC)

Hofstadter, Richard. "The Child and the World," *Daedalus*, XCI (Summer 1962), 501-26.

A criticism of child-centered pedagogy as developed by Francis W. Parker, G. Stanley Hall and John Dewey. (H-Psy)

Keppel, Ann M. "The Myth of Agrarianism in Rural Educational Reform," *Hist. of Ed. Quar.*, II (June 1962), 100-12.

Discusses the rural phase of the progressive-education movement, emphasizing the paradox "that a movement so rooted in past values could produce in the schools such remarkably contemporary reforms." (H)

Klassen, Frank. "Persistence and Change in Eighteenth Century Colonial Education," *Hist. of Ed. Quar.*, II (June 1962), 83-99.

Discusses the curriculum of colonial schools and colleges, concluding that "by the end of the eighteenth century American education as a whole was still largely dominated by religious and classical perspectives." (H)

Krug, Edward. "Graduates of Secondary Schools in and around 1900: Did Most of Them Go to College?" *School Rev.*, LXX (Autumn 1962), 266-72.

Challenges the traditional assumption that most graduates of American secondary schools around 1900 went on to college. (H)

La Noue, George R. "Religious Schools and 'Secular' Subjects," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXIII (Summer 1962), 255-91.

Science, mathematics and foreign languages, as taught in contemporary parochial schools, contain varying amounts of religious material; hence, "current government programs of aid to religious schools in the guise of aiding 'secular' subjects violate both constitutional principles and sound public policy." (Law-POL-R)

Laycock, Frank. "Academic Majors for Elementary School Teachers: Recent California Legislation," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXII (Spring 1962), 188-99.

The controversial "Fisher Bill" represents a significant advance in the training of elementary school teachers; criticism of the legislation ignores the fundamental issues. (Law-POL)

Lottich, Kenneth V. "Educational Leadership in Early Ohio," *Hist. of Ed. Quar.*, II (Mar. 1962), 52-61.

Catalogues the efforts of a group of New Englanders, of a host of state teachers' institutes, and finally, of the Ohio State Teachers' Association, to popularize and professionalize public education. (H)

Lowry, W. McNeil. "The University and the Creative Arts," *Art Jour.*, XXI (Summer 1962), 233-39.

Problems of training artists in college and graduate school curricula by a director of the Ford Foundation. (A-Lit-MU)

_____. "The University and the Theatre Arts," *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XIV (May 1962), 99-112.

An address on the administrative problems and relationships between the academy and the creative arts. (Lit)

Mayer, Martin. "The Trouble with Textbooks," *Harper's*, CCXXV (July 1962), 65-71.

Textbook publishers cited as villains who produce texts for profit rather than out of concern for educational theory. (E)

McGill, Ralph. "Rebirth of Hope at Ole Miss?" *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (Nov. 17, 1962), 51-52.

James Meredith is a symbol of change as Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha County was a symbol of certain aspects of the South. (POL-S-Lit)

Meyer, Agnes E. "Slums and Schools: Dr. Conant's New Report," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Feb. 1962), 76-79.

Defends Conant's latest study with its thesis that "the community and the school are inseparable." (S)

Mohsenin, Nuri. "The 'Lost' Student: Cause and Cure," *Overseas*, II (Nov. 1962), 2-6.

Why foreign students prefer to remain in the United States rather than return to their own countries. Suggestions for remedying the situation. (E-P-S)

Moseley, Edwin M. "Washington and Jefferson Colleges: A Microcosm of the Civil War," *Western Pa. Hist. Mag.*, XLV (June 1962), 107-13.

As they evolved in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the two institutions reflected the oppositions of old world and new world, of civilized East and frontier West, of centralized government and states' rights, of industrial North and pastoral South and West. Prior to their union in 1865, they "contested in terms first foreshadowing the war to come and later reflecting the war that had come." (H)

Nagy, J. Emerick. "Wanted: A Teacher for the Nashville English School," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXI (June 1962), 171-80.

The establishment of the first public school in Nashville in 1821, with information on Tennessee school laws of the period. (H)

Nunis, Doyce B. Jr. "Kate Douglas Wiggin: Pioneer in California Education," *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLI (Dec. 1962), 291-307.

Mrs. Wiggin's work in establishing California's first free kindergarten in 1878 won her national recognition as an authority on early childhood education. (H)

Raushenbush, Esther. "Second Chance: New Education for Women," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Oct. 1962), 147-51.

Education for women must be a continuing, long-range enterprise in order to develop a population of "professional women unheard of in this country—or anywhere—before." (S)

Rippa, S. Alexander. "Retrenchment in a Period of Defensive Opposition to the New Deal: The Business Community and the Public School, 1932-1934," *Hist. of Ed. Quar.*, II (June 1962), 76-82.

The effort of business leaders to reduce governmental expenditures for public education within the context of their more general economy drive during the depression years. (H)

Roberts, L. E. "Educational Reform in Ante-Bellum Georgia," *Ga. Rev.*, XVI (Spring 1962), 68-82.

Despite a plethora of ideas for extending and improving the state's public educational facilities, the majority of Georgians were unwilling to support an adequate system of free schools until after the Civil War. (H)

Sack, Paul. "Liberal Education: What Was It? What Is It?" *Hist. of Ed. Quar.*, II (Dec. 1962), 210-24.

Challenges the prevailing assumption "that people are generally agreed as to the content which the term comprehends, and that this content is much the same now as it has been in the past." (H)

Shuster, George N. "Schools at the Crossroads," *Atlantic*, CCX (Aug. 1962), 95-100.

Problems confronting contemporary American Catholic education. (R)

Vandenberg, Donald. "Experimentalism in the Anesthetic Society: Existential Education," *Harvard Ed. Rev.*, XXXII (Spring 1962), 155-87.

Compares Dewey's and the Existential theory of knowing, draws and illustrates educational implications, and applies them to several works of American literature. (P-Lit)

Weaver, Glenn. "America's First 'Junior College': The Episcopal Academy of Connecticut," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, XXVII (Jan. 1962), 11-21.

Despite the frustrating opposition of Congregationalist-dominated public opinion and lack of adequate financial support, the Connecticut Anglicans were remarkably successful in developing an institution unique in the America of the late 18th century, one that provided secondary, collegiate and theological education. (H-R)

Woodward, C. Vann. "The Unreported Crisis in the Southern Colleges," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Oct. 1962), 82-89.

As assaults on academic freedom mount, faculty flees north. (S-POL)

FOLKLORE

Anderson, David D. "Songs and Sayings of the Lakes," *Midwest Folklore*, XII (Spring 1962), 5-16.

Discusses and reprints remnants of the story-telling and singing tradition of the days of sailing ships on the Great Lakes. (MU)

Bluestein, Gene. "The Arkansas Traveler and the Strategy of American Humor," *Western Folklore*, XXI (July 1962), 153-60.

Mark Twain's use of the song's motif is an illustration of its significance as a symbol of popular American humor. (Lit-MC)

_____. "The Lomaxes' New Canon of American Folksong," *Texas Quar.*, V (Summer 1962), 49-59.

Analysis and evaluation of the contribution made by the Lomaxes: "conscious and significant effort to discover the roots and to define the meaning of American folk culture." (MU-Lit-S)

Cowley, Malcolm. "American Myths, Old and New," *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (Sept. 1, 1962), 6-8, 47.

Identifies the chief American mythological characters and stories. (Lit-S)

Du Bois, Robert W. Jr. "Updating the Cowboy," *So. Folklore Quar.*, XXVI (Sept. 1962), 187-97.

Development and present status of the cowboy as the most popular American folk-hero. (Lit-H-MC)

Dundes, Alan. "Folklore: A Key to Culture," *Overseas*, II (Dec. 1962), 8-14.

The interest inherent in American folklore and the advisability of giving instruction in it to foreign students visiting the U. S. (MC-ED-S)

_____. "On the Psychology of Collecting Folklore," *Tenn. Folklore Soc. Bull.*, XXVIII (Sept. 1962), 65-74.

Relates the psychological motivation of collecting to anal eroticism. (Psy)

Eby, Cecil D. Jr. "Ichabod Crane in Yoknapatawpha," *Ga. Rev.*, XVI (Winter 1962), 465-69.

Faulkner reworked the "Legend of Sleepy Hollow" in *The Hamlet*. (Lit)

Fife, Austin E. "Folkways of the Mormons from the Journals of John D. Lee," *Western Folklore*, XXI (Oct. 1962), 229-46.

Discussion and quotation revealing a rich source of information about Mormon religious folkways. (R-H)

Fowke, Edith. "American Cowboy and Western Pioneer Songs in Canada," *Western Folklore*, XXI (Oct. 1962), 247-56.

A survey of song transmission across the border. (MU)

Gold, Charles H. "Once There Was a Town: The Birth of a Folk-Song," *Midwest Folklore*, XII (Summer 1962), 87-91.

Story of the creation and transmission of a folk song from South-Central Missouri. (MU)

Hall, Wade. "Humor and Folklore in Vinnie Williams' *Walk Egypt*," *So. Folklore Jour.*, XXVI (Sept. 1962), 225-31.

A demonstration of the continuing vitality of these two elements in Southern literature. (Lit)

Hunt, Lewis W. "Thomas Francis Meagher: The 1913 Hoax," *Montana, The Magazine of Western History*, XII (Jan. 1962), 23-35.

Legend of how the Civil War hero of the famed Irish Brigade was supposed to have met his end. (H)

Linneman, William R. "Southern Punch: A Draught of Confederate Wit," *So. Folklore Quar.*, XXVI (June 1962), 131-36.

Account of a comic weekly magazine published in Richmond during 1863 and 1864. (Lit-H)

Monteiro, George. "Fenimore Cooper's Yankee Woodsman," *Midwest Folklore*, XII (Winter 1962), 209-16.

Billy Kirby in *The Pioneers* gave "full form" to the woodsman as a folk type and may have presaged Paul Bunyan. (Lit)

Moore, Jack B. "A Traditional Motif in Early American Fiction: 'The Too Youthful Solitary,'" *Midwest Folklore*, XII (Winter 1962), 205-8.

A short story published in 1798 employs the traditional folk tale of the "boy who had never seen a woman." (Lit)

Neal, Julia. "Shaker Festival," *Ky. Folklore Rec.*, VIII (Oct.-Dec. 1962), 127-35.

Shaker colony at South Union, Ky. (H-R)

Pearsall, Marion. "Some Frontier Origins of Southern Appalachian Culture," *Ky. Folklore Rec.*, VIII (Apr.-June 1962), 41-45.

Wilderness and frontier folkways persisted longer in the Southern Appalachians because of physiographical factors. (H)

Schorer, C. E. "Indian Tales of C. C. Trowbridge: *The Star Woman*," *Midwest Folklore*, XII (Spring 1962), 17-24.

One of several oral tales collected by Trowbridge among Indians of Michigan Territory before 1825. (Lit-H)

Steckmesser, Kent L. "Joaquin Murieta and Billy the Kid," *Western Folklore*, XXI (Apr. 1962), 77-82.

The folk legends of the two heroes are so similar as to be interchangeable. (H-MC)

Wax, Murray. "The Notions of Nature, Man, and Time of a Hunting People," *So. Folklore Quar.*, XXVI (Sept. 1962), 175-86.

Examination of Pawnee Indian lore of 19th century "in order to comprehend their view of the world and man and so to understand their culture from the inside." (S-H)

Yates, Norris W. "Folksongs in *The Spirit of the Times*," *So. Folklore Jour.*, XXVI (Dec. 1962), 326-34.

Discussion and text of six folk songs that appeared in William T. Porter's magazine. (MU-Lit)

Yu, Beong-Cheon. "Lafcadio Hearn's Twice-Told Legends Reconsidered," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Mar. 1962), 56-71.

Hearn's use of folk tales, legends and myths as the "manifestation of man's aspiration for the Impossible." (Lit)

HISTORY

Appel, John J. "Marion Dexter Learned and the German American Historical Society," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXVI (July 1962), 287-318. Conflict between assimilation and maintenance of German culture. (L-F-MC)

Ayer, Hugh M. "Joseph Rodes Buchanan and 'The Science of Man,'" *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXVI (Jan. 1962), 32-42.

Combining medicine, phrenology, mesmerism, homeopathy, eclecticism and unique ideas of his own, Dr. Buchanan developed systems of philosophy, neurology, phrenology and psychometry. He regarded his work as the beginning of anthropology and hoped that it would make possible the study of history as an exact science. (P-Psy-SC-S)

Bailyn, Bernard. "Butterfield's Adams: Notes for a Sketch," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XIX (Apr. 1962), 238-56.

John Adams' personality was that of a man strongly influenced by his emotions but afraid of his passions. (Psy)

_____. "Political Experience and Enlightenment Ideas in Eighteenth Century America," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVII (Jan. 1962), 339-51.

The ideas of the Enlightenment "... did not create new social and political forces in America. They released those that had long existed and vastly increased their power." (P-POL)

Barish, Louis. "The American Jewish Chaplaincy," *Amer. Jew. Hist. Quar.*, LII (Sept. 1962), 8-24.

From Civil War through Korean conflict. (R)

Bassett, Preston R. "Aeronautics in New York State," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (Apr. 1962), 115-48.

From first American balloon ascension in 1830 to opening of New York International Airport. (SC)

Baughman, James. "A Southern Spa: Ante-Bellum Lake Pontchartrain," *La. Hist.*, III (Winter 1962), 5-32.

A resort made important by railway connection with New Orleans in 1831. (S)

Bell, Howard H. "Negro Nationalism: A Factor in Emigration Projects, 1858-1861," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVII (Jan. 1962), 42-53.
Negro emancipation movements directed toward settlement in Central America and Africa analyzed as revealing the nationalism and social tensions of slaves and freed-men in the immediate ante-bellum years. (S-POL)

Bell, Whitfield Jr. "The Federal Processions of 1788," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLVI (Jan. 1962), 5-39.
Popular reactions and celebrations of the ratification of the Federal Constitution in each of the states: parades, festivals, etc. (F-MC)

Bellush, Jewel. "Milk Price Control: History of Its Adoption, 1933," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (Jan. 1962), 79-104.

Berman, Hyman. "A Cursory View of the Jewish Labor Movement: An Historiographical Survey," *Amer. Jew. Hist. Quar.*, LII (Dec. 1962), 79-97.
Evaluation of the research in American-Jewish labor history with suggestions for new areas of exploration. (E)

Boewe, Charles. "Fable Agreed Upon," *Col. Quar.*, X (Winter 1962), 277-83.
Light discussion of various fables of history which have no basis in fact, but are useful (and used) as a body of popular myths accepted and known by everyone. (MC-S)

Bradford, S. Sydney. "Discipline in the Morristown Winter Encampments," *Proc. of the N. J. Hist. Soc.*, LXXX (Jan. 1962), 1-30.
A study of the various punishments, chiefly floggings and executions, used at Morristown during the American Revolution on officers and enlisted men, and of the offenses that incurred punishment. (S)

Brown, Donald R. "Jonathan Baldwin Turner and the Land Grant Idea," *Jour. Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, LV (Winter 1962), 370-84.
This Yale Yankee, crusader for free schools and Illinois College professor, deserves to be considered true father of the land grant idea rather than Senator Morrill, who probably borrowed the idea from him. (ED)

Champagne, Roger. "New York Politics and Independence, 1776," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLVI (July 1962), 281-303.
Livingston-DeLancey dispute and the role of the Livingstons in deciding New York for independence. (POL)

Chaney, William. "A Louisiana Planter in the Gold Rush," *La. Hist.*, III (Spring 1962), 133-44.
Religious conditions in California, the abolitionists in San Francisco, and wage and price levels during the gold rush. (S-R-E)

Colburn, H. Trevor. "A Pennsylvania Farmer at the Court of King George: John Dickinson's London Letters, 1754-1756," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXVI (July 1962), 241-86; (Oct. 1962), 417-53.
An American views London "as a civilization in microcosm," obsessed with politics and law. (P-Lit)

Coulter, E. Merton. "John Howard Payne's Visit to Georgia," *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XLVI (Dec. 1962), 333-76.
A trip by Payne in 1835, his arrest by the Georgia Guard for espousing the cause of the Cherokee Indians, and the origins of legends about the creation of "Home, Sweet Home." (Lit-F)

Crispin, Barbara. "Clyde Shipping and the American War," *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, XLI (Oct. 1962), 124-33.

Disruption of the Clyde tobacco trade by the loss of the American colonies, and subsequent development of compensatory trade. (E)

Cummings, Hubertis M. "An Account of Goods at Pennsbury Manor, 1687," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXVI (Oct. 1962), 397-416.

Furnishings of the restored manorhouse. (A)

Davis, David Brion. "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Antislavery Thought," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (Sept. 1962), 209-30.

Concludes that immediatism replaced gradualism on both sides of the Atlantic at the same time—about 1830—and must be regarded as the result of intellectual currents of romanticism common to the entire transatlantic civilization. (P-POL-R-S)

Degrummond, Jane. "The Fair Honoring the Brave," *La. Hist.*, III (Winter 1962), 54-58.

General Jackson's triumphal entry into New Orleans. (F)

Detweiler, Philip F. "The Changing Reputation of the Declaration of Independence," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XIX (Oct. 1962), 557-74.

Political writers and constitutional conventions before 1790 displayed little interest; between 1790 and 1820, the principles asserted in the Declaration assumed importance in political oratory. (PA-P-POL)

Dowd, Mary Jane. "The State in the Maryland Economy, 1776-1807," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVII (June-Sept. 1962), 90-132, 229-58.

State aid and encouragement of manufacturing, transportation facilities, insurance companies and banks; as a concomitant, state regulation and control; both in consonance with mercantilist policies. (E)

Dray, William. "Causal Accounts of the Civil War," *Daedalus*, XCI (Summer 1962), 579-91.

Because of the way historians use the idea of "causality," causal judgments necessarily involve value judgments. Thus disagreements arise. (POL-P)

Duino, Russell. "Utopian Theme with Variations: John Murray Spear and His Kiantone Domain," *Pa. Hist.*, XXIX (Apr. 1962), 140-50.

History of a religious colony which flourished in the 1850s in Western New York, on the Pennsylvania border, a Spiritualist group founded by a former Universalist minister from Boston. (R-S)

Eby, Cecil D. Jr. "America as 'Ayslum': A Dual Image," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Fall 1962), 483-89.

The rise and fall of an idea. (POL)

Ernst, Robert. "Rufus King, Slavery, and the Missouri Crisis," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLVI (Oct. 1962), 357-82.

Motives, methods and arguments in the Senator's opposition to extension of slavery. (PA-POL)

Farnie, D. A. "The Commercial Empire of the Atlantic, 1607-1783," *Eco. Hist. Rev.*, 2nd ser., XV (Dec. 1962), 205-18.

Discusses the cod, fur, tobacco, sugar and slave trades as the bases of the First British Empire, in which they were of more importance than settlement. (E)

Fisher, Sidney George. "The Diaries of . . . 1844-1849," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXVI (Jan. 1962), 49-90.

Life of well-to-do scion of distinguished Philadelphia family. Continuation of extracts

published from 1952 to 1955. Present series continued for 1849-52 in Apr. 1962, pp. 181-203; for 1853-57 in July 1962, pp. 319-49; for 1857-58 in Oct. 1962, pp. 454-79. (S-POL)

Franklin, John Hope. "A Century of Civil War Observance," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVII (Apr. 1962), 97-107.

After noting the spirit of conciliation reflected in the 1915 fiftieth anniversary observance, proceeds to an incisive series of observations on the unrealistic, almost mythological character of the current Civil War celebration mania. (MC)

Gara, Larry. "Friends and the Underground Railroad," *Quaker History: Bull. of Friends Hist. Assoc.*, LI (Spring 1962), 3-19.

Contrary to the legend of a highly organized Quaker Underground Railroad only a minority of northern Friends acting as individuals or in small groups helped runaways. (R)

Geffen, Joel S. "America in the First European Hebrew Daily Newspaper: *Ha-Yom* (1886-1888)," *Amer. Jew. Hist. Quar.*, LI (Mar. 1962), 149-67.

The portrait of the United States and the American-Jewish community as reflected in a Hebrew newspaper published in Russia. (R-S)

Gipson, Lawrence H. "The Great Debate in the Committee of the Whole House of Commons on the Stamp Act, 1766, as Reported by Nathaniel Ryder," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXVI (Jan. 1962), 10-41.

Excerpts from his parliamentary diary, the full original of which remains in MS. (POL-PA)

Grauman, Laurence Jr. "That Little Ugly Running Sore: Some Observations on the Participation of American Writers in the Investigations of Conditions in the Harlan and Bell County, Kentucky, Coal Fields in 1931-32," *Filson Club. Hist. Quar.*, XXXVI (Oct. 1962), 340-54.

The role of Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson, Niebuhr, Arthur Garfield Hays and others in the investigations. Not being fundamentalists, the theologians incurred the enmity of local clergymen, and all who had liberal ties were accused of communism. Edmund Wilson alone saw "the comedy of the situation." (E-Lit-R-S)

Griffin, Richard. "The Cotton Mill Campaign in Florida, 1828-1863," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLI (Jan. 1962), 261-74.

Cotton manufacturing in ante-bellum Florida was unsuccessful. (E)

Hagensick, A. Clarke. "Revolution or Reform in 1836: Maryland's Preface to the Dorr Rebellion," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVII (Dec. 1962), 346-66.

The conflict of Democratic reformer and aristocratic Whig leading to the direct election of the governor and the Senate, the abolition of the governor's council, and the reapportionment of the House of Representatives. (POL)

Haight, John McV. Jr. "Roosevelt and the Aftermath of the Quarantine Speech," *Rev. of Politics*, XXIV (Apr. 1962), 233-59.

Submits evidence to show how FDR hoped to solicit support at home and abroad and initiate action at the Nine Power Conference for his program of containment, and why he finally met defeat. (POL)

Hamilton, David. "The Consumer Movement," *Col. Quar.*, X (Autumn 1962), 168-82.

Historical survey, concluding that its growing strength, as evidenced both in politics and labor organizations, is dependent on "resolving the differences among those elements which compose today's consumer movement." (MC-S-E)

Hanigan, James P. "Orestes Brownson and the Election of 1840," *Rec. of Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, LXXXIII (Mar., June, 1962), 45-50.

He saw the campaign issues in terms of class conflict and regarded the Democrats as the means "of establishing his ideal of Christian Democracy." The results of the election shattered his trust in "popular democratic doctrines" and led him into the Church of Rome. (R-POL-S-E)

Hardman, J. B. S. "The Jewish Labor Movement in the United States: Jewish and Non-Jewish Influences," *Amer. Jew. Hist. Quar.*, LII (Dec. 1962), 98-151.

Organization and growth of Jewish labor unions with emphasis on the history of the national Needle Trade Unions and the aid given them by liberal reformers, the general trade union movement and the Socialist party. Two discussions of the paper are included. (E)

Harrison, Lowell H. "Attorney General John Breckinridge," *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, XXXVI (Oct. 1962), 319-28.

He wrote an opinion anticipating Marshall's opinion in *McCulloch v. Maryland*. (Law-POL)

Harwood, Thomas F. "British Evangelical Abolitionism and American Churches in the 1830's," *Jour. of So. Hist.*, XXVIII (Aug. 1962), 287-306. British anti-slavery religious groups gave important support to abolitionist elements in American churches. (R)

Hatch, Charles E. Jr. & Thurlow Gates Gregory. "The First American Blast Furnace, 1619-1622: The Birth of a Mighty Industry on Falling Creek in Virginia," *Va. Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, LXX (July 1962), 259-96.

The history, based on recent excavations at the factory site, of the mill at Falling Creek, Va.: first integrated iron works, first blast furnace, first refining forge, first cast iron and first wrought iron in English America. (E)

Hershkowitz, Leo. "The Loco-Foco Party of New York: Its Origins and Career, 1835-1837," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLVI (July 1962), 305-29.

Battle for control of the New York political scene, economic aspects and fight for "equal rights." (MC-S-POL)

_____. "The Native American Democratic Association in New York City, 1835-1836," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLVI (Jan. 1962), 41-59.

Political reactions to problems of immigration, anti-immigrant riots, nativist literature and exposés. (MC-POL)

High, James. "The Origins of Maryland's Middle Class in the Colonial Aristocratic Pattern," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVII (Dec. 1962), 334-45.

The 18th-century middle class, based on trade, exponent of the "rights of man" and free enterprise, led by such men as Daniel Dulaney, Thomas Cresap and Samuel Ogle. (S)

Hinckley, Theodore C. "Sheldon Jackson, Presbyterian Lobbyist for the Great Land of Alaska," *Jour. of Presbyterian Hist.*, XL (Mar. 1962), 3-23.

The efforts of a famous 19th-century missionary to arouse Congress to "Alaska's demands and potentialities." (POL-R)

Hogue, William M. "The Bishop's Saloon," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXI (Dec. 1962), 341-50.

The short-lived experiment in which a group of church members, with the blessing of Bishop Henry Codman Potter, attempted to operate a respectable saloon in New York City in 1904 as a temperance move in opposition to unsavory drink shops. (R-S)

Holliday, Joseph E. "Daniel D. Pratt, Senator and Commissioner," *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, LVIII (Mar. 1962), 17-51.

The public career (1869-75) of a radical Republican Senator, reformer and Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Illuminates the history of Reconstruction and the inner history of the party. (POL)

Hollingsworth, J. Rogers. "Consensus and Continuity in Recent American Historical Writing," *So. Atlantic Quar.*, LXI (Winter 1962), 40-50.

"... in no type of historical writing are the themes of continuity and consensus so well combined as in recent American scholarship. The fashion is to discover in American literature a stable, unchanging tradition." (ED-Lit)

Holtzman, Filia. "A Mission That Failed: Gor'kij in America," *Slavic & East European Jour.*, VI (Fall 1962), 227-36.

The reaction of such prominent Americans as John Dewey and Mark Twain to a trip made by Gorky to the United States in 1906 to raise money and enlist support for the Bolshevik cause in Russia. Failure of the mission was due to the public's being informed that Madame Andreeva, who accompanied Gorky, was his common-law wife. (MC-S)

Huthmacher, J. Joseph. "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (Sept. 1962), 231-41.

Possibly urban labor and recent immigrant groups rather than Protestant Anglo-Saxon elements were real strength of Progressivism. (POL-S)

Kirkendall, Richard S. "Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Service Intellectual," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (Dec. 1962), 456-71.

While Roosevelt employed professors as only one among many equal government service groups, this in itself was a marked departure from tradition. (POL-S)

Kistler, Mark O. "German-American Liberalism and Thomas Paine," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Spring 1962), 81-91.

"By striving to perpetuate the ideals of the colonial writer, German-Americans helped to create a more tolerant and enlightened atmosphere. . . ." (Lit-R-S)

Kryzanowski, Ludwig & Eugene Kusielewicz, eds. "Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz's American Diary," *Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and America*, Polish Inst. of Arts & Sciences in America (New York, 1962), 7-39.

Niemcewicz, a leading Polish political leader, describes the visit paid to Washington in Mount Vernon, meetings with General Gates and John Adams, and life in post-Revolutionary America. (POL-S)

Kugler, Ruben F. "U. B. Phillips' Use of Sources," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVII (July 1962), 153-68.

Historiographical appraisal of the objectivity of the noted historian of the South, tracing his influence in college textbooks, his decline in the estimate of scholars, and assessing the validity of his assertions regarding plantation life and the Negro. (ED)

Kusielewicz, Eugene. "Niemcewicz in America," *Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and America*, Polish Inst. of Arts & Sciences in America (New York, 1962), 57-70.

During his stay in the United States, Niemcewicz sought to make the political and cultural elite of post-Revolutionary America aware of Poland; to arrange, as a member of the American Philosophical Society, for an exchange of books; and to enlist sympathy for Poland's plight. So impressed was he by President Washington that he wrote a poem about him and a biography of him, one of the first in any European language. (Lit-MC-POL-P-S)

_____, ed. "The Jefferson-Niemcewicz Correspondence," *Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and America*, Polish Inst. of Arts & Sciences in America (New York, 1962), 41-55.

In one of a series of letters written between 1798 and 1813, Jefferson expressed the hope that Poland would once again "rise into the map of the earth." (POL)

LaFeber, Walter. "A Note on the 'Mercantilistic Imperialism' of Alfred Thayer Mahan," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (Mar. 1962), 674-85.

He drew from contemporary ideas, not from mercantilism, with which his mature views were very much at odds. (E)

Lang, Hubert. "Charles Gayarré and the Philosophy of Progress," *La. Hist.*, III (Summer 1962), 251-61.

In youth, he was enthusiastic in the cause of democracy and freedom. Later he found anti-democratic forces everywhere. (P)

Layton, Edwin. "Frederick Haynes Newell and the Revolt of the Engineers," *Midcontinent Amer. Studies Jour.*, III (Fall 1962), 17-26.

The attempt of the founder and first director of the U. S. Reclamation Service to organize and lead "a revolt of engineers whose immediate object was the unification of the engineering profession in the image of the American Medical Association," and whose eventual goal was the "engineering of American Society." (SC)

Levine, Daniel. "The Social Philosophy of Albert J. Beveridge," *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, LVIII (June 1962), 101-16.

The social ideas of the American imperialist-nationalist as seen in his speaking and writing. (P-PA)

Madden, Richard C. "Catholics in Colonial South Carolina," *Rec. of Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, LXXIII (Mar., June 1962), 10-44. Development of the Roman Catholic population of South Carolina to about 1790. (R-S)

Mahon, John. "Two Seminole Treaties: Payne's Landing, 1832, and Fort Gibson, 1833," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLI (July 1962), 1-21.

Account of two of the three treaties which sealed the fate of the Seminoles. (POL)

Massey, Mary. "The Free Market of New Orleans, 1861-1862," *La. Hist.*, III (Summer 1962), 202-20.

Tells of distribution of necessities to families of impoverished soldiers. (H-S)

May, Henry F. "American Ghosts in Ghent," *Atlantic*, CCX (July 1962), 74-78.

Recollections of the vital Treaty of Ghent, 1814. (POL)

McClary, Ben Harris. "Nancy Ward: The Last Beloved Woman of the Cherokees," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXI (Dec. 1962), 352-64.

Influential leader of the Cherokees, friend of early Tennessee pioneers, subject of numerous legends. (S-F)

McGloin, John Bernard. "Catholic Attitudes in San Francisco During the Civil War," *Rec. of Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, LXXIII (Mar., June 1962), 51-57.

Although the local Roman Catholic newspaper was hostile to Lincoln, Archbishop Alemany warned that it did not represent the official views of the Church. (R)

Merk, Frederick. "A Safety Valve Thesis and Texan Annexation," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (Dec. 1962), 413-36.

Seen in retrospect, Robert Walker's safety valve thesis to justify Texan annexation was a moderate, farsighted approach to the national problem of Negro-white race relations, at least for its time. (P-S)

Moore, John Hebron. "Simon Gray, Riverman: A Slave Who Was Almost Free," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (Dec. 1962), 472-84.

In certain types of non-agricultural business enterprise, even in the Deep South, it was possible for able Negroes to be educated, travel freely, conduct speculative ventures for a profit and exercise authority over white employees—all contrary to the accepted view that slavery in 1840-60 was a rigid caste system. (E-S)

Morrison, Joseph L. "The Soda Fountain," *Amer. Heritage*, XIII (Aug. 1962), 10-19.

How John Mathews popularized carbonated drinks by introducing the soda fountain. (E)

Morris, Richard B. "Class Struggle and the American Revolution," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XIX (Jan. 1962), 3-29.

Refuting Beardian and Marxist interpretations of the Revolution, the author shows that it was "a classic instance of a civil war," rather than a class conflict. (S-POL)

Mueller, Edward A. "East Coast Florida Steamboating, 1831-1861," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLI (Jan. 1962), 241-60.

Steamboating increased because of the Seminole War, the desire for better service with Charleston and St. Augustine, the export of cotton and interior settlement along the river fringes. (E)

Myers, John L. "The Beginning of Anti-Slavery Agencies in New York State, 1833-1836," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (Apr. 1962), 149-81. (MC-S)

Nichols, Roger L. "A Missionary Journey to the Sac-Fox Indians, 1834," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXVI (Spring 1962), 301-15.

Brief study of cultural contact and evangelical failure. (R-S)

Olson, Otto H. "The Ku Klux Klan: A Study in Reconstruction Politics and Propaganda," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX (Summer 1962), 340-62.

Considers the validity of older interpretations with particular attention to Judge Albion W. Tourgée. (POL)

Pease, William H. & Jane H. "Organized Negro Communities: A North American Experiment," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVII (Jan. 1962), 19-34.

Appraises the strengths and weaknesses of these 19th-century communities. Concludes that their idealism was fundamentally unrealistic and their practice ultimately fruitless. (S)

Pollack, Norman. "The Myth of Populist Anti-Semitism," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVIII (Oct. 1962), 76-80.

Denies validity of anti-semitism thesis. ". . . Populism deserves its old reputation as a democratic social force." (R-POL)

Potter, David M. "The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVII (July 1962), 924-50.

Analyzes the implications of a "shift" from a psychological (or functional) approach to an institutional (or formalistic) approach in dealing with nationalism and illustrates the problem of this usually unconscious shift by examining the prevalent theories of Southern nationalism. (P-S-POL)

Powell, William S. "Patrons of the Press: Subscription Book Purchases in North Carolina, 1733-1850," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX (Oct. 1962), 423-99.

Suggests that North Carolinians used subscription purchases largely because no other sources were available readily in rural parts, and concludes that the subscription book agent, by creating his own market, contributed to the education of his clients. (Lit-ED)

Pyne, Percy R. "The 'Grand Tour' to Niagara in 1843," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLVI (Oct. 1962), 383-421.

Description of upper New York State emphasizing natural features. (MC-S)

Rawling, G. S. "Custer's Last Stand," *History Today*, XII (Jan. 1962), 57-66.

Description of the battle and its place in American folklore. (F)

Reissner, Hanna G. "'Ganstown, U. S. A.'—A German-Jewish Dream," *Amer. Jew. Archives*, XIV (Apr. 1962), 20-31.

German-Jewish intellectuals seize upon "the dream of a more dignified life, free from political fetters, across the sea in America." (S-R)

Rezneck, Samuel. "The Emergence of a Scientific Community in New York State a Century Ago," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (July 1962), 211-38.

Role of James Hall from 1836 to 1898 culminating in desire for a state university to foster scientific research. (SC-ED)

Richardson, Joe. "A Northerner Reports on Florida, 1866," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLI (Apr. 1962), 381-90.

Report, submitted to The Freedmen's Bureau for Florida, describes teaching in Negro schools. (POL-ED)

Riegel, Robert E. "The Split of the Feminist Movement in 1869," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (Dec. 1962), 485-96.

The twenty-one-year split of organized feminism after the Civil War into Boston and New York factions was due almost entirely to personality conflicts and rivalries, with ideological differences of little or no significance. (Psy-S)

Rollins, Alfred B. Jr. "Young Franklin D. Roosevelt as the Farmer's Friend," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (Apr. 1962), 186-98.

FDR's early career (1911-13) and his actions in behalf of farm legislation. (POL-E)

Rosenberg, Morton M. "The First Republican Election Victory in Iowa," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXVI (Summer 1962), 355-71.

Slavery and railroad construction served as the issues which led to a Republican sweep in 1856. (POL)

Schaffer, Ronald. "The New York City Woman Suffrage Party, 1909-1919," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (July 1962), 269-87. (POL)

Schreiber, William I. "The Amish in a New Land," *Midway*, No. 12 (Oct. 1962), 108-26.

Account of the Old Order Amish in East-central Ohio. (E-R-S)

Shain, Charles E. "The English Novelists and the American Civil War," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Fall 1962), 399-421.

Minor English novelists adopted and perpetuated the general British misunderstanding of the war. (Lit)

Shaw, Henry K. "The Founding of Butler University, 1847-1855," *Ind. Tag. of Hist.*, LVIII (Sept. 1962), 233-63.

Contains important data on frontier religion, the internal history of the Disciples of Christ and early university builders. (ED-R)

Shofner, Jerrell & William Rogers. "Sea Island Cotton in Ante-Bellum Florida," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLI (Apr. 1962), 373-80.

Good climate, good soil and technological progress enabled Florida to surpass Georgia and South Carolina in the production of Sea Island cotton in the 1850s. (E)

Shover, John L. "The Farm Holiday Movement in Nebraska," *Neb. Hist.*, XLIII (Mar. 1962), 53-78.

At its peak in 1932 it was an impassioned movement of strongly individualistic men, who, like the Populists, "overlooked the speculative machinations through which in so large a measure the farmer had woven his own fate." (POL-E)

Shryock, Richard H. "A Medical Perspective on the Civil War," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Summer 1962), 161-73.

A survey of the medical history of the Civil War. Despite the enormous cost in human lives the war is remembered in terms of property damage. Was the war worth what it cost? (SC)

Skotheim, Robert A. & Kermit Vanderbilt. "Vernon Louis Parrington: the Mind and Art of a Historian of Ideas," *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, LIII (July 1962), 100-13.

A thorough re-evaluation of Parrington's *Main Currents in American Thought*, with emphasis on his "somewhat contradictory view of the origin and development of ideas of history" and on his method of writing. (Lit-P)

Stewart, George R. "The Prairie Schooner Got Them There," *Amer. Heritage*, XIII (Feb. 1962), 4-17.

Study of the covered wagon as house on wheels, fortress and ambulance. (E-S-F)

Still, Bayrd. "New York City in 1824: A Newly Discovered Description," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLVI (Apr. 1962), 137-69.

Samuel Haynes Jenks of Nantucket on all aspects of life in New York City; supplements accounts of Auguste Levasseur and Anne Royall. (MC-Lit)

Taylor, Philip A. M. "Early Mormon Loyalty and the Leadership of Brigham Young," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXX (Spring 1962), 103-32.

Examines extent to which factors of faith, organization, leadership, force, social pressure and social solidarity contributed to extraordinary loyalty of Mormons under difficult conditions. (R-S)

Todd, C. Lafayette. "Some Nineteenth Century European Travelers in New York State," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (Oct. 1962), 336-70.

The role of foreign figures in continuing local folklore and in developing a literary tradition. (Lit-MC)

Tolbert, Noble J. "Daniel Worth: Tar Heel Abolitionist," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX (July 1962), 284-304.

The trials of a northern Methodist missionary who dared to preach abolitionism in his native North Carolina on the eve of the Civil War. (R)

Towner, Lawrence W. "'A Fondness for Freedom': Servant Protest in Puritan Society," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XIX (Apr. 1962), 201-19.

Concludes that the Puritan family increasingly failed to integrate the servant with society. (R-S)

Tripp, Wendell. "Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell's Graduation—An Eye-Witness Account by Margaret Munro DeLancey," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (Apr. 1962), 182-85.

Edited document describing first award of medical degree to a woman at Geneva Medical School in 1849. (SC-MC-ED)

Waller, Robert A. "Business and the Initiation of the Teapot Dome Investigation," *Bus. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI (Autumn 1962), 334-53.

The reaction of the business community as revealed in trade and business periodicals to this scandal. Concludes that "within the framework of economic interest . . . concern rather than apathy . . . typified the business community's reactions." (E)

Watkins, Lura Woodside. "Middleton Buries Its Dead," *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, XCVIII (Jan. 1962), 26-34.

Describes funerals (including caskets, graves and refreshments served) in Massachusetts, c. 1715-c. 1860, and observes that even then funerals could have prestige value. (S-R)

Wax, Darold D. "Quaker Merchants and the Slave Trade in Colonial Pennsylvania," *Pa. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXXXVI (Apr. 1962), 143-59.

Their role and its influence in shaping Quaker thought on slavery itself. (R-S)

Weinstein, James. "Organized Business and the City Commission and Manager Movements," *Jour. of So. Hist.*, XXVIII (May 1962), 166-82.

Largely through the support of business groups, the city commission and council-manager movements were among the lasting reforms of the progressives. (POL)

Welter, Rush. "The Frontier West as Image of American Society, 1776-1860," *Pacific Northwest Quar.*, LII (Jan. 1961), 1-6.

Seeks to illuminate the Turner thesis by exploring a wide range of prevalent social attitudes. (S)

Westin, Alan F. "Ride-in!" *Amer. Heritage*, XIII (Aug. 1962), 57-64.

Negro attempts to break down segregated facilities in 1870s and the reaction of the Supreme Court to the cases arising. (S-POL-Law)

Whitehill, Walter Muir. "History in the Country," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (Oct. 1962), 319-35.

Organization and problems of museums and historical societies in urban and rural areas with an evaluation of their roles. (MC-F)

Williamson, Edward. "The Constitutional Convention of 1885," *Fla. Hist. Quar.*, XLI (Oct. 1962), 116-26.

The Bourbons, having seized the state political machinery in 1876, inherited the carpetbag constitution of 1868. A new Bourbon constitution was finally adopted by popular vote in 1886. (POL)

Wilson, Harold. "Basil Manly, Apologist for Slavery," *Ala. Rev.*, XV (Jan. 1962), 38-53.

The Baptist minister who became president of the University of Alabama in 1837 was devoted to drawing philosophical, historical and theological arguments for slavery. (R-P)

Woodman, Harold D. "Chicago Businessmen and the 'Granger' Laws," *Agricultural Hist.*, XXXVI (Jan. 1962), 16-24.

Chicago business groups pioneered the post-Civil War anti-monopoly movement in Illinois, drafted the laws and guided them through the state legislature, with the farmer Grangers arriving on the scene late—and unappreciative! (E-Law-POL)

LANGUAGE

Bernstein, Basil. "Social Class, Linguistic Codes, and Grammatical Elements," *Language and Speech*, V (Oct.-Dec. 1962), 221-40.

Analyzes relationships between various linguistic codes and social intercourse, correlating with social class and social reactions such linguistic phenomena as phrase length and significant pause. Experimental group was British, but method and results apply to studies of the sociology of American Speech. (Psy-S)

Boulton, James T. "Literature and Politics I. Tom Paine and the Vulgar Style," *Essays in Criticism*, XII (Jan. 1962), 18-33.

Shows Paine's use of non-literary language and colloquial language to be part of his rhetorical method. "By normal standards his writing must be rated low"; yet he was a master of "techniques appropriate to the occasion." (Lit-H-POL)

Bronstein, Arthur J. "Let's Take Another Look at New York City Speech," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVII (Feb. 1962), 13-26.

Survey of some of the speech patterns of the "socially and linguistically complex area." (S)

Cray, Ed. "Ethnic and Place Names as Derisive Adjectives," *Western Folklore*, XXI (Jan. 1962), 27-34.

Derisive adjectives as indications of long held prejudices and cultural antagonisms. Collection of examples from California folk speech. (F-S)

Engel, Bernard F. "Bawdry and Purpose in the Novel," *Midwest Quar.*, IV (Autumn 1962), 23-31.

Using *The Grapes of Wrath* as an example, the author shows that bawdy language may serve valid literary purposes for presentation of economic and social problems. (Lit-E-S)

Evans, Bergen. "But What's a Dictionary For?" *Atlantic*, CCIX (May 1962), 57-62.

A defense of the scientific principles—so violently attacked in the press—of the new Webster's. (S)

Fadiman, William. "Lingua California Spoken Here," *Sat. Rev.* (Nov. 17, 1962), 19-20.

"Cinemese or Hollywoodese may well be a semanticist's horror, a pedagogue's nightmare, and a philologist's despair; but it remains a delight to those thousands who consider it as peculiarly their own." (MC-S)

Fatout, Paul. "Mark Twain's Nom de Plume," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Mar. 1962), 1-7.

Riverboat jargon and other sources of Twain's nom de plume; historical background and social contexts of these usages. (F-H-Lit)

Feinsilver, Lillian Mermin. "Yiddish Idioms in American English," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVII (Oct. 1962), 200-6.

Examples of translations, word play and single-word loans from the Yiddish indicate the bicultural nature of Jewish existence and the color that American Jews have given to the language. (MC-S)

Follett, Wilson. "Sabotage in Springfield: Webster's *Third Edition*," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Jan. 1962), 73-77.

Attacks the new dictionary for abrogating its authority. (S)

Graham, Robert Somerville. "Spanish-Language Radio in Northern Colorado," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVII (Oct. 1962), 207-11.

Though KFSC is primarily a commercial undertaking, it reflects the interest of a group in having greater political influence and improved social status, and it serves as "an agent of acculturation." (POL-MC-S)

Haggerty, William J. "English Isn't Necessary," *Overseas*, II (Nov. 1962), 18-19.

Suggests establishing a series of language centers in various sections of the United States to meet the language problem of foreign students. (ED)

Hayakawa, S. I. "Thoughts on Thermonuclear Gamesmanship," *ETC.*, XIX (May, 1962), 39-58.

An analysis of the semantic basis for present United States attitudes toward war and the U.S.S.R. with a general semanticist's notions on the means of altering those attitudes for greater national strength and cognitive clarity. (MC-POL)

Howren, Robert. "The Speech of Ocracoke, North Carolina," *Amer. Speech*, XXXVII (Oct. 1962), 163-75.

Preliminary report on an Outer Banks community which is fast changing in cultural and linguistic patterns. (H-S)

Johnson, Jerah. "The 'Picayune': From Colonial Coin to Current Expression," *La. Hist.*, III (Summer 1962), 245-50.

The name of a small Spanish coin became a cigarette brand name, a place name and an adjective. (F-H)

Jones, James P. "Southern Newspaper Names," *Names*, X (June 1962), 115-26.

Survey of newspapers, past and present, whose names reflect intimately the history, politics, economics and folklore of the South. (F-H-POL)

Klemmer, Edmund T. "Communication and Human Performance," *Human Factors*, IV (Apr. 1962), 75-80.

Means of measurement in the analysis of the flow of information into and out of a human performer. Related to computer technology and developments in automation and computers in American society. (SC-S)

Lyra, Franciszek. "The Polish Language in the United States: Some Problems and Findings," *Polish Rev.*, VII (Spring 1962), 81-96.

Effects of English on the language of Polish immigrants and their descendants. (F-MC-S)

Mendelsohn, Harold. "Measuring the Process of Communications Effect," *Public Opinion Quar.*, XXVI (Fall 1962), 411-16.

Means toward some kind of numerical analysis of the relationships between communications and consequent actions. Pertinent to the use of language in the various mass media for persuasion and propaganda. (F-MC)

Miller, George A. "Some Psychological Studies of Grammar," *Amer. Psychologist*, XVII (Nov. 1962), 748-62.

A new psycholinguistic approach to the grammaticality of American English. (Psy-ED)

Mitchell, Broadus. "Comment: The Cabalistic Trend in Economics," *Amer. Jour. of Eco. & Soc.*, XXI (July, 1962), 333-35.

The phenomena of a special *Berufssprache* and, indeed, *Standessprache* among American economists, with notes on attendant obscurantism and priestliness. (MC)

Pearce, T. M. "The Names of Objects in Aerospace," *Names*, X (Mar. 1962), 1-10.

The origins, variety and appropriateness of the names for objects in aerospace. "They express the intent, the aspiration, the will of modern science." (SC)

Pei, Mario. "The Dictionary as a Battlefront: English Teachers' Dilemma," *Sat. Rev.* (July 21, 1962), 44-46, 55-56.

Comments on the influence of the 1961 edition of the Merriam-Webster Dictionary. (ED-P-S)

Roberts, Jack. "Mythology on Madison Avenue," *Harvard Business Rev.*, XL (Sept.-Oct. 1962), 98-102.

Advertising as a special kind of communication with inevitable linguistic overtones. The process of the establishment of "concept consistency" in the climate of opinion through the mythopoetic processes of advertising—and therefore of other kinds of linguistic and nonlinguistic persuasion. (MC-F)

Weathers, Winston. "Communications and Tragedy in Eugene O'Neill," *ETC*, XIX (July 1962), 148-60.

O'Neill's tragic vision is supported by his semantic awareness and delineated by his implied theory of communications. (Lit-Psy)

LAW

Bernstein, Barton J. "Case Law in *Plessy v. Ferguson*," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVII (July 1962), 192-98.

The notable 1896 Supreme Court decision establishing the "separate but equal" doctrine was perverted case law, not based on actual precedent. (H)

Duker, Sam. "The Supreme Court Ruling on School Prayer," *Ed. Forum* (Nov. 1962), 71-77.

Summary of the constitutional and legal aspects of the ruling on the prayer composed by the Regents Board of New York State. (ED-R-H)

Gates, Paul W. "Tenants of the Log Cabin," *Miss Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (June 1962), 3-31.

Recounts the move from common-law doctrine to the law recognizing as paramount the rights of occupants to the value of their improvements. (POL-E)

Kaufman, Irving R. "The Grand Jury: Sword and Shield," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Apr. 1962), 54-60.

In spite of some legitimate criticisms, the grand jury system should be retained as the citizen's strongest check on government and justice. (S-POL)

Levy, Leonard W. "School Prayers and the Founding Fathers," *Commentary*, XXXIV (Sept. 1962), 225-30.

Defends the Supreme Court's interpretation of the intention of the framers of the First Amendment in the case of *Engel v. Vitale*. (ED-POL-R)

Maas, Peter. "Merchants of Obscenity," *Sat. Eve. Post*, CCXXXV (Oct. 13, 1962), 26-27.

Attempts by the Postmaster General and law-enforcing agents to prevent the mailing of obscene material and to restrict the sale of obscene books. The test is "contemporary community standards." (S-Lit)

Population Reference Bureau. "Population Growth and Immigration Policy: The United States," *Population Bulletin*, XXVIII (Nov. 1962), 137-47.

Extracts from Congressional hearings. (POL-S)

Schwartz, Alan U. "What Price Salvation?" *Theatre Arts*, XLVI (Sept. 1962), 65-66. (LIT)

A lawyer discusses the deleterious effects of censorship on the theater, especially outside of New York City. (Lit)

Schwartz, Louis B., ed. "Crime and the American Penal System," *Annals of Amer. Academy of Political & Social Science*, CCCXXXIX (Jan. 1962), 1-170.

Symposium covering criminal conduct, enforcement and administration of justice, sentences and treatment. (POL-Psy-S)

Steamer, Robert J. "The Legal and Political Genesis of the Supreme Court," *Pol. Science Quar.*, LXXVII (Dec. 1962), 546-69. (L)

Concludes that the Court is a product of Anglo-American evolution and "both a captive and a maker of history." (POL-H)

Szasz, Thomas S. "Mind Tapping: Psychiatric Subversion of Constitutional Rights," *Amer. Jour. of Psychiatry*, CXIX (Oct. 1962), 323-27.

Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Amendments are perhaps being violated by court-ordered psychiatric examinations. (Psy)

Ulmer, S. Sidney. "Supreme Court Behaviour in Racial Exclusion Cases: 1935-1960," *Amer. Pol. Science Rev.*, LVI (June 1962), 325-30.

The Court's decisions concerning total or partial absence of Negroes from a state jury system are interpreted in part by explanatory hypotheses which "are stated with sufficient precision to make empirical testing possible." (POL-S-H)

LITERATURE & DRAMA

Aaron, Daniel. "Edmund Wilson's War," *Mass. Rev.*, III (Spring 1962), 555-70.

Wilson's *Patriotic Gore* discloses significant insights into the culture of the late 19th century in America. (H-MC)

_____. "The Riddle of John Dos Passos," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (Mar. 1962), 55-60.

How a revolutionist turned into a conservative without changing his principles. (POL)

Aldridge, Alfred Owen. "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Gazette," *Amer. Phil. Soc.*, CVI (Feb. 15, 1962), 77-81.

A discussion of the varied nature of the Franklin contributions to that paper. (H)

Allen, Gay Wilson. "With Faulkner in Japan," *Amer. Scholar*, XXXI (Autumn 1962), 566-71.

Reminiscences about associations with Faulkner and the impressions made by the novelist in Japan during a Seminar in American literature. (ED-S)

Angoff, Charles. "George Jean Nathan," *Atlantic*, CCX (Dec. 1962), 45-48.

Personal recollections about Nathan and his opinions on many topics. (MC-R)

Askew, Melvin W. "Hawthorne, The Fall, and the Psychology of Maturity," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Nov. 1962), 335-43.

A psychological pattern of acceptance-responsibility-maturity is figured in the myth of the fall in Hawthorne's stories. (Psy-R)

Baumgartner, A. M. "'The Lyceum is my Pulpit': Homiletics in Emerson's Early Lectures," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Jan. 1963), 477-86.

Argues that training in homiletics had the greatest influence on Emerson's literary method. (P-PA)

Bennett, Mildred R. "How Willa Cather Chose Her Names," *Names*, X (Mar. 1962), 29-37.

The varied sources for and the appropriateness of the names in Cather's novels. (L-S)

Benoit, Ben. "Emerson on Plato: The Fire's Center," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Jan. 1963), 487-98.

The essay on Plato reveals the two streams of American thought, the ideal and the real. (P)

Bentley, Byron. "Long Day's Journey into Film," *Theatre Arts*, XLVI (Oct. 1962), 16-18, 70, 71.

The problems in filming O'Neill's play because the dramatist "was devising something far subtler than a literal representation of truth." (MC-Psy)

Bode, Carl. "The Half-Hidden Thoreau," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Autumn 1962), 68-80.

Freudian interpretation of Thoreau's life, attitudes and works. (Psy)

_____. "The Sound of American Literature a Century Ago," *Proc. of British Acad.*, XLVII (1961), 97-112.

"The American Lyceum did yeoman service for American literature" by augmenting writers' incomes, adding to their publics and providing a testing ground for their new works. (PA-E)

Bowen, Robert O. "The Salinger Syndrome: Charity Against Whom?" *Ramparts*, I (May 1962), 52-60.

The success of *The Catcher in the Rye* is due to its utility as propaganda, with its caste-consciousness, bigotry and anti-Americanism. (Psy-R-S)

Bradford, M. E. "Faulkner's 'Tall Men,'" *So. Atlantic Quar.*, LXI (Winter 1962), 29-39.

The "tall men" represent a moral, economic and social condition; and understanding what Faulkner found admirable in them helps the reader to understand "the moral norms which govern his fable of southern history." (H-S)

Bridgman, Richard. "Jefferson's Farmer before Jefferson," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Winter 1962), 567-77.

Connections, though tenuous, between contemporary literature and promulgation of the idea of the nobility of agriculture. (E-H-S)

Brodtkorb, Paul Jr. "Art Allegory in *The Marble Faun*," *PMLA*, LXXVII (June 1962), 254-67.

Hawthorne perhaps resented visual art because it cannot really comfort the afflicted heart. (A)

Brooks, Cleanth. "Faulkner's Vision of Good and Evil," *Mass. Rev.*, III (Summer 1962), 392-412.

Visions of good and evil held by various Faulkner characters in relation to Christian doctrine. (R-S)

Buchwald, Emilie. "Wallace Stevens: The Delicatest Eye of the Mind," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Summer 1962), 185-96.

Significant painters' techniques used by Stevens in his poetry. (A)

Carter, Hodding. "Yes, Tennessee, There Are Southern Belles," *N. Y. Times Mag.* (Oct. 7, 1962), 32-33, 93.

Opposes a depiction of the *real* Southern woman to that of what he regards as Williams' caricatures. (S)

Chase, Mary Ellen. "Sarah Orne Jewett as a Social Historian," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXVI (Fall 1962), 231-37.

In describing persons and places in Maine with accuracy and affection, Miss Jewett "recorded the roots of their lives, the sources of their speech, the contributions made by them to the story of a nation." (H)

Conrad, Barnaby. "There Is Many a Slip," *Show*, II (Dec. 1962), 64-65, 130.

Many books and plays originally rejected by publishers have later been financial and/or literary successes. (E-MC)

Cook, Reginald L. "Think of This, Yankees!" *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Autumn 1962), 44-52.

Thoreau is still an original force upon present-day society. (MC)

Cowley, Malcolm. "The Unsettled Literary Future of the U. S.," *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (June 9, 1962), 15-17, 61.

Feels that schools have been "unfriendly to the development of literary talent" and predicts what future American literature may reflect. (ED)

Cunliffe, Marcus. "Parson Weems and George Washington's Cherry Tree," *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, XLV (Sept. 1962), 58-96. Weems' biography of Washington, subsequent criticisms of it and its value as contributing to the corpus of American folklore and embodying almost all the possible approaches to Washington. (H-F)

Cunningham, Phillip J. "Long Day's Journey Into Night," *Cath. World*, CXCVI (Nov. 1962), 134-36. Favorable comments on all aspects of the film. (MC-Psy-R)

Dabney, Lewis M. "Edmund Wilson and *Patriotic Gore*," *Columbia Univ. Forum*, V (Fall 1962), 20-26. Despite its omissions and weaknesses, *Patriotic Gore* is "an invaluable book about and for his countrymen." (H-POL-S)

Davison, Peter. "Robert Frost: His Own Tradition," *Atlantic*, CCIX (May 1962), 100-1. *In the Clearing* contains much "political and philosophical speculation." (P-POL)

Detweiler, Robert. "Emerson and Zen," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Fall 1962), 422-38. Emerson the means by which Zen may relate itself to Western culture. Zen the means by which Emerson may become more complete for modern American thought. (P-R)

Drinon, Richard. "Thoreau's Politics of the Upright Man," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Autumn 1962), 126-38. The political literature sources for Thoreau's anarchism, the attraction for Thoreau of both barbarism and civilization and the influence of his anarchism on present-day society. (POL)

Duggan, Francis X. "Paul Elmer More and the New England Tradition," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Jan. 1963), 542-61. More's literary studies—mostly of the New England writers—"were a prop for his philosophy." (P)

Eble, Kenneth E. "Scott Fitzgerald, Seriously," *Columbia Univ. Forum*, V (Summer 1962), 38-41. Accounts for Fitzgerald's current popularity and disposes of some of the "legendary" notions about him. (MC-S)

Eissenstat, Martha Turnquist. "Arthur Miller: A Bibliography," *Modern Drama*, V (May 1962), 93-106. An up-to-date, complete and interdisciplinary bibliography of Miller. (MC)

Evanoff, Alexander. "William Dean Howells' Economic Chance-World in *A Hazard of New Fortunes*," *Discourse* (Autumn 1962), 382-88. While praising Howells for his sympathy with human suffering, the author views him as victimized in this novel by "the folklore of Socialism and of Marxism concerning the evils of capitalism." (E-POL-S)

Evans, Oliver. "Anaïs Nin and the Discovery of Inner Space," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXVI (Fall 1962), 217-30. Analysis of Nin's techniques, influenced by her interest in philosophy and psycho-analysis which enabled her to probe into the ultimate sources of character. (P-Psy)

Farrington, Conor. "Playwrights and the Stationary Carrot," *Theatre Arts*, XLVI (Feb. 1962), 21-23. Justification for an evaluation of schools of playwriting in the United States and suggestions for techniques to be employed. (ED)

Feibleman, James K. "The Hidden Philosophy of Americans," *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (Mar. 10, 1962), 15-16, 55.

Writers like Edwards and Emerson foreshadow the development of certain influential philosophic, religious and sociological beliefs whether or not they are recognized. (H-P-R-S)

Flory, Claude R. "Paul Hamilton Hayne and the New South," *Ga. Hist. Quar.*, XLVI (Dec. 1962), 388-94.

Hayne's "Exposition Ode" shows that, contrary to common assumption, he developed considerable enthusiasm for the New South. (H)

Furness, Edna L. "Image of the Schoolteacher in Western Literature," *Ariz. Quar.*, XVIII (Winter 1962), 346-57.

Writers of the American West have portrayed the teacher as having a fetishistic respect for learning, a distaste for theoretical speculation and a tendency to reject conventional attitudes. (ED-H)

Guthrie, Tyrone. "A Common Language?" *Spectator*, no. 7006 (Oct. 5, 1962), 509-10.

Analysis of the American theater, its audience-reaction and the need for it to be a part of pan-European culture. (E-L-MC-S)

Hassan, Ihab. "The Character of Post-War Fiction in America," *Eng. Jour.*, LI (Jan. 1962), 1-8.

Surveys recent novels, finds their energy to be that of opposition, and decides, "It may very well be that the Southern novelist and the Jewish writer have both emerged from the tragic underground of our culture as the true spokesman of mid-century America." (MC-S)

Hauser, Richard A. "Pedagogy or Popcorn," *Overseas*, II (Oct. 1962), 16-20. The difficulties which an American faced when teaching in France cause him to draw analogues with Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*. (E-ED)

Heffernan, Miriam M. "Two Novelists and Progressivism, III, Critical Comment," *Midwest Quar.*, III (Jan. 1962), 180-82.

Bibliographical analysis, emphasizing the continuity of aesthetic and historical estimation from John Chamberlain through Edwin H. Cady, Charles Forcey, Irving Howe and Alfred Kazin. (POL-H-S)

Hicks, Granville. "A Writer at Home with Her Heritage," *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (May 12, 1962), 22-23.

Tribute to Flannery O'Connor, whose "vision of life is given her by Catholicism; the material with which she works is provided by the South." (L-R-S)

Hill, Hamlin. "James M. Bailey's Civil War Humor," *Conn. Hist. Soc. Bull.*, XXVII (Jan. 1962), 22-27.

The star Civil War correspondent of the Danbury *Times* wrote a series of satirical letters for the paper that were a testing ground for his later work as the "Danbury News Man." (H-MC)

Hofstadter, Richard. "Idealists and Professors and Sore-Heads: The Genteel Reformers," *Columbia Univ. Forum*, V (Spring 1962), 4-11.

The attitude toward politics expressed by writers like Henry Adams and Lowell changed with the coming of Theodore Roosevelt, who paved the way for the era in which we now live: "the scholar as expert." (POL-ED-H)

Hough, Robert L. "Crane and Goethe: A Forgotten Relationship," *Nineteenth Century Fiction*, XVII (Sept. 1962), 135-48.

Whether Crane knew Goethe or the impressionists first, he put color to the same uses. (A-P)

Howell, Elmo. "William Faulkner and Tennessee," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXI (Sept. 1962), 251-62.
His use of Tennessee locales. (H)

Hungerford, Harold R. "'That Was at Chancellorsville': The Factual Framework of *The Red Badge of Courage*," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Jan. 1963), 520-31.
Argues a factual framework for Crane's fictional battle. (H)

Jones, Howard Mumford. "Thoreau and Human Nature," *Atlantic*, CCX (Sept. 1962), 56-61.
Presents Thoreau as an observer of the motives and behavior of men. (P-Psy)

Kaminsky, Alice R. "The American Jew in the Academic Novel," *Midwest Quar.*, III (Summer, 1962), 305-18.
Survey of several academic novels and the various ways in which Jews are presented. (ED-S)

Karl, Frederick R. *et al.* Spring Literary Issue, *Nation*, CXCIV (Apr. 21, 1962), 345-60.
Four articles on fiction, poetry, drama and painting reveal tension between, but not withdrawal from, the artist and society. (S-P-Psy-A)

Kass, Jerome. "Letter from a Young Playwright," *Theatre Arts*, XLVI (Aug. 1962), 16-19.
Surveys the current American theater and expresses pessimism about its future. (E-MC)

Kazin, Alfred. "The Bitter 30's: From a Personal History," *Atlantic*, CCIX (May 1962), 82-99.
The struggles of a budding intellectual and literary critic in the Depression years. (S-H)

Keating, Edward M. "Mildew on the Old Magnolia," *Ramparts*, I (Nov. 1962), 69-74.
Comments on several of Tennessee Williams' plays and concludes that the playwright is a decadent writer. (Psy-R-S)

Keating, Edward M. "Salinger: The Murky Mirror," *Ramparts*, I (May 1962), 61-66.
Analysis of both adult and young characters leads to the conclusion that Salinger's significance "lies in the audience that has claimed him as its literary father." (S)

Keating, John. "Life on the Option," *Theatre Arts*, XLVI (Oct. 1962), 19-21, 68-69.
Examples of the vicissitudes of the writer of a script on option and the financial problems he sometimes has to face. (E-MC)

Kenner, Hugh. "The Drama of Utterance," *Mass. Rev.*, III (Winter 1962), 328-30.
William Carlos Williams' dedication to the *word* and "insistence of the desperate civic need for mastery over language." (L-S)

Kerr, Elizabeth M. "William Faulkner and the Southern Concept of Women," *Miss. Quar.*, XV (Winter 1961-62), 1-16.
Faulkner rejects Southern romantic cult of the pure woman. (S-H)

Kirk, Rudolph & Clara M. "Abraham Cahan and William Dean Howells," *Amer. Jew. Hist. Quar.*, LII (Sept. 1962), 27-57.
The friendship between two novelists of late 19th-century urban life with an assess-

ment of each other's work and a biographical interview with Cahan first published in 1896. (H)

Klein, Marcus. "A Discipline of Nobility: Saul Bellow's Fiction," *Kenyon Rev.*, XXIV (Spring 1962), 203-26.

In the novel of the "50's" the "sensible" hero moves from alienation to accommodation. Bellow's heroes typify this shift and offer us a perspective from which to view changing American society. (S-Psy)

Krieger, Murray. "After the New Criticism," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Autumn 1962), 183-205.

An estimate of the newly emerging critical approaches bringing literature into a "historicism," creating a new critical language which relates literature to a fuller cultural context, particularly in anthropological references. (L-P-H-S)

Landis, Joseph C. "The Sadness of Philip Roth: an Interim Report," *Mass. Rev.*, III (Winter 1962), 259-68.

Roth as a social critic and the reactions to his work and to his promise as a writer. (MC-R-S)

Larner, Jeremy. "Salinger's Audience: An Explanation," *Partisan Rev.*, XXIX (Fall 1962), 594-98.

Salinger appeals to the perpetually immature segment of American society. He promises euphoria. (Psy-S)

Lauter, Paul. "Thoreau's Prophetic Testimony," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Autumn 1962), 111-23.

Draws upon Judaeo-Christian concepts to conclude that Thoreau's socio-political essays and his more strictly literary works all deal with similar problems and should, therefore, be read together. (POL-R-S)

Levin, David. "Shadows of Doubt: Specter Evidence in Hawthorne's 'Young Goodman Brown,'" *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Nov. 1962), 344-52.

Hawthorne built the story on firm historical knowledge, thus giving it social as well as allegorical and psychological dimensions. (R-H-Psy)

Levine, Paul. "American Bards and Liberal Reviewers," *Hudson Rev.*, XV (Spring 1962), 91-109.

Analysis of American literary criticism from Parrington through Podhoretz reveals that the new "liberal" tradition is not actually liberal but "a hodge-podge of cultural elitism, disappointed Marxism, romping Freudianism, self-conscious Judaism. . ." (POL-Psy-R-S)

Lewis, R. W. B. "American Letters: A Projection," *Yale Rev.*, LI (Winter 1962), 211-26.

Predicts that the Kennedy era may well present the writer with something worth the dignity of resistance, unlike the cultural desolation of the Eisenhower era. (H-POL)

Lydenberg, John. "American Novelists in Search for a Lost World," *Revue des Langues Vivantes* (1962), 306-21.

Traces American fiction from Cooper to Salinger and finds that it is the desire for what could be and the repulsion for what is in our society that provides a common denominator. (P-S)

Marcus, Steven. "The Novel Again," *Partisan Rev.*, XXIX (Spring 1962), 171-95.

Discusses the decline of the contemporary novel in general but reserves praise for Malamud. Perhaps cold war tensions and resultant loss of faith in the future are to be blamed for the decline. (S)

Martin, E. A. "The Ordeal of H. L. Mencken," *So. Atlantic Quar.*, LXI (Summer 1962), 326-38.
Targets of Mencken's satire and explanation of reasons for them. (POL-MC)

Marx, Leo. "Thoreau's Excursions," *Yale Rev.*, LI (Spring 1962), 363-69.
Thoreau as travel and religious writer uses the story of an excursion as a vehicle for a spiritual quest. (R)

McAnany, Emile G. "The Tragic Commitment: Some Notes on Arthur Miller," *Modern Drama*, V (May 1962), 11-20.
Examines Miller's aesthetics. "Whatever is true of Miller's play about a salesman, the clarification of his principles of dramatic structure in the preface provides the American theatre with a theoretical basis for continued growth in the creation of serious drama." (P)

McCall, Raymond G. "H. L. Mencken and the Glass of Satire," *College Eng.*, XXIII (May 1962), 633-36.
Targets and methods of Mencken's satire. (P-R-S-MC)

McCarthy, Mary. "J. D. Salinger's Closed Circuit," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Oct. 1962), 46-48.
Charges the literary hero of the Younger Set with purveying a phoney world of exclusiveness. (S)

Mee, Charles L. Jr. "The Becks' Living Theatre," *Tulane Drama Rev.*, VII (Winter 1962), 194-205.
Evaluation of the plays currently being performed at the Living Theatre. (P-S-MC)

Millstein, Gilbert. "O. Henry's New Yorkers—and Today's," *N. Y. Times Mag.* (Sept. 9, 1962), 36-37, 132, 134-35.
Despite the numerous gadgets and the changes in mores, "the people who inhabit New York City today would not be strangers to O. Henry." (S)

Mizener, Arthur. "Does a Moral Vision of the Thirties Deserve a Nobel Prize?" *N. Y. Times Book Rev.* (Dec. 9, 1962), 4, 43, 45.
Does not approve of Steinbeck's receiving the Nobel Prize. (P-S)

Mumford, Lewis. "Apology to Henry Adams," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXVIII (Spring 1962), 196-217.
Adams' fears about atomic age come true. Mumford asks to "restore a human balance upset by . . . dehumanized technology." (POL-P-E)

Nelson, William Stuart. "Thoreau and American Non-Violent Resistance," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Autumn 1962), 56-60.
Various considerations of civil disobedience as presented by Thoreau and as practised in the United States. (E-H-Law-P-S)

Noble, David W. "Two Novelists and Progressivism: I, William Dean Howells: The Discovery of Society," *Midwest Quar.*, III (Jan. 1962), 149-62.
"Howells' discovery of society in the years after 1870 may be more complex and more dramatic than we have as yet realized." (H-POL-S)

O'Donnell, Charles. "The Moral Basis of Civilization: Cooper's Home Novels," *Nineteenth Cent. Fiction*, XVII (Dec. 1962), 265-73.
The two should be read as two parts of the same novel since both deal with Cooper's genuine concerns: practical politics and social issues. (POL-S)

Ong, Walter J. "Synchronic Present: The Academic Future of Modern Literature in America," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Summer 1962, Pt. 2), 239-59.
The role of scholarly activity in influencing production is important, and the new academic interest in modern literature provides a hopeful sign. (ED-MC)

Parkinson, Richard N. "Myths, Ancient and Modern," *Antioch Rev.*, XXII (Summer 1962), 147-62.

The part played by American fiction and the press in creating many of the myths about the United States that have wide currency. (MC-F)

Pizer, Donald. "The Concept of Nature in Frank Norris' *The Octopus*," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Spring 1962), 73-80.

Guiding idea of the novel is evolutionary theism rather than Zolaesque Naturalism. (R)

Pommer, Henry F. "The Contents and Basis of Emerson's Belief in Compensation," *PMLA*, LXXVII (June 1962), 248-53.

Emerson uses the doctrine of compensation as a truth of theology, of natural science, of psychology and especially of morals. (P-R)

Popkin, Henry. "American Theatre in Transition," *College Eng.*, XXIII (Apr. 1962), 567-70.

Survey of the American theater in recent years and at the present. ". . . Broadway . . . has surrendered its primary function, that of presenting straight plays." (MC-E)

Putzel, Max. "The Source and the Symbols of Melville's 'Benito Cereno,'" *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (May 1962), 191-206.

Historical, psychological, religious and sociological overtones in the tale, particularly with reference to "the American Revolution of Delano's time and the abolition movement in Melville's." (H-Psy-R-S)

Raleigh, John Henry. "America Revisited," *Partisan Rev.*, XXIX (Summer 1962), 425-36.

Reviews Edmund Wilson's *Patriotic Gore* as a composite of literary criticism and "history-protest-dirge." (H)

Reed, John Q. "Artemus Ward's First Lecture Tour," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Jan. 1963), 571-73.

Reconstructs the dates and itinerary. (H-PA)

Richman, Sidney. "Theodore Dreiser's *The Bulwark*: A Final Resolution," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (May 1962), 229-45.

Dreiser's changing philosophy may be traced from the earliest novels to his last and is particularly clarified by the now available letters and private papers. (H-P-Psy)

Riddel, Joseph N. "Wallace Stevens' 'Visibility of Thought,'" *PMLA*, LXXVII (Sept. 1962), 482-98.

Though Stevens is a religious man, he is also "in the strictest sense an atheist." Consideration of philosophic concepts in the poems. (P-R)

Rubin, Louis. "The South and the Faraway Country," *Va. Quar. Rev.*, XXXVIII (Summer 1962), 444-59.

With the breakup of the Southern order, Southern writers have sought "in their art the moral order . . . no longer present for them in the community itself." (S-R)

Rule, Henry B. "Henry Adams' Attack on Two Heroes of the Old South," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Summer 1962), 174-84.

His treatment of John Smith and John Randolph interpreted as an expression of his hereditary and personal dislike of the slave-owner. (H)

Salomon, Louis B. "The Straight-Cut Ditch: Thoreau on Education," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Spring 1962), 19-36.

Summarizes Thoreau's experiences in teaching and ideas on educational theory, and emphasizes his love of Nature. (ED)

Sanford, Charles L. "Edgar Allan Poe," *Rives*, no. 18 (Spring 1962), 1-9.
Places Poe's work in the context of the Edenic myth. (L-P-Psy)

Schneider, Robert W. "Two Novelists and Progressivism: II, Novelist to a Generation: The American Winston Churchill," *Midwest Quar.*, III (Jan. 1962), 163-79.
Identifies chief ideas in Churchill's novels and accounts for their decline in popularity. (POL-Psy-R-S)

Scott, James F. "Beat Literature and the American Teen Cult," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Summer 1962), 150-60.
The literary failure of the Beats attributed to their failure to outgrow the adolescence which, in other contexts, is exaggeratedly valued by the general culture. (S-MC)

Shear, Walter. "Franklin's Self-Portrait," *Midwest Quar.*, IV (Autumn 1962), 71-86.
Reasons for the classic status of the *Autobiography* despite the sometimes unattractive self-portrait. (H-P-POL-R)

Shiffler, Harrold C. "Religious Opposition to the 18th Century Philadelphia Stage," *Ed. Theatre Jour.*, XIV (Oct. 1962), 215-23.
Documents the sharp conflicts between church and theater in Philadelphia. (R-H-Law)

Simon, John. "Theatre Chronicle," *Hudson Rev.*, XV (Spring 1962), 114-23.
The season's plays of ideas and musicals with critical comments. (MU-MC)

Smith, Henry Nash. "Pudd'nhead Wilson and After," *Mass. Rev.*, III (Winter 1962), 233-53.
Mark Twain's last twenty years as a writer and the course of his disillusionment. (P-Psy)

Solt, Mary Ellen. "William Carlos Williams: Idiom and Structure," *Mass. Rev.*, III (Winter 1962), 304-18.
Williams' preoccupation with the American language and idiom and the "human potential of the culture of the United States." (L-S)

Spence, Hartzell. "The Bent and Blunted Free Lance," *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (Nov. 10, 1962), 63-74.
The diminishing market for free-lance writers. (E-MC)

Stiehl, Harry. "Achievement in American Catholic Poetry," *Ramparts*, I (Nov. 1962), 26-38.
Considers "can modern literature be 'Catholic'" in an examination of the work of Robert Lowell, Allen Tate, Robert Fitzgerald, Brother Antoninus, John Frederick Nims and Dunstan Thompson. (R)

Taylor, William R. "A Journey into the Human Mind: Motivation in Francis Parkman's *La Salle*," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XIX (Apr. 1962), 220-37.
Parkman, writing upon his recovery from a nervous breakdown, portrayed La Salle as he saw himself. (Psy-H)

Thompson, W. R. "The Biblical Sources of Hawthorne's 'Roger Malvin's Burial,'" *PMLA*, LXXVII (Mar. 1962), 92-101.
Hawthorne's "employment of Scripture is extensive, subtle, and an organic aspect of a most complex literary method." (R)

"Thoreau and the Danish Resistance: An Anonymous Memoir," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Autumn 1962), 124-25.
"I lent Thoreau's books to friends, told them about him, and our circle grew. Rail-

roads, bridges, and factories that worked for the Germans were blown up." This sentence, well expressing the impact made by Thoreau in Denmark, was written by a person who had become acquainted during his school days with Thoreau's works. (POL)

Upthans, Willard. "Conscience and Disobedience," *Mass. Rev.*, IV (Autumn 1962), 104-8.

The occasional sight of the Merrimack River and reading *Walden* "made Thoreau an ever-living presence" to one who was jailed for a year because his religious training and beliefs made it impossible for him to become an informer when he encountered legal prosecution. (H-Law-R)

Vanderbilt, Kermit. "Marcia Gaylord's Electra Complex: A Footnote to Sex in Howells," *Amer. Lit.*, XXXIV (Nov. 1962), 365-74.

Examines the heroine of *A Modern Instance* as a study in subconscious infatuation with the father and rejection of the mother. (Psy)

Walker, Robert H. "The Poet and the Rise of the City," *Miss. Vall. Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (June 1962), 85-99.

Late 19th-century American poetry attacked urbanization and sympathized with farmer criticisms by perhaps a four to one margin. (S-H)

Wasserstrom, William. "T. S. Eliot and *The Dial*," *Sewanee Rev.*, LXX (Jan.-Mar. 1962), 81-92.

Traces the decision of *The Dial* to sponsor "The Waste Land" and notes that in American literary history "there is no other instance where a single work by one contributor has determined the worth of a journal which itself helped to shape the life of its time." (H)

Weales, Gerald. "The Video Boys on Broadway," *Antioch Rev.*, XXII (Summer 1962), 209-24.

The relationship between the legitimate theater and the work of TV writers such as Paddy Chayefsky and his fellow dramatists. (MC-E)

Weeks, Robert P. "Fakery in *The Old Man and the Sea*," *College Eng.*, XXIV (Dec. 1962), 188-92.

Contrary to Hemingway's customary accuracy in giving realistic details, the novel contains many scientific inaccuracies. (SC)

Westbrook, Max. "Stephen Crane's Social Ethic," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Winter 1962), 587-96.

Crane's social ethic is based not on impersonal Naturalism but on a universal principle which holds all men responsible for doing the best they can with what they have been given. (P)

Wickes, George. "Henry Miller," *Paris Rev.*, No. 28, 130-59.

In an interview, Miller makes clear the influence of art on his writing and expresses himself on other topics. (A-R-S)

Wister, Fanny Kemble, ed. "Owen Wister Out West," *Midway*, No. 10 (Apr. 1962), 25-49.

Excerpts from Wister's journals and letters provide an understanding of the background for *The Virginian*. (H-S)

Woodward, Robert H. "The Political Background of Harold Frederic's Novel *Seth's Brother's Wife*," *N. Y. Hist.*, XLII (July 1962), 239-48.

The novel was first published in 1887. (POL)

Wright, Louis B. "Huntington and Folger: Book Collectors with a Purpose," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Apr. 1962), 70-74.

Two New York-born financiers who founded great research libraries. (E)

Young, Philip. "The Mother Of Us All: Pocahontas Reconsidered," *Kenyon Rev.*, XXIV (Summer 1961), 391-415.

Traces the history of an American myth through our literature from its beginnings to the present and shows its relationship to analogues in other literatures. (F-Psy-H)

Ziff, Larzer. "A Reading of *Wieland*," *PMLA*, LXXVII (Mar. 1962), 51-57. The importance of the novel lies in its utilization of the psychology of the day, recognition of Calvinistic claims on the American character and awareness of contemporary culture. (Psy-R-S)

MASS CULTURE

Bailyn, Lotte, ed. "The Uses of Television," *Jour. of Social Issues*, XVIII (1962), 1-61.

Seven articles reviewing functions of television. (ED-Lit-MU-POL-S)

Benton, William. "Should We Continue the Cultural Exchange with the USSR?" *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (Oct. 27, 1962), 17-20, 39-40.

Present difficulties and suggestions for improvement. (ED-Lit-MU-E)

Bermel, Albert. "The Future of the Hearst Empire," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (Jan. 1962), 42-48.

Since Hearst's death, the policy has been one of cautions and cutbacks. (E)

Braddy, Haldeen. "Queens of the Bullring," *So. Folklore Quar.*, XXVI (June 1962), 107-21.

A description of the current lady bullfighter fad on the southwestern border of Texas. (F)

Butterfield, Roger. "Pictures in the Papers," *Amer. Heritage*, XIII (June 1962), 32-55, 96-100.

Illustrated brief history of newspaper pictures in the 19th century, related to the journals which employed them. (A-H-Lit)

Cook, Raymond A. "The Man Behind 'The Birth of a Nation,'" *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIX (Oct. 1962), 519-40.

Sets forth critically the background, aims and promotional activities of the reactionary Thomas Dixon, and holds he had an "inimitable flair for capturing the imagination and emotions of a people." (Lit-H)

De Mille, Agnes. "Dance: We Deserve a Fair Showing," *N. Y. Times Mag.* (Sept. 23, 1962), 19, 44, 47.

Deplores the small amount of attention paid to the dance in the United States and presents a case for supporting the whole dramatic endeavor at Lincoln Center. (MU-E)

Epstein, David. "Where Oh Where Can It Be?" *Theatre Arts*, XLVI (Aug. 1962), 21-22, 66, 72-73.

A theater-going musician discusses the season's musicals, accounts for the many failures and concludes that the "American musical comedy with little music and less comedy is increasingly a public joke." (MU-E-Lit)

Ewen, Edward T. "Eh-Wa-au-wau-aaaaow!" *N. Y. Times Mag.* (Sept. 23, 1962), 55, 57.

Reasons why "Tarzan continues to thrive in the age of Project Apollo." (Psy-Lit)

Fischetti, John. "Charles Saxon—Urbanite Cartoonist," *Amer. Rev.*, II (May 1962), 98-107.

Examples of Saxon's cartoons illustrate the techniques of "this social critic par excellence." (A-S)

Ford, Corey. "Durable Den of Wits," *Sat. Eve. Post*, CCXXXV (June 9, 1962), 40, 42, 47, 50.

Account of the Players Club, which for seventy-five years has had as its membership virtually a "Who's Who of the stage and painting and letters." (Lit-A)

Greenfield, Meg. "How We Got Protected from Communist Propaganda," *Reporter*, XXVII (Oct. 25, 1962), 22-25.

Analysis of techniques involved. (POL)

Heckscher, August. "The Nation's Culture: New Age for the Arts," *N. Y. Times Mag.* (Sept. 23, 1962), 15, 39-40.

The Lincoln Center is only one manifestation of the interest in many facets of culture in the United States. (MU-ED-A)

Jovanovich, William. "A Rage to Learn," *Spectator*, no. 7006 (Oct. 5, 1962), 515-16.

Lessons provided by American book-publishing practices. (E-ED-Lit)

Kazan, Elia. "Theatre: New Stages, New Plays, New Actors," *N. Y. Times Mag.* (Sept. 23, 1962), 18, 26, 28-29.

Financial and other plans for making the theater at Lincoln Center successful. (E-Lit)

Kempton, Murray. "Ending in Albany?" *Spectator*, no. 6981 (Apr. 13, 1962), 465-66.

The obscuring of reason and fact by the mass cultural politics of Governor Rockefeller. (POL)

_____. "The Inquest," *Spectator*, no. 6989 (June 8, 1962), 742-43.

The legal exploitation of public naïveté and populistic themes in court battles relating to quasi-legitimate issues appealing to the popular imagination (e.g. Cinderella sues Prince Charming for divorce). (POL)

Kronenberger, Louis. "Scavengers and Scalpels on Broadway," *Theatre Arts*, XLVI (Feb. 1962), 76-77.

Deplorable number of adaptations for mass-media. (Lit)

Lekachman, Robert. "A Dry Eye on the Magazines," *Columbia Univ. Forum*, V (Summer 1962), 4-9.

The quality of many magazines being "as poor as it is," the author cannot feel sympathetic over the increased postal rates. (E-Lit)

Mannes, Marya. "Let's Stop Exalting Jerks," *Sat. Eve. Post*, CCXXXV (Oct. 6, 1962), 10, 14.

"The elevation of jerks to stardom—not only in the books of musicals but in the majority of plays, novels and movies of the last fifteen years—is coincidental only in that it coincides with a breakdown of public morality since World War II. . . ." (Lit-S)

Markel, Lester. "The Real Sins of the Press," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Dec. 1962), 85-94.

The press fails to provide the accurate information vital to a democracy. (POL)

Martin, Nan. "A Two Way River: The Journal of an Actress," *Theatre Arts*, XLVI (Aug. 1962), 6-15, 64-66.

A professional actress discusses the "professional" theater and the need for taking the theater to the colleges and universities and to the people. (ED-Lit)

Mason, Helen S., William White, Rush Greenlee & Wilbur Gaffney. "A Portfolio of Popular Taste," *Prairie Schooner*, XXXVI (Spring 1962), 43-64.

On the end of shock threshing, on American songs and lyrics as viewed in 1897, on

Charles "Bird" Parker and Bop music, on the "Spectrist" literary hoax and its consequences. (MU-Lit)

Maxwell, James A. "Stagestruck Americans," *Sat. Eve. Post*, CCXXXV (Mar. 24, 1962), 42, 45-46. Educational and acting opportunities provided for the amateurs who want to act and to bring the theater to their communities. (ED-Lit)

Morgan, Thomas B. "Elia Kazan's Great Expectations," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Sept. 1962), 66-75. Problems of the new director of the Lincoln Center repertory company. (Lit-E)

Riley, Susan B. "The Hazards of Periodical Publishing in the South during the Nineteenth Century," *Tenn. Hist. Quar.*, XXI (Dec. 1962), 365-76. The reasons Southern editors gave for the short life of these periodicals include the preference of Southerners for Northern magazines, failure of subscribers to make prompt payments, unwillingness of experienced writers to contribute articles. (Lit-H)

Smith, Bernard B. "A New Weapon to Get Better TV," *Harper's*, CCXXV (July 1962), 27-34. Pressure by Newton Minow of FCC may help the television industry to see that it should behave like a public utility (and only thus avoid being treated like one). (POL-E)

Turner, D. T. "Ambivalent Values in Recent Best-Sellers," *Jour. of Human Relations*, X (Winter & Spring 1962), 163-80.

"The American society, the novelists seem to say, reveals beauty, stability, and meaning only to the clear eyes of young children." (Lit-P-S)

Wagner, Philip M. "What Makes a Really Good Newspaper and Why They Are So Rare," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (June 1962), 12, 14, 16, 19-20. Junk news and distraction news are ground out at enormous rates, yet real reporting remains superficial; only the few newspapers with a conscious public philosophy can escape mediocrity. (E-P)

Wakefield, D. "The Final Festivalization of New York City," *Reporter*, XXVII (Sept. 27, 1962), 40-42. No longer fit to live in, the city is being made into one worth visiting. (S-E)

Weisberger, Bernard A. "Legmen, Wits, and Pundits," *Midway* (July 1962), 106-26. Famous writers who were at one time reporters or contributors, effects of wars on journalism, evolution of the press conference and the present state of the press. (Lit-H)

Wertham, Fredric. "The Scientific Study of Mass Media Effects," *Amer. Jour. of Psychiatry*, CXIX (Oct. 1962), 306-11. Current popular assessments of effects of TV violence on children are unscientific and naively approving. (Psy)

Wilkinson, Richard Hill. "Whatever Happened to the Pulps?" *Sat. Rev.* XLV (Feb. 10, 1962), 60-61, 67. Reasons why "pulps" have ceased to be so popular as they once were. (E-Lit)

Williams, Ora. "Newspaper Recollections, 1886-1936," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXVI (Winter 1962), 187-213. Personal anecdotes of Iowa journalism at the end of the 19th century. (H)

Wirsig, Woodrow. "Will the Big Magazines Kill Each Other?" *Harper's*, CCXXIV (May 1962), 73-80. The cure for the ills of big competition lies in more vigorous and imaginative concern for social problems. (E-S)

MUSIC

Frumkin, Robert M. "Negro Music in American Culture: Sociological and Ethnomusicological Interpretations," *Jour. of Human Relations*, X (Summer 1962), 474-78.

Sociological analyses take insufficient account of music's role in Negro acculturation in the U. S. (S-F)

Hatch, Christopher. "Music for America: A Critical Controversy of the 1850s," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Winter 1962), 578-86.

Disputes over the character of the American music to come were conducted in terms of politics or sociology rather than of music. (H-Lit)

Jablonski, Edward. "Through History with Irving Berlin," *Reporter*, XXVII (Oct. 25, 1962), 48, 50.

The contribution made by Irving Berlin to the American theater through his musical comedies. (MC-Lit)

Lomax, Alan. "Song Structure and Sound Structure," *Ethnology*, I (Oct. 1962), 425-51.

Hypothesizes that "music somehow expresses emotion; therefore, when a distinctive and consistent musical style lives in a culture or runs through several cultures, one can posit the existence of a distinctive set of emotional needs or drives that are somehow satisfied or evoked by this music." To discover relationships between musical patterns and socio-psychological traits, music should be studied in its cultural context rather than only as music. (F-Psy-S)

Rubin, Ruth. "Yiddish Folksongs of Immigration and the Melting Pot," *New York Folklore Quarterly*, XVII (Autumn 1961), 173-82.

The songs of European Jews, especially those of Czarist Russia, in the 1880s, depict America as a "land of freedom, equality, security, and opportunity." They also reflect social and technological changes and labor strife encountered by emigrants to the U. S. (F-S)

PHILOSOPHY

Black, Max. "Dewey's Philosophy of Language," *Jour. of Phil.*, LIX (Sept. 13, 1962), 505-23.

A critical analysis of Dewey's view that language is the vehicle for "the emergence of meaning through cooperative activity." (S-ED-L)

Halpern, Martin. "Henry B. Brewster (1850-1908): An Introduction," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Fall 1962), 464-82.

Brewster, an expatriate, in his philosophical writings anticipated many later trends and may have influenced William James. (Lit)

Levi, Albert William. "Peirce and Painting," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, XXIII (Sept. 1962), 23-36.

An application of Peirce's categories to aesthetics with examples drawn from painting and the poetry of Wallace Stevens. (A-Lit)

Myer, Donald Harvey. "Paul Carus and the Religion of Science," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Winter 1962), 597-607.

An unsuccessful turn-of-the-century attempt to synthesize science and religion. (R-SC)

Partridge, P. H. "Politics and Power," *Philosophy*, XXXVIII (Apr. 1963), 117-35.

A discussion of the proper definition of the subject matter of political science. (POL)

Wellman, Carl. "The Ethical Implications of Cultural Relativism," *Jour. of Phil.*, LX (Mar. 28, 1963), 169-84.

Critique of ethical conclusions based on cultural relativism and an attempt to derive some valid conclusions. (S)

White, Morton G. "Reflections on Anti-intellectualism," *Daedalus*, XCI (Summer 1962), 457-68.

American anti-intellectualism is based in large part upon a misconception of the nature of knowledge "which takes feeling as not merely the subject matter of knowledge, but also as one of its sources." (ED-Lit)

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Allen, H. C. "An Even Closer Union," *Spectator*, no. 7006 (Oct. 5, 1962), 474, 476.

The effects of President Kennedy's Fourth of July speech on the development of the Atlantic Partnership. (E-II)

Brier, Warren J. "Political Censorship in the *Oregon Spectator*," *Pac. Hist. Rev.*, XXXI (Aug. 1962), 235-40.

Career of paper which attempted to be official, non-partisan voice of Oregon. (H-MC)

Brittain, Joseph M. "Some Reflections on Negro Suffrage and Politics in Alabama—Past and Present," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVII (Apr. 1962), 127-38.

Reviews situations in which discrimination was used against Negro voters. Ends on a note of optimism about the present picture. (H-S)

Brogan, D. W. "The Catholic Politician," *Atlantic*, CCX (Aug. 1962), 83-89.

In a Protestant America, the Catholic politician has disadvantages, including his dominant Irish background. (R)

Caudill, Harry M. "The Rape of the Appalachians," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Apr. 1962), 37-42.

The search for cheap coal is destroying a large mountain region while TVA plays an ambiguous role. (E)

Charlesworth, James C., ed. "American Foreign Policy Challenged," *Annals of Amer. Acad. of Pol. & Soc. Science*, CCCXLII (July 1962), 1-160. Mid-Africa, Latin America, Russia, the UN, Asia, Western Europe are discussed in symposium of 17 papers. (H-Law-P-S)

Chmaj, Betty E. "Paranoid Patriotism: The Radical Right and the South," *Atlantic*, CCX (Nov. 1962), 91-97.

The ultra Right has "reactivated an entire system of discontents" in the South. (S)

Duscha, Julius. "Your Friendly Finance Company and Its Friends on Capitol Hill," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Oct. 1962), 75-78.

A lobby keeps installment credit interests high while the consumer lacks voice in Congress. (E)

Everett, Robinson O., ed. "The Electoral Process," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, XXVII (Spring 1962), 157-326, and (Summer 1962), 327-536.

Nineteen articles by social scientists, lawyers, elected officials, etc. on the elections in the U. S. (PA-H-E-Law)

Feuer, Lewis S. "American Travellers to the Soviet Union, 1917-32: The Formation of a Component of New Deal Ideology," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Summer 1962), 119-49.

American intellectual and social leaders by 1932 linked the Soviet Union with the concept of pragmatic social experiment under the influence of educators, economists, social workers, labor leaders and engineers who had visited Russia in the twenties.

(E-H)

Galbraith, John Kenneth. "Dissent in a Free Society," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Feb. 1962), 44-48.

Criticism in our open society is a means of social change. (S)

Gordon, William E. "Pains of Democracy in the United States," *Contemporary Rev.*, CCII (Dec. 1962), 299-303.

Fundamental conflicts between the American "cash culture" and democracy in both the past and the present, and the need to resolve them. (H-MC)

Greene, Lee S., ed. "Conservatism, Liberalism, and National Issues," *Annals of Amer. Acad. of Pol. & Soc. Science*, CCCXLIV (Nov. 1962), 1-140.

Labor, federal aid to education, natural resources, religion, racial attitudes, civil rights and foreign affairs are among issues analyzed in 13 articles. (E-ED-R-S-Law)

Gummere, Richard M. "The Classical Ancestry of the United States Constitution," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Spring 1962), 3-18.

Use by the Convention of ancient history and of ideas of Aristotle, Polybius and Cicero. (L-H)

Hacker, Andrew. "When the President Goes to the People," *N. Y. Times Mag.* (June 10, 1962), 13 ff.

Using Wilson and Roosevelt as cases in point, argues that "the way to lead Congress . . . is to go over its head and to build support among the people." (PA-H)

Jones, Victor. "American Local Government in a Changing Federalism," *Amer. Rev.*, II (May 1962), 108-17.

Growing urbanization has led to increased "metropolitanizing" with its concomitants in various areas. (S-E-Law-MC-SC)

Kenyon, Cecilia M. "Republicanism and Radicalism in the American Revolution; An Old-Fashioned Interpretation," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XIX (Apr. 1962), 153-81.

The Revolution began as a conservative protest and, without losing its conservative features, acquired radical aspects with the rise of republicanism, the modification of Locke's philosophy and—most important of all—the emergence of the federal system. (H-P)

Lomax, Louis E. "The Kennedys Move in on Dixie," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (May 1962), 27-33.

By legal action and by education the Kennedy administration is opening the ballot box to hundreds of thousands of Negroes. (Law-ED)

McWilliams, Wilson Carey. "Reinhold Niebuhr: New Orthodoxy for Old Liberalism," *Amer. Pol. Science Rev.*, LVI (Dec. 1962), 874-85.

Although Niebuhr criticizes liberalism, his political teaching "ends with concepts and convictions drawn from the core" of the liberal tradition. (R)

Miller, Helen Hill. "The City Vote and the Rural Monopoly," *Atlantic*, CCX (Oct. 1962), 61-65.

Outdated districting works to the disadvantage of city citizens. (S-Law)

Mitgang, Herbert. "The Downfall of Jimmy Walker," *Atlantic*, CCX (Oct. 1962), 97-116.
Presents the role of Judge Seabury and Governor F. D. Roosevelt in the housecleaning of New York City in the early 1930s. (Law-H)

Phillips, John. "Up in Massachusetts," *Commentary*, XXXIV (Nov. 1962), 431-41.
Analysis and description of Edward Kennedy's campaign. (MC)

Plesur, Milton. "The Republican Congressional Comeback of 1938," *Rev. of Politics*, XXIV (Oct. 1962), 525-62.
Examines factors accounting for resurgence of Republican strength after the Democratic landslide of 1936. (H)

Potter, Allen. "The American Governing Class," *British Jour. of Sociology*, XIII (Dec. 1962), 309-19.
Development since 1939 of an American "Governing Class" based on inherited wealth and Ivy League education, with a discussion of the changes it has brought about in American politics and administration. (H-S)

Ross, Hugh. "Was the Nomination of Wendell Willkie a Political Miracle?" *Ind. Mag. of Hist.*, LVIII (June 1962), 79-100.
Contradicts the myth of Willkie's "dark-horse" candidacy by demonstrating the significant areas of preconvention strength he enjoyed, especially in the East and Middle West. Reveals the skill of Willkie's managers. (H)

Schilling, Warner R. "Scientists, Foreign Policy, and Politics," *Amer. Pol. Sc. Rev.*, LVI (June 1962), 287-300.
Experts create problems in policy making, because political answers are not always the "right" answers. (SC)

Smith, William Raymond. "Presume the Rest: The Conservative Argument?" *Modern Age*, VI (Winter 1961-62), 67-80.
Investigates various forms of American conservatism in relation to several kinds of writing and other aspects of American culture. (MC-Lit-S)

Rowen, Hobart. "Washington's Unseen Powerhouse: David Bell and His Budgeteers," *Harper's*, CCXXV (July 1962), 45-52.
Presidential appointee Bell, as Director of the Bureau of the Budget, wields enormous economic power. (E)

Ulmer, S. Sydney. "Public Office in the Social Background of Supreme Court Justices," *Amer. Jour. of Eco. & Soc.*, XXI (Jan. 1962), 57-68.
The public office backgrounds of United States Supreme Court Justices—by period—1789-1960. (Law-S-H)

Van Dorn, Harold A. "The Image of America: Far Eastern Exposure," *Jour. of Human Relations*, X (Summer 1962), 336-56.
In Japan, the Philippines and Vietnam, and other sections of the Far East, except for Communist China, the image is generally favorable. (ED-S-MC)

White, William S. "Mr. Ribicoff of Welfare Street," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (Jan. 1962), 88-90.
Ribicoff's support of public welfare scores against Rockefeller in advance of Kennedy's 1964 campaign. (S)

Williams, Donald E. "Dawes and the 1924 Republican Vice Presidential Nomination," *Mid-America*, XLIV (No. 1, 1962), 3-18.
Traces the tangled skein of the story behind Dawes' nomination, which contrasted sharply with the smoothly engineered nomination of Coolidge for the Presidency. (H)

Wimer, Kurt. "Can Kennedy Succeed Where Wilson Failed? A Legislative Deadlock," *Contemporary Rev.*, CCII (Nov. 1962), 223-29.

Parallels between the position of Wilson in 1918 and that of President Kennedy at the midterm elections of 1962. (H)

Yamasaki, J. "The Influence of Henry George's Ideas on Modern Japan," *Amer. Jour. of Eco. & Soc.*, XXI (Apr. 1962), 189-202.

Political programs intended to lighten the tax burden of Japanese farmers are linked to George's ideas. (E-S)

PSYCHIATRY & PSYCHOLOGY

Bettelheim, Bruno. "Growing Up Female," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Oct. 1962), 120-28.

A psychoanalyst calls for a revolution in American attitudes toward women, who are now educated for failure. (S)

Braaten, Lief J. & C. Douglas Darling. "Suicidal Tendencies among College Students," *Psychiatric Quar.*, XXXVI (Oct. 1962), 665-92.

Motives and methods analyzed via Minnesota Multiphasic Personality and Mooney Problem Check List. (ED)

Dain, Norman & Eric T. Carlson. "Moral Insanity in the United States 1835-1866," *Amer. Jour. of Psychiatry*, CXVIII (Mar. 1962), 795-801.

New attitudes of psychiatrists in late 18th- and early 19th-century America encouraged emphasis on disorder of emotions rather than of reason, anticipating current legal and social liberality. (P-H-Law)

Duberman, Martin B. "The Abolitionists and Psychology," *Jour. of Negro Hist.*, XLVII (July 1962), 183-91.

Appeal for a re-evaluation of the traditional historical appraisal of the abolitionist by using recent psychological techniques. (H-S)

Finn, David. "Stop Worrying About Your Image," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (June 1962), 76-77, 80-82.

The corporate image—America's form of the personality cult—will neither *make* a business nor *save* it. (E)

Grob, Gerald N. "Samuel B. Woodward and the Practice of Psychiatry in Early Nineteenth Century America," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVI (Sept.-Oct. 1962), 420-43.

The work of the Massachusetts reformer in the care of the insane. (SC-H)

Kornhauser, Arthur. "Toward an Assessment of the Mental Health of Factory Workers: A Detroit Study," *Human Organization*, XXI (Spring 1962), 43-46.

Interview study indicates that unskilled automobile factory workers have poor mental health, which is associated with their jobs, not with other factors. (SC-E)

Lehrman, Nathaniel S. "Anarchy, Dictatorship and Democracy within the Family: A Biosocial Hierarchy," *Psychiatric Quar.*, XXXVI (July 1962), 455-74.

"Political" analysis of roles in family, with cases. (S-POL)

Pfantz, Harold W. "The Image of Alcohol in Popular Fiction: 1900-1904 and 1946-1950," *Quar. Jour. of Studies on Alcohol*, XXXIII (Mar. 1962), 131-46.

References to alcohol in best-sellers of two periods show increase, greater specificity, continuing generally favorable attitude. (Lit)

Pines, Maya. "Training Housewives as Psychotherapists," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (Apr. 1962), 37-42.

An experiment to reduce the cost of psychiatric help.

(ED-S)

Rosen, George. "Psychopathology in the Social Process: Dance Frenzies, Demonic Possession, Revival Movements and Similar So-Called Psychic Epidemics. An Interpretation," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVI (Jan.-Feb. 1962), 13-144.

Explains these phenomena largely in terms of social alienation.

(S-R-H)

Rosenberg, Charles E. "The Place of George M. Beard in Nineteenth-Century Psychiatry," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVI (May-June 1962), 245-59.

Beard had nationalistic and Darwinian views of "nervous exhaustion."

(H)

Sandifer, Myron G. Jr. "Social Psychiatry a Hundred Years Ago," *Amer. Jour. of Psychiatry*, CXVII (Feb. 1962), 749-50.

Cites then prevalent ideas concerning causes and extent of emotional illness.

(S-H)

Schubert, Glendon. "The 1960 Term of the Supreme Court: A Psychological Analysis," *Amer. Pol. Science Rev.*, LVI (Mar. 1962), 90-107.

This term of the Court is used as a multidimensional model to support the conclusion that its theory and application to empirical data could serve as a psychological interpretation of judicial behavior.

(Law-POL-H)

Sexton, Patricia Cayo. "The Auto Assembly Line: An Inside View," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (June 1962), 54-57.

To the assembly line worker the world is so different from that of the white-collar worker that he welcomes the drama of a strike.

(Psy-S-E)

Van den Haag, Ernest. "Love or Marriage?" *Harper's*, CCXXIV (May 1962), 43-47.

A psychiatrist concludes that marriages should not be made for love.

(S)

Ward, Clyde C. "Kilroy Was Here: A Reflection of History in Some Language Fads," *Psychoanalytic Quar.*, XXXI (Jan. 1962), 80-91.

Phrase, suggesting regicide and appearing at demobilization, served as reassurance to soldier at particularly difficult time.

(L-F)

PUBLIC ADDRESS

Barrett, Harold. "Scott of the *Oregonian* vs. William Jennings Bryan," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVIII (Apr. 1962), 169-78.

Considers Editor Harvey L. Scott's criticism "particularly as applied to speeches of William Jennings Bryan" in elections of 1896, 1900 and 1908.

(H)

Bormann, Ernest. "The Southern Senators' Filibuster on Civil Rights: Speechmaking as Parliamentary Strategem," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVII (Spring 1962), 183-94.

Efforts to stall civil rights legislation in 1960.

(H-POL)

Brown, Dorothy M. "Politics of Crisis: The Maryland Elections of 1788-89," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVII (Sept. 1962), 195-209.

Issues, men and methods used in the campaign of Federalists vs. Anti-Federalists. Value of town meetings, political rallies and "touring stump speakers" stressed.

(H-POL)

Cain, Earl. "Obstacles to Early Congressional Reporting," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVII (Spring 1962), 239-47.
 On the inaccuracies which crept into the reporting of speeches. (H)

Garraty, John A. "La Follette: The Promise Unfulfilled," *Amer. Heritage*, XIII (Apr. 1962), 76-79, 84-88.
 Profile and political and rhetorical analysis of the great Progressive. (H-POL)

Hamilton, Marty. "Bull Moose Plays an Encore: Hiram Johnson and the Presidential Campaign of 1932," *Cal. Hist. Soc. Quar.*, XLI (Sept. 1962), 211-21.
 Speaking and politics of Johnson in the campaign. (H-POL)

Highlander, John P. & Lloyd I. Watkins. "A Closer Look at the Great Debates," *Western Speech*, XXVI (Winter 1962), 39-48.
 "The 'Great Debates' of 1960 were better television shows than they were well developed and significant discussions of vital issues. . . ." (H-MC)

Hillbruner, Anthony. "A Night on Bald Mountain or Variations on a Theme by McCarthy," *Today's Speech*, X (Feb. 1962), 1-4, 27.
 Critical assessment of Robert Welch's speech lauding the John Birch Society given at Los Angeles in April 1961. (POL)

Hopkins, Thomas A. "The Speech That Validated the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890: Philander Chase Knox's Address to the Supreme Court," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVIII (Feb. 1962), 51-58.
 Discusses speaking of Knox in Northern Securities Case. (H)

Johannsen, Robert W. "Stephen A. Douglas' New England Campaign 1860," *New Eng. Quar.*, XXXV (June 1962), 162-86.
 The places, audiences, arguments used and reception given to Douglas on his controversial stump tour. (H)

Kearney, Kevin E. "The 1960 Campaign Speaking of Orval E. Faubus," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVII (Winter 1961), 102-9.
 Discusses the Arkansas gubernatorial campaign. (POL)

Kerr, Harry P. "The Election Sermon: Primer for Revolutionaries," *Speech Monographs*, XXIX (Mar. 1962), 13-22.
 Rhetorical analyses of Revolutionary themes of annual sermons popular in America between 1763 and 1783. (H)

Markgraf, Bruce. "John Cage: Ideas and Practices of a Contemporary Speaker," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVIII (Apr. 1962), 128-35.
 Discusses the lecturing of contemporary composer. (MU)

Mele, Joseph C. "Edward Douglas White's Influence on the Louisiana Anti-Lottery Movement," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVIII (Fall 1962), 36-43.
 Considers "the keynote address," delivered May 17, 1890, in New Orleans at anti-lottery rally. (H)

Mondale, Clarence. "Daniel Webster and Technology," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Spring 1962), 37-47.
 Webster's published speeches sketch contemporary public belief. (H-SC)

Montgomery, Horace. "Georgia's Howell Cobb Stumps for James Buchanan in 1856," *Pa. Hist.*, XXIX (Jan. 1962), 40-52.
 The Georgia Unionist's speaking and campaigning in Pennsylvania. (H)

Myers, W. Cameron. "Henry Horner and Richard Finnegan—Footnote to a Friendship," *Jour. of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, LV (Winter 1962), 341-69.

Influence of Finnegan upon the speaking and gubernatorial campaigning of Horner in Illinois in the 30s. (H-POL)

Owsley, Clifford D. "Genesis of the World's Greatest Speech," *Lincoln Herald*, LXIV (Fall 1962), 136-39.

The source of the ideas found in the Gettysburg Address. (H)

Pressley, Thomas J. "Bullets and Ballots: Lincoln and the 'Right of Revolution,'" *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LXVII (Apr. 1962), 647-62.

The "Right of Revolution" in the speeches and actions of the Civil War President. (H)

Rosenberg, Marvin & Dorothy. "The Dirtiest Election," *Amer. Heritage*, XIII (Aug. 1962), 4-9, 97-100.

Oratorical and political machinations in the 1884 Presidential campaigns of Grover Cleveland and James J. Blaine. (H-POL)

Rubin, Bernard. "Propaganda and Ideological Conflicts, 1917-45—III," *Contemporary Rev.*, CCI (Apr. 1962), 183-89.

Use by the United States of propaganda during World War II, and the need for a systematic program of public enlightenment on behalf of democracy. (Psy-H)

Samovar, Larry A. "Ambiguity and Unequivocation in the Kennedy-Nixon Television Debates," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVIII (Oct. 1962), 277-79.

Experimental study to determine whether ambiguous and/or unequivocal statements were made on important issues in television debates. (MC-POL)

Scott, Roy V. "John Patterson Stelle: Agrarian Crusader from Southern Illinois," *Jour. of the Ill. State Hist. Soc.*, LV (Autumn 1962), 229-49.

Stelle's role, as speaker and journalist, in the Grange and Greenback movements. (E-H-MC)

Stelzner, Hermann G. "Speech Criticism by Journalists," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVIII (Fall 1962), 17-26.

"Studies the methods employed by journalists in reporting and evaluating . . . campaign speeches." (MC)

Tanner, Ralph M. "Senator Tom Heflin as Storyteller," *Ala. Rev.*, XV (Jan. 1962), 54-60.

Shows how the speaker's humor contributed to his effectiveness as a speaker. (POL)

Thomas, Gordon L. "John Brown's Courtroom Speech," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVIII (Oct. 1962), 291-96.

Brown's final speech delivered at his trial November 2, 1859. (H)

Thurman, A. L. Jr. "Ratification Speaking in Missouri in 1860," *Mo. Hist. Rev.*, LVI (July 1962), 365-79.

The men and issues involved in the attempts to persuade Missourians to ratify in local meetings the presidential nominees of the national political parties. (H)

Tyson, Raymond L. "The Public Speaking of James Russell Lowell in England," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVIII (Fall 1962), 59-65.

The after dinner speaking of Lowell, 1880-85, while minister to Great Britain. (Lit-H)

Webber, Edith. "Early Fourth of July Celebrations," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXVI (Summer 1962), 374-78.

Revelry and oratory in celebrations from 1839-48. (H-MC)

White, Eugene E. "Solomon Stoddard's Theories of Persuasion," *Speech Monographs*, XXIX (Nov. 1962), 235-59.

"The author attempts to show that in major degree Stoddard's influence depended upon his theories and practice of persuasion." (H-R)

Wicker, Tom. "Kennedy as a Public Speakah," *N. Y. Times Mag.* (Feb. 25, 1962), 14 ff.

A study of his "persuasive technique" by a *Times* reporter. (POL)

Willis, Edgar E. "Little TV Debates in Michigan," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVIII (Feb. 1962), 15-23.

Report of three debates among prominent politicians of Michigan in 1960. (MC-POL)

Williams, Donald E. "Charles G. Dawes: The Conscience of Normalcy," *Speech Monographs*, XXIX (Mar. 1962), 23-31.

This Chicago banker and vice president of the U. S. demonstrated independent thinking through his speeches in the twenties, arguing for "careful and serious inquiry." (H-POL)

Wills, John W. "Abraham Lincoln's Speech Textbooks," *So. Speech Jour.*, XXVII (Spring 1962), 220-25.

On the influence of the textbooks which Lincoln probably studied. (H)

Wilson, John F. "Harding's Rhetoric of Normalcy, 1920-1923," *Quar. Jour. of Speech*, XLVIII (Dec. 1962), 406-11.

"Harding's rhetoric of normalcy . . . was the pliable oratory of a charming man with an unoriginal mind." (H-POL)

RELIGION

Armstrong, Maurice W. "The English Dissenting Deputies and the American Colonists," *Jour. of Presbyterian Hist.*, XL (Mar. 1962), 23-37; (June 1962), 75-91; (Sept. 1962), 144-51.

The work of the Protestant dissenting deputies in behalf of religious liberty in the colonies. (H-POL)

Berthoff, Warner. "Renan on W. E. Channing and American Unitarianism," *New Eng. Quar.*, XXXV (March 1962), 71-92.

The 19th-century French historian appreciated Channing's moralism but criticized his intellectual naïveté. (H-Lit)

Blanchard, Charles. "Religion in Iowa—The Presbyterians," *Annals of Ia.*, XXXVI (Fall 1962), 401-13.

Church organization, rivalries, ministers and members in the 19th century. (H)

Bland, Joan. "The New Dimension in United States Catholic History," *Rec. of Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc. of Philadelphia*, LXXXIII (Mar., June, 1962), 3-9.

"A theoretical basis for Catholic acceptance of the United States Church-State relationship is now finally being worked out." (H-S)

Clebsch, William A. "Stephen Elliott's View of the Civil War," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXI (Mar. 1962), 7-20.

Bishop of Georgia and Presiding Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Confederate States of America interprets South's defeat as a judgment of God which must be accepted with Christian acquiescence. (H)

Clem, Alan L. "The Vestries and Local Government in Colonial Maryland," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXI (Sept. 1962), 219-29.

Colonial vestries, with wide secular as well as religious powers, make an important case study of the development of local self-government in America. (H-POL)

Cross, Robert D. "Catholic Charities," *Atlantic*, CCX (Aug. 1962), 110-14. The nearly unique growth of Catholic charitable institutions in America. (E-S)

_____. "The Changing Image of the City Among American Catholics," *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, XLVIII (Apr. 1962), 33-53.

Generally defensive and defeatist as regards the city's impact upon the church, Catholics have need to develop the church's impact upon the city. (H-S)

Cunningham, Raymond A. "The Emanuel Movement: A Variety of American Religious Experience," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Spring 1692), 48-63.

A pioneer attempt to combine spiritual and psychiatric counseling. (Psy)

Danzig, David. "The Radical Right and the Rise of the Fundamentalist Minority," *Commentary*, XXXIII (Apr. 1962), 291-98.

Protestant fundamentalism as a firm grass-roots base to the radical right. (POL-H)

Fierman, Floyd S. "The Triangle and the Tetragrammaton. A Note on the Cathedral of Santa Fé," *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVII (Oct. 1962), 310-21.

Investigates use of Hebrew inscriptions in Catholic churches and concludes it goes back to European antecedents. Illustrated. (A-H-S)

Handlin, Oscar. "The Church and the Modern City," *Atlantic*, CCX (Aug. 1962), 101-5.

American Catholicism has been and still is rooted in the urban parish. (S)

Handy, Robert T. "Religion in America," *Overseas*, II (Sept. 1962), 36-40. Traces the history and growth of religious sects, accounts for some of the problems which all churches had to confront, and comments on the drive for Christian unity and the revival of interest in religion. (H-S)

Hanley, Thomas O'Brien. "The Emergence of Pluralism in the United States," *Theological Studies*, XXIII (June 1962), 207-32.

Toleration and mutual respect among denominations in post-revolutionary Maryland. (H)

Hansen, Klaus. "The Making of King Strang: A Re-examination," *Mich. Hist.*, XLVI (Sept. 1962), 201-19.

Strang's diary, plus recent work in the eschatology of Joseph Smith, provide new insights into the origin of the Beaver Island monarchy. (H)

Harwood, Thomas. "British Evangelical Abolitionism and American Churches in the 1830's," *Jour. of So. Hist.*, XXVII (Aug. 1962), 285-306. American-aimed remonstrances, deputations, literature and personnel as a positive influence upon the development of antislavery sentiment in the U. S. (H)

Hay, Stephen N. "Rabindranath Tagore in America," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Fall 1962), 439-63.

Despite his varied motives for coming to the U. S. and his shifting opinions of this country, his visits awakened American interest in India and Indian religious ideas. (P-Lit)

Hughes, Msgr. Philip. "The Catholic Pioneers," *Atlantic*, CCX (Aug. 1962), 106-9.

Catholic pioneers in America were always a minority in a Protestant culture. (H)

Jacobs, Hayes B. "Oral Roberts: High Priest of Faith Healing," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (Feb. 1962), 37-43.

The Gospel spellbinder claims to cast out demons but doesn't like the press and doesn't like to talk about the money he collects. (S-MC)

James, Sydney V. "The Impact of the American Revolution on Quakers' Ideas About Their Sect," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XIX (July 1962), 360-82.

The Revolution created problems of conscience for the Quakers and changed them from a sect espousing the principle of separation from society to an active force in social reforms and politics. (H)

Joyce, Jon Loyd. "Effects of the Civil War on the Lutheran Church," *Lutheran Quar.*, XIV (Nov. 1962), 301-14.

The impact of war upon Lutheran synods, schools, publications, congregations and piety. (H)

Lally, Msgr. Francis J. "Points of Abrasion," *Atlantic*, CCX (Aug. 1962), 78-82.

Examines the points of friction between American Catholics and their neighbors, finding them less theological than socio-economic. (S-E)

Lee, Robert. "Religion and Leisure in American Culture," *Theology Today*, XIX (Apr. 1962), 39-58.

Problems arising from the lack of an adequate ethic of leisure and some theological resources which might aid in their solution. (MC)

Nelson, Clyde K. "Russell H. Conwell and the 'Gospel of Wealth,'" *Foundations*, V (Jan. 1962), 39-51.

Although an avowed evangelist of wealth and prosperity, Conwell "became increasingly sensitive in later years to the social demands of progressive Christianity." (H-S)

Raymont, Barbara. "The American Indian in Today's Society," *Jour. of Religious Thought*, XIX (1962-63), 19-33.

With special reference to the Indians' social and economic status, assimilation, religion and hope for the future. (H-S)

Reimers, David M. "Negro Bishops and Diocesan Segregation in the Protestant Episcopal Church: 1870-1954," *Hist. Mag. Protestant Episcopal Church*, XXXI (Sept. 1962), 231-42.

The debate over voting rights in diocesan and general conventions and the attempt to elevate Negroes to the episcopate. (H-S)

_____. "The Race Problem and Presbyterian Union," *Church Hist.*, XXXI (June 1962), 203-15.

Although differences in matters of politics and regional feelings have been influential, disagreements over the status of Negro churches and the race question in general have been most determinative in preventing a northern and southern Presbyterian union. (H-S)

Rutman, Darrett. "God's Bridge Falling Down: 'Another Approach' to New England Puritanism Assayed," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XIX (July 1962), 408-21.

Seeks to refute Edmund Morgan's suggestion that church members under the Halfway Covenant were more scrupulous in religious matters than communicants. The 1630s and 1640s, Rutman maintains, were decades of decline in church membership, congregational purity, social homogeneity and religious education. (H-S)

Schipps, Jan. "Second Class Saints," *Col. Quar.*, X (Autumn 1962), 183-90.

Historical survey of the changing doctrines of the Mormon Church concerning the Negro race concludes that the present official discriminatory attitude, brought into

national prominence by the candidacy of George Romney for the governorship of Michigan, may change as Mormon doctrines have changed in the past. (H)

Seivard, Charles F. "Contemporary Theological Interpretation of the Civil War," *Lutheran Quar.*, XIV (Nov. 1962), 315-19.

Lutheran theologians viewed the war as God's judgment upon the whole nation, but particularly upon the evil ways of the South as Northern victory became more certain. (H)

Smith, Elwyn A. "The Forming of a Modern American Denomination," *Church Hist.*, XXXI (Mar. 1962), 74-99.

Developments within local churches and regional cooperative efforts which led to the organization of the Presbyterian denomination. (H)

Steiner, Bruce E. "The Catholic Bretons of Colonial Virginia," *Va. Mag.*, LXX (Oct. 1962), 387-409.

With political and religious disabilities infrequently enforced, a Catholic family pros-
pers in colonial Virginia. (H-POL)

"The Roman Catholic Church in America," *Atlantic*, CCX (Aug. 1962), 72-127.

Twelve articles on social, educational and political implications. (ED-P-POL-S)

Unger, Irwin. "Money and Morality: The Northern Calvinist Churches and the Reconstruction Financial Question," *Jour. of Presbyterian Hist.*, XL (Mar. 1962), 38-55.

"Hard money" preached as "financial honesty" by a number of influential northern clergy, including Lyman Atwater, Leonard Bacon and A. B. Nettleton. (H-E)

Weigel, Gustave. "The Church and the Public Conscience," *Atlantic*, CCX (Aug. 1962), 116-20.

The Catholic Church "is not the conscience of the American community, though it plays an influential role" in forming such a conscience. (S)

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Bates, Donald G. "The Background to John Young's Thesis on Digestion," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVI (July-Aug. 1962), 341-61.

The sources of an early University of Pennsylvania medical thesis. (H)

Blake, John B. "Mary Gove Nichols, Prophetess of Health," *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, CVI (June 1962), 219-34.

Traces career of health lecturer, physician and author. (H-Lit)

Brooks, Paul & Joseph Foote. "The Disturbing Story of Project Chariot," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (Apr. 1962), 60-67.

The attempt to blast an artificial harbor with atomic bombs has some disturbing social implications. (S-POL)

Cassedy, James H. "The Flamboyant Colonel Waring: An Anti-Contagionist Holds the American Stage in the Age of Pasteur and Koch," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVI (Mar.-Apr. 1962), 163-76.

Waring was a scientific farmer, sanitarian, polemicist and believer that sewer gas and filth cause disease. (H-POL)

Colbert, Edwin D. "Some Victorians and Dinosaurs," *Natural Hist.*, LXXI (Apr. 1962) 49-56.

The work of O. C. Marsh and E. D. Cope in paleontology. (H)

Cushman, Dan. "Monsters of the Judith," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, XII (Oct. 1962), 18-35.

Another example of the scientific feud between the Yale paleontologist O. C. Marsh and his Philadelphia colleague, E. D. Cope, who disputed and fought for vertebrate remains in the Judith River country, Montana territory, in the 1870s and 1880s. (H)

Dillon, Richard S. "Bureaucratic Medicine: A View of the Veterans' Hospitals," *Atlantic*, CCX (Nov. 1962), 75-81.

Charges waste and inefficiency in the government hospitals of the Veterans Administration. (S-E-POL)

Doetsch, Raymond N. "Early American Experiments on 'Spontaneous Generation' by Jeffries Wyman (1814-1874)," *Jour. of Hist. of Medicine*, XVII (July 1962), 325-37.

The work of an early microbiologist. (H)

Ferguson, Eugene S. "On the Origin and Development of American Mechanical 'Know-How,'" *Mid-Continent Amer. Studies Jour.*, III (Fall 1962), 3-16.

Examines the spectacular development of mechanical capabilities of craftsmen between 1800 and 1850 and concludes that European influence had much to do with it. (H-L)

Fox, William L. "'What is Wanting': Dr. Harvey W. Wiley's View of American Medical Education (1874)," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVI (May-June 1962), 268-74.

The father of the Pure Food and Drug Act favored better prerequisites and a longer period of study. (ED-H)

Gaul, R. Wharton. "The Poisonous Beaver of Sick River," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXX (Summer 1962), 263-71.

A doctor attempts to identify the mysterious illness which early 19th-century trappers contracted from eating beaver taken from the Malad Rivers in Idaho and Utah. (H)

Greenberg, D. S. "Science and Foreign Affairs," *Science*, CXXXVIII (Oct. 12, 1962), 122-24.

The use of science attachés in American embassies. (POL)

Hayward, Oliver S. "Nathan Smith's Medical Practice or Dogmatism versus Patient Inquiry," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVI (May-June 1962), 260-67.

Early 19th-century New England innovator in medical treatment. (H)

Heald, Morrell. "Technology in American Culture," *Stetson Univ. Bull.*, LXII (Oct. 1962), 1-18.

"Despite our technological virtuosity and our commitment as a people to a broad sharing of the benefits it makes possible, we have achieved no consensus as to the quality and character of the industrial civilization we want." (H-MC)

Jarcho, Saul, ed. "Obstacles to the Progress of Medicine in Colonial New York: The Letter of Cadwallader Colden to Governor Robert Hunter (1720)," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVI (Sept.-Oct. 1962), 450-61.

Colden advocated government aid for the advancement of medicine. (H)

Jones, Gordon W. "Dr. John Mitchell's Yellow Fever Epidemics," *Va. Mag. Hist. & Biog.*, LXX (Jan. 1962), 43-48.

Not yellow fever, which did not come until the growth of trade in the early national period. (H)

Landing, Benjamin H. "Rollin R. Gregg of Buffalo: A 19th Century Opponent of Pasteur and the Germ Theory of Disease," *Bull. of Hist. of Medicine*, XXXVI (Nov.-Dec. 1962), 524-31.

Ideas of this homeopathic physician. (H)

Price, Don K. "The Scientific Establishment," *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.*, CVI (June 1962), 235-45.

In its support and its role in the government, science has become the American establishment. (POL-H)

Price, Willard. "Henry Hudson's River," *National Geographic*, CXXI (Mar. 1962), 365-403.

A survey of the Hudson, from sea to source, geographically, commercially and culturally. (H-E)

Proctor, Samuel. "The Early Years of the Florida Experiment Station," *Agricultural Hist.*, XXXVI (Oct. 1962), 213-21.

The beginnings of this agricultural research institution. (ED-H)

Purcell, Carroll W. "Tariff and Technology: The Foundation and Development of the American Tin-Plate Industry, 1872-1900," *Technology & Culture*, III (Summer 1962), 267-81.

With tariff protection and using Welsh labor and technology initially, Americans improved productive techniques. (H-E)

Scriven, George B. "Maryland Medicine in the Seventeenth Century," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVII (Mar. 1962), 29-46.

The primitive condition of medical knowledge and practice; a study of doctors, disease, costs and epidemics. (H)

Seaborg, Glenn T. "A Scientific Society—The Beginnings," *Science*, CXXXV (Feb. 16, 1962), 505-9.

The ingestion of science into our society and the problems which it involves. (S-POL)

Sisk, Glenn N. "Diseases in the Alabama Black Belt, 1875-1917," *Ala. Hist. Quar.*, XXIV (Spring 1962), 52-61.

The high incidence of disease, being mysterious and poorly understood, affected morale. (H-F)

Spence, Clark C. "Early Uses of Electricity in American Agriculture," *Technology & Culture*, III (Spring 1962), 142-54.

Emphasizes the slowness with which electricity was adopted. (E-H)

Wik, Reynold M. "Henry Ford's Science and Technology for Rural America," *Technology & Culture*, III (Summer 1962), 247-58.

Relates Ford's role in the development of industrial uses for farm products. (H-E)

SOCIOLOGY & ANTHROPOLOGY

Alexander, Charles C. "Prophet of American Racism: Madison Grant and the Nordic Myth," *Phylon*, XXIII (Spring 1962), 73-90.

The pseudo-scientific racial theories of Madison Grant who "... reflected a tragic disillusionment with the ability of the United States to assimilate vast numbers of ... semi-literate immigrants. . ." (SC-H-P)

Auster, Donald. "A Content Analysis of Business and Labor Sponsored Films," *Social Problems* (Spring 1962), 328-36.

Business sponsored films yield a conception of society which is "geographically limited to the United States; serene and abundant." In labor sponsored films the social world is "larger and more afflicted." (E-ED-MC)

Babchuk, Nicholas & Ralph V. Thompson. "The Voluntary Associations of Negroes," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXVII (Oct. 1962), 647-55.

"Negroes are more likely to be affiliated with formal voluntary associations than whites. . . . Negroes are active in associations because they are not allowed to be active in much of the other organized life of American society." Findings are based on an empirical study of adult Negroes in Lincoln, Nebr. (H-MC)

Baker, Benjamin. "Urban Renewal—Changes in Concept and Design," *Amer. Rev.*, II (May 1962), 57-67.

Federal and legislative efforts to attack urban problems with a view to providing a suitable living environment for every American. (E-Law-POL)

Barzini, Luigi di Jr. "La Mia New York," *Amer. Rev.*, II (May 1962), 11-15. English translation, 16-19.

Two aspects of New York City as seen through the eyes of an immigrant. (A-MC)

Blalock, H. M. "Occupational Discrimination: Some Theoretical Propositions," *Social Problems*, IX (Winter 1962), 240-47.

An analysis of Negro participation in professional baseball yields 13 propositions on the relative access a member of a visible minority has to various occupations. (E-MC)

Bogardus, Emory S. "Sociology of Presidential Press Conferences," *Sociology & Social Research*, XLVI (Jan. 1962), 181-85.

Describes the purposes of this new form of political communication and cites the many problems involved, chief of which is that "The President cannot recall an unfortunate answer made in a live press conference." (MC-POL-PA)

Breed, Warren. "Group Structure and Resistance to Desegregation in the Deep South," *Social Problems*, X (Summer 1962), 84-94.

The non-pluralism of that region's social structure has operated to sustain desegregation. (POL-Law-H)

"Changes in the Family," *International Social Science Jour.*, XIV (1962), 411-552.

Symposium including analyses of historic trends in the American family and comparison of the U. S. family structure with that of Germany and other countries. (H-Psy)

Clement, Rufus E. "Minority Groups in the United States," *Overseas*, II (Sept. 1962), 32-35.

The historical reasons for the existence of minority groups. An important factor in the improvement of their status is their contribution to American life and letters. (Lit-H)

Cohen, Henry. "Jewish Life and Thought in an Academic Community," *Amer. Jew. Archives*, XIV (Nov. 1962), 107-28.

A study of the interaction between Jewish townspeople and Jewish academicians in Champaign-Urbana, Ill. While social pressures and latent faith keep the "town Jew" within the Jewish tradition, the "gown Jew" frequently "has neither traditional belief nor strong social pressure to encourage his identity." (R)

Decter, Midge. "The Young Divorcee," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Oct. 1962), 166-72.

The social and psychological adjustments of the divorcee in a couples' world. (Psy)

De Mott, Benjamin. "The Great Narcotics Muddle," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (Mar. 1962), 46-54.

Criticism of U. S. Narcotics Bureau policy that drug addicts are criminals. (Psy-POL)

De Roos, Robert & Thomas Nebbia. "California's City of the Angels," *National Geographic*, CXXII (Oct. 1962), 451-501.

Illustrated survey of the cultural, economic and intellectual ferment of Los Angeles. (ED-MC-E)

Dienstag, Eleanor Foa. "The New Adults," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (May 1962), 81-85.

"Out of disgust with the past and fear of the future, the new adult generation now seems ready to commit itself (politically)." (POL)

Ehrlich, Howard J. "The Swastika Epidemic of 1959-1960: Anti-Semitism and Community Characteristics," *Social Problems*, IX (Winter 1962), 264-72.

Incidents of aggressive anti-Semitic nature occur mainly in urban areas and the most consistent pattern of association is with crime rate. (Psy)

Glenn, Norval D. "Changes in the American Occupational Structure and Occupational Gains of Negroes During the 1940's," *Social Forces*, XLI (Dec. 1962), 188-95.

"... Negroes made their greatest gains in rapidly expanding occupations, in occupations of intermediate and declining desirability and in occupations much more desirable to Negroes than to whites." (E-H)

Gruen, Victor. "The Suburban Regional Shopping Center and the Urban Core Area," *Amer. Rev.*, II (May 1962), 38-53.

The growth of shopping centers with description of the Mid-town Plaza in Rochester, N. Y. (E-A)

Hatchett, John F. "The Muslim Influence Among American Negroes," *Jour. of Human Relations*, X (Summer 1962), 375-82.

"Elijah Muhammad's version of Islam is taking root." (MC-P-R)

Jordan, Winthrop D. "American Chiaroscuro: The Status and Definition of Mulattoes in the British Colonies," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XIX (Apr. 1962), 183-200.

Explores the reasons for the mulatto's superior position at law in the island colonies, where "the planters were lost . . . in a sea of blacks." By giving mulattoes higher status than Negroes, the planters sought to deny that races had been mixed. (H-Law)

Kennedy, Robert F. "The Baleful Influence of Gambling: From the Two-Dollar Bet to Narcotics," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Apr. 1962), 76-79.

Attacks the evils of great wealth and power held by racketeers as well as the weakening of our respect for law. (E)

Liebler, H. Baxter. "The Social and Cultural Patterns of the Navajo Indians," *Utah Hist. Quar.*, XXX (Fall 1962), 299-325.

Discusses both traditional culture and the effects upon it of missions, schools, technology and other contemporary influences. (R-ED-H)

Meier, August. "Negro Class Structure and Ideology in the Age of Booker T. Washington," *Phylon*, XXIII (Fall 1962), 258-66.

An examination of Washington's self-help doctrine concludes that in the North those members of the Negro elite who depended upon the Negro market supported the doctrine, while those whose base of support rested on services to the white community tended to reject it. (H-E)

Miller, Arthur. "The Bored and the Violent," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Nov. 1962), 50-56.

The playwright explains delinquency in terms of boredom. Society is to blame. (Psy-Lit)

Monahan, Thomas P. "When Married Couples Part: Statistical Trends and Relationships in Divorce," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXVII (Oct. 1962), 625-33.

It is more realistic to use separation dates than divorce dates as indicators of the duration of marriage. The first year is still the most difficult for American families. (Psy)

Monroe, Keith. "The New Gambling King and the Social Scientists," *Harper's*, CCXXIV (Jan. 1962), 35-41.

How William Darrah, America's biggest professional gambler, uses motivational research to pack his casinos. (Psy-MC)

Moses, Robert. "Are Cities Dead?" *Atlantic*, CCIX (Jan. 1962), 55-58. Defends the city against prophets of doom, as the creator of a good life. (MC-E-A)

Murtagh, John M. "The Derelicts of Skid Row," *Atlantic*, CCIX (Mar. 1962), 77-81.

A jurist pleads that our imprisonment of drunken derelicts is primitive and inhumane. (Law)

Parsons, Talcott. "The Aging in American Society," *Law & Contemporary Problems*, XXVII (Winter 1962), 22-35.

One of a symposium considering the aging in various societies. (E-ED-Psy)

Pole, J. R. "Racial Equality by Law: The American Example," *Spectator*, no. 7006 (Oct. 5, 1962), 460.

A British writer analyzes the improvements in the lot of the Negro in the United States. (ED-E-Law)

Powell, Elwin H. "The Evolution of the American City and the Emergence of Anomie: a Culture Case Study of Buffalo, New York, 1810-1910," *British Jour. of Sociology*, XIII (June 1962), 156-68.

The city dissolves the primary group, bringing about isolation and finally disorientation and anomie (or alienation). In the case of Buffalo the development of economic institutions has been the decisive factor in this process. "The social character of the American city—the anomie of the urban way of life—is a product of the spirit of capitalism." (H-E-Psy)

Putney, Snell & Russell Middleton. "Some Factors Associated with Student Acceptance or Rejection of War," *Amer. Soc. Rev.*, XXVII (Oct. 1962), 655-67.

A survey of 1,200 students in 16 colleges and universities across the United States. In general "acceptance of war was found to be positively associated with interest and involvement in modern society, with knowledge and realism concerning nuclear war, and with a sense that war is probable." (H-ED)

Ribicoff, Abraham. "Politics and Social Workers," *Social Work*, VII (Apr. 1962), 3-6.

Urges social workers to take "citizen as well as professional responsibility." (POL-E-ED)

Ross, Malcolm. "North Carolina, Dixie Dynamo," *National Geographic*, CXXI (Feb. 1962), 141-83.

Modern revival credited to research and education. (H-ED-A)

Schnore, Leo F. "Social Problems in an Urban-Industrial Context," *Social Problems*, IX (Winter 1962), 228-40.

"The vast majority of social phenomena identified as problematic are themselves correlates, concomitants or consequences of urban industrialism." Racial, technological, population, organizational and environmental problems are reviewed. (SC-E-POL)

Searles, Ruth & J. Allen Williams Jr. "Negro College Students' Participation in Sit-Ins," *Social Forces*, XL (Mar. 1962), 215-20.

A study of students at three Negro colleges in North Carolina leads to conclusion that "sit-in protests are less indicative of social alienation . . . than of . . . identification with or positive reference to the white middle class." (ED)

Sexton, Patricia Cayo. "Speaking for the Working-Class Wife," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Oct. 1962), 129-33.

A plea for "the most deprived large group in our society." (E)

Silberman, Charles E. "The City and the Negro," *Fortune*, LXV (Mar. 1962), 88-91, 139-46.

It is time we realized that our city problem is really a Negro problem and must be met by strong measures within both the white and Negro communities. (E-ED-POL)

Simms, David McD. "Ethnic Tensions in the 'Inner-city' Church," *Jour. of Negro Ed.*, XXXI (Fall 1962), 448-54.

Dynamics of tension at work within racially changing parishes. (Psy-R)

Smith, Charles U. "Race, Human Relations and the Changing South," *Phylon*, XXIII (Spring 1962), 66-72.

Civil rights militancy is neither cause nor effect of general social unrest in the South. Racial matters should not be dealt with in isolation from other social problems. (H-POL)

Smith, Lillian. "A Strange Kind of Love," *Sat. Rev.*, XLV (Oct. 20, 1962), 18-20, 94.

A Southern novelist analyzes the non-violent philosophy of the Negroes. (P-R)

Still, Bayrd. "The History of the City in American Life," *Amer. Rev.*, II (May 1962), 20-35.

The need to "make certain that all parts of the urban complex are good places not only to visit and work but also to live." (E-H-MC)

Stocking, George W. Jr. "Lamarkianism in American Social Science: 1890-1915," *Jour. of Hist. of Ideas*, XXIII (Apr.-June 1962), 239-56.

Deals with the concept of acquired characteristics in the sociology of L. F. Ward and his contemporaries. (SC-H)

"The American Female," *Harper's*, CCXXV (Oct. 1962), 117-79.

Thirteen articles covering U. S. women's education, buying habits, fertility rates, etc. (E-F-H-MC-P-Psy)

Waskow, Arthur I. "The Shelter-Centered Society," *Scientific American*, CCVI (Mar. 1962), 46-51.

Condensation of report by 8 major social scientists and others on implications of a national civil defense program. (ED-POL-SC)

Wheeler, Wayne. "Frontiers, Americanization, and Romantic Pluralism," *Midcontinent Amer. Studies Jour.*, III (Fall 1962), 27-41.

"At a time when, with the frontier firmly established at home, it has become official United States policy to export it to native peoples around the world, it may be well to attempt to understand some of the consequences of an equalitarian ethic." (H-POL)

Wilson, Richard B. "Public Welfare and the New Frontier: A Shore Dimly Seen," *Social Service Rev.*, XXXVI (Sept. 1962), 253-64.

"An effective remodeling of the welfare system probably will have to await the reconstruction of liberal theory in the U. S." (E-POL)

Woods, Sister Frances Jerome, C. D. P. "The Image of the American Catholic Sociologist," *Amer. Cath. Soc. Rev.*, XXIII (Fall 1962), 195-207.

Analyses of distortion of image of American Catholic sociologists held by Catholics, non-Catholics, other sociologists. (ED-P-F)

Works, Ernest. "Residence in Integrated and Segregated Housing and Improvement in Self-Concepts of Negroes," *Sociology & Social Research*, XLVI (Apr. 1962), 294-301.

An investigation of the hypothesis: Negroes in integrated housing have more positive self-concepts than do Negroes in segregated housing. (Psy)

WRITINGS ON THE THEORY AND TEACHING OF AMERICAN STUDIES

THIS IS THE SIXTH ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY. EACH ENTRY IS LISTED ONCE under its appropriate heading. Though the survey for this bibliography was done as systematically as possible, some items may have been overlooked. These should be brought to the attention of the editor for inclusion in the next annual bibliography. No systematic search was made in newspapers, private university publications or alumni magazines. Some attempt has been made to give an international coverage and to list important books as well as periodical literature.

A special committee of the American Studies Association of New York State has been responsible for the preparation of the bibliography.

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I. THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN STUDIES

Bell, Daniel. *The End of Ideology*, New York: Collier Books, 1961.

A challenging, wide-ranging, quizzical study of changing patterns in the American democracy during the 1950s. Our intellectual scene has been dominated by the exhaustion of ideas and ideologies.

Boorstin, Daniel J. *The Image; or, What Happened to the American Dream*, New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1962.

American society feeds on illusions and Americans live in a world of self-created 'pseudo-events.' Attributes the technological apparatus for creating these illusions to the 19th-century graphic revolution.

Brumm, Ursula. "Fortschrittsglaube und Zivilisationsfeindschaft im amerikanischen Geistesleben des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* (Heidelberg, 1961), 75-88.

Arguing against Henry Steele Commager, the author traces the contemporary American cult of primitivism and the irrational not to decadent European influences, as Commager did in *The American Mind*, but to a long American tradition of hostility toward civilization which conflicted with the dominant 19th-century faith in progress.

Covey, Cyclone. *The American Pilgrimage: The Roots of American History, Religion and Culture*, New York: Collier Books, 1961.

Professor Covey's subject is the reshaping of the American dream by the increasingly secular interpretation of the early colonists' spiritual pilgrimage toward heaven between 1600-1750.

Cunliffe, Marcus. "American Watersheds," *Amer. Quar.*, XIII (Winter 1961), 480-95.

Americans tend to exaggerate the cataclysmic nature of crises in American history. Change is a constant feature of American society. Opposed aspirations represent more the tug between primitivism and progress, wilderness and settlement, simplicity and multiplicity.

_____. "Europe and America: Transatlantic Images," *Encounter*, XVII (Dec. 1961), 19-29.

Europe is beginning to discover the "Real America": The Earthly Paradise and the Land of Cocaigne, the Land of Liberty and the Land of Libertinism, the Land of both Noble Savages and Ignoble Savages.

DeMott, Benjamin. *Hells and Benefits: A Report on American Minds, Matters, and Possibilities*, New York: Basic Books, 1962.

The author's main concern is "with the various roads taken by literate Americans in escaping the risks of setting standards and acting on them." He feels that, within the general pattern of evasiveness, the situation of the university teacher is most promising.

Fishwick, Marshall W. "New Frontiers in American Studies," *Amer. Studies*, VI (Apr. 1963), 1-8.

The consensus of a conference on American Studies sponsored by the Wemyss Foundation and led by Professor Ralph Gabriel was that the chief task of American Studies is to explore, explain and evaluate change.

Kariel, Henry S. "Rebellion and Compulsion: The Dramatic Pattern of American Thought," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV (Winter 1962), 608-12.

A plea for a comprehensive reassessment of our intellectual patrimony in order to appreciate and define the massive social compulsions operating in America and to understand those qualities which give us our distinctive identity. Cites Parrington as an example of the kind of reassessment needed.

Kerr, Walter. *The Decline of Pleasure*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962.

Seven essays of social criticism by a New York drama critic advancing the thesis that most Americans are unhappy half-personalities, corroding under Benthamite doctrines.

Lasky, Melvin J. "America and Europe: Transatlantic Images," *Encounter*, XVIII (Jan. 1962), 66-78.

A review of America's historical love-hate relationship to Europe as a dialectic of thesis, antithesis and synthesis: a partisan and nostalgic pro-Europeanism, a passionate and patriotic pro-Americanism, and, more recently, a cosmopolitan resolution, which is "possibly the finest product of the national genius."

Pearson, Norman Holmes. *The American Writer and the Feeling for Community* (American Studies Inaugural Lecture, University of Alabama, 1962).

Through more than three centuries of American literature the agony of aloneness in American writing is more than balanced by a strong sense of community. An enclosure in the pamphlet describes the new American Studies program at the University of Alabama.

Pierson, George W. "The M Factor in American History," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV, Pt. 2 (Summer 1962), 275-90.

What made and kept Americans different was "first of all the M factor: the factor of movement, migration, mobility. Colonization was one part of it; immigration, another; the westward movement itself was a fraction, but only a fraction, of the whole."

Welter, Rush. *Popular Education and Democratic Thought*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.

Reappraisal of the American belief in education as affecting our ways of visualizing democracy. Belief in universal education has influenced and characterized American political attitudes.

II. COURSES AND PROGRAMS IN AMERICAN STUDIES

Allen, George V. "Books and the American Image," *Atlantic*, CCVII (May 1961), 77-80.

The author, a director of the U.S.I.A. under President Eisenhower, reviews the problems, the setbacks and successes of our overseas libraries, which are "more admired and appreciated by the people who use them, and at the same time are more often attacked, and more bitterly, than any other American installation abroad."

"American Institute in Berlin," *Amer. Studies News*, I (Washington, D. C., Apr. 1963), 1-3.

Ernst Fraenkel outlines his plans for a new, enlarged American Institute, adding sections on American history, geography, economics and civilization to the present area of interest in American literature and intellectual history. With the help of the Ford Foundation, the Institute will become an American Studies research center for all Europe, with 200,000 volumes.

"American Studies at Stetson University," *Stetson Univ. Bull.* (1963). Mimeographed.

Description of the American Studies department at Stetson University in DeLand, Florida. Students begin concentration in sophomore year with course in American Civilization and proceed through a series of core seminars studying such topics as Capitalism and Democracy in Crisis, National Character, etc.

Capps, J. L. & J. R. Kintz. "Advanced English at West Point," *CCC: Jour. of the Conference on College Composition & Communication*, XIV (May 1963), 106-11.

American Civilization is the "basis" for "an advanced freshman composition course entitled 'The Evolution of American Ideals as Reflected in American Literature'" for freshmen whose writing competence warrants advanced standing.

Iverson, Robert W. "American Studies in the Peace Corps," *Amer. Studies*, V (July 1962), 1-3.

Study of America (50 hours) is an important part of Peace Corps training; and the Peace Corps is a significant test of American Studies concepts. The 8-week program consists of: American heritage, political institutions, political practices, social organization, social problems and prospects, economics and character.

Johnson, Walter. *American Studies Abroad: Progress and Difficulties*. Washington: U. S. Department of State, 1963.

This mimeographed report to the U. S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, to be printed later in 1963, is concerned with "the encouragement of American Studies overseas since the beginning of the educational exchange programs under the Department of State." Surveys the accomplishment, 1942-62, and makes specific recommendations.

Ketcham, Ralph L. "An Evaluation of a General Education Course in World Affairs," *Jour. of General Ed.*, XIV (Apr. 1962), 38-44.

The development of the practical question of America in World Affairs for a course in problems of democratic citizenship offered for freshmen in the College of Liberal Arts at the Maxwell School of Syracuse University.

Kildal, Arne. "American Studies in Norway: A Progress Report," *American Scandinavian Rev.*, L (Dec. 1962), 397-401.

The American Institute of the University of Oslo has moved into new, modern quarters which it shares with the British Institute. This occasion was celebrated with an address by Sigmund Skard, who reviewed the great gains of American Studies in Norway since 1948.

Lutzky, Seymour. "Intercultural Understanding Through American Studies," *East-West Center News*, II (Dec. 1962), 7.

Describes both an academic and quasi-academic program on the graduate level which includes courses for Asiatic scholars at Hawaii's American Institute, joint seminars with American grantees and tours of the mainland.

"The New Honours Programme, Department of American Studies, University of Manchester," *British Assoc. for Amer. Studies Newsletter*, No. 6 (Aug. 1962), 11-12. Mimeographed.

A three-year undergraduate program beginning with a broad survey of American literature and history and concluding in the third year with a concentrated study of contemporary problems and a 10,000-15,000-word essay.

"The Program in American Studies at the University of Alabama," an off-print enclosure folded into Norman Holmes Pearson, *The American Writer and the Feeling for Community*.

A new undergraduate major whose concentration in the last two years includes seminars which treat the South in relation to the whole culture and the whole culture in relation to two selected foreign civilizations (one of these Latin American).

Skard, Sigmund. *The American Myth and the European Mind: American Studies in Europe, 1776-1960*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961.

This small volume brings up to date the author's two-volume study of the history and organization of American Studies in European countries and stresses the easier cultural cooperation between the two hemispheres in the future. American Studies have gained a particularly strong foothold in Western Germany and Scandinavia.

III. SUBJECTS AND METHODS OF TEACHING

Cohen, Hennig. "American Studies and American Literature," *College Eng.*, XXIV (Apr. 1963), 550-54.

Observations on the maturity of the American Studies movement, coupled with a plea for treating American literary documents for their cultural as well as their literary value.

Colwell, James L. "The Populist Image of Vernon Louis Parrington," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, XLIX (June 1962), 52-66.

The present image of Parrington's progress from youthful populism to mature liberal agrarianism is questionable. More evidence must be made available to trace the route by which Parrington arrived at his beliefs.

Fishwick, Marshall W. "Are American Historians Losing Ground?" *Amer. Studies*, V (Dec. 1962), 1-3.

The director of the American History-Studies and Research Project of the Wemyss Foundation reports on a conference of historians which focused upon the scholarly position of American studies and history. Suggests that too many historians have withdrawn from contemporary issues and their interpretation.

—. *Sunny Thoughts on the Icy Attitude*, Wemyss Foundation, 1963.

Explanation of the work done under the auspices of the Wemyss Foundation to aid the teaching of U. S. history in secondary schools. Description of the experimental plan now in effect in ten secondary schools to teach American history along the general framework of the Amherst problems series for undergraduate instruction. The Foundation is also providing study grants for secondary school teachers.

Garvan, Anthony. "Historical Depth in Comparative Culture Study," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV, Pt. 2 (Summer 1962), 260-74.

Suggests development of cultural area files containing (1) cultural activities and systematic area concepts; (2) clarity of chronology; (3) language of group under study as evidence; and (4) minimum of researchers' point of view. Cites Human Relations Area Files and Index of American Cultures as examples of attempts to get historical depth in Comparative Culture study.

Grabo, Norman S. "The Veiled Vision: The Role of Aesthetics in Early American Intellectual History," *Wm. & Mary Quar.*, XIX (Oct. 1962), 493-510.

Suggests a theory of art based on Susan Langer's philosophy which may be applied universally to poetic expression; attempts to unite intellectual history with aesthetic values by applying the theory to early American Puritan poets like Taylor, Johnson and Wigglesworth.

Hillbruner, Anthony. "Public Speaking and American Studies," *Today's Speech*, X (Apr. 1962), 9-11.

The specialized discipline of rhetoric and public address, when coupled with the interdisciplinary approach of American Studies, can contribute toward the development of an "American Renaissance Man."

Hollingsworth, J. Rogers. "Consensus and Continuity in Recent American Historical Writing," *So. Atlantic Quar.*, LXI (Winter 1962), 40-50.

Analysis of American historiography of the 1950s, commenting on the works of scholars like Rossiter, Hartz, Boorstin, Hofstadter and Viereck and attempting to show that their emphasis on the unities in American history are in part a reflection of the placid values of the Eisenhower era.

Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien . . ., edited by Ernst Fraenkel, Hans Galinsky, Dietrich Gerhard & H. J. Lang (Heidelberg, 1961).

The annual yearbook of the Germany Society for American Studies. Essays this year, by German and American Fulbright scholars, focus on the theme of racial integration in the American schools.

Kimball, John. "Music and the Teaching of American History," *Social Ed.*, XXVII (Jan. 1963), 23-25.

Explanation of how the use of music in the classroom can enrich the teaching of American history. Includes an extensive listing of songs appropriate to each period of history, books dealing with the general topic and records of American music.

Leipziger-Pearce, Hugo. "The Roots and Directions of Organic Architecture," *Texas Quar.*, V (Spring 1962), 60-84.

Attempt to show how architecture can be made a genuine symbol of a democratic culture. Concentrates on Frank Lloyd Wright's "organic architecture."

Link, Franz H. "Tendenzen in der amerikanischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung der letzten zwanzig Jahre," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* (Heidelberg, 1961), 48-58.

American literary historians during the last 20 years, typified by R. W. B. Lewis in *The American Adam*, have been exploring new philosophical and historical depths in their culture as a source of hope for the future.

McGoldrick, James H. "Using Novels in History Class," *Social Studies*, LIV (Mar. 1963), 95-97.

Explanation of how the use of novels like *The Rise of Silas Lapham* and *1984* can supply imaginative insight into an historical era.

Mangone, Gerard J. "On the Nature of Training for Overseas Service," *Texas Quar.*, V (Spring 1962), 16-22.

Explains the broadening experience and understanding of both American and foreign cultures through increased travel abroad by Americans.

Pearce, Roy Harvey. "Mass Culture/Popular Culture: Notes for a Humanist's Primer," *College Eng.*, XXIII (Mar. 1962), 417-32.

The humanist should study mass media historically, sociologically and formally in an attempt to transform it into a popular culture which will reunite the humanist with the culture of which he is a part.

Powell, Thomas F. "Art and Values," *Eastern Arts Quar.*, I (Jan.-Feb. 1963), 22-27.

Views American art and art education from the vantage point of the historian. Discusses the problem of communicating the subjective values of art to students whose thinking is dominated by the objectivism and utilitarianism of our scientific culture.

Perkins, Dexter, Chairman, John L. Snell, Director, & Committee on Graduate Education of the American Historical Association. *The Education of Historians in the United States*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962.

This study of the historian's education in graduate school is part of the Carnegie Series in American Education. Better stipends and the example of superior teaching and scholarship are the recommended magnets to draw outstanding undergraduates to the academic field of history.

Spiegel, Sydney. "The Lecture Method of Teaching History," *Social Studies*, LIV (Jan. 1963), 9-10.

The lecture method can supply imagination, enthusiasm and the coherent structure of history better than can other teaching methods.

Taylor, William R. *Cavalier and Yankee; The Old South and American National Character*, New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1962.

The dynamics of the mythmaking process, concentrating upon the conditions in America which stimulated the introspection and mythmaking of the Cavalier of the South and its antipode, the money-minded Yankee of the North. Uses fiction and other writings of the three decades preceding the Civil War as source material.

Wales, John N. *Schools of Democracy: An Englishman's Impressions of Secondary Education in the American Middle-West*, East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1962.

Intelligent and critical examination of current American educational aims and achievements today.

IV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carter, Paul J. et al., eds. *Literature and Society* (Bibliography for 1961 and 1962, General Topics VI, Modern Language Association). Mimeo-graphed.

A selective bibliography of books and articles with international coverage which includes many items of interest to American Studies.

Crick, B. R. & Miriam Alman, eds. *Guide to Manuscripts Relating to America in Great Britain and Ireland*, published for the British Association for American Studies by Oxford University Press, 1961.

Locates and describes manuscripts not already included in the well-known guides published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C.

Hale, Richard W. Jr., ed. *Guide to Photocopied Historical Materials in the United States and Canada*, Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1962.

A useful addition to the new guides which help researchers locate duplicated sources when the original documents are not accessible.

Koster, Donald N. *et al.* "Articles in American Studies, 1961," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV, Pt. 2 (Summer 1962), 290-347.

The eighth issue of an annotated interdisciplinary bibliography of current articles in American Studies. Coverage is international, though selective.

Sio, Arnold A. *et al.* "Writings on the Theory and Teaching of American Studies," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV, Pt. 2 (Summer 1962), 356-60.

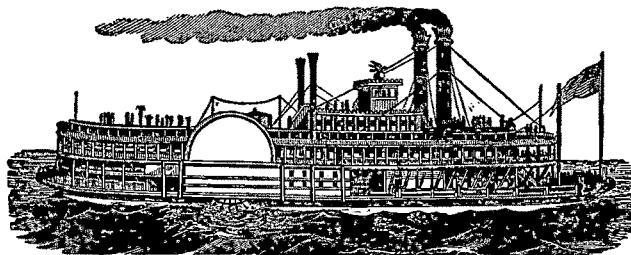
Fifth annual installment of annotated bibliography with international coverage. It lists books and articles on the philosophy of American studies, courses and programs, subjects and methods of teaching, and bibliographical aids for the study of American civilization.

Schiffman, Joseph *et al.* "American Literature, I. General," *PMLA*, LXXVII (May 1962), 213-15.

The sixth annual bibliography with international coverage, of which the above is the section most useful to American Studies scholars. It lists books as well as periodical literature cutting across disciplines.

Wasser, Henry, ed. "American Studies Dissertations in Progress," *Amer. Quar.*, XIV, Pt. 2 (Summer 1962), 348-55.

The seventh annual check list of dissertations in progress in over twenty American colleges and universities.



AMERICAN STUDIES DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS

THE PURPOSE OF THE 1962-63 CHECKLIST, LIKE THAT OF ITS PREDECESSORS for the past six years, is to provide a record of interdisciplinary dissertations-in-progress involving American subjects.

In an attempt to increase its usefulness to readers, the compilers this year have divided the checklist into Doctoral and Masters topics. Each of these groups is subdivided into (1) new listings (topics not previously listed in this checklist, including topics changed); (2) dissertations completed, with the name of the supervisor; (3) topics withdrawn. To facilitate the researcher's perusal of the entire list, we have cut it approximately in half by restricting entries to original listings and to changes in status (completions, withdrawals and substantive changes in title). Only interdisciplinary topics, preferably so indicated in their titles, should be submitted for this selective checklist. Dissertations devoted to American subjects in an individual discipline should be listed in the journal of the appropriate discipline (e.g., *American Literature*).

Additions and corrections will be included in the next checklist if addressed to the compilers.

The Council on Research and Creative Work and the Department of English at the University of Colorado have provided assistance for this checklist.

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PH.D.—NEW LISTINGS

Angel, Donald E. Robert G. Ingersoll, An Intellectual Biography. Denver, Theodore R. Crane.

Baird, Reed M. Richard Maurice Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness: A Study in Intellectual History*. Michigan, Joe Lee Davis.

Barsness, John A. The Breaking of the Myth: A Study of Cultural Implications in the Development of the Western Novel in the Twentieth Century. Minnesota, David W. Noble.

Beck, Robert R. The "Picturesque Wrong" in Novels about Political Problems. Minnesota, J. C. Levenson.

Belcher, Victor. The Development of Political Thought in Virginia 1700-1776. Washington, Max Savelle.

Benson, Norman A. The Itinerant Musician and the Transit of Musical Culture in Eighteenth-Century America. Minnesota, Mary C. Turpie & Johannes Riedel.

Bertelson, David. Ideas of Labor and Society in Colonial South up to Civil War. Harvard, Perry G. E. Miller.

Biddle, E. Randolph. Dreiser: Drama and Theatre. Pennsylvania, Sculley Bradley.

Bingham, Marjorie W. Twentieth-Century American Nature Writing: The Genre and Its Meaning. Minnesota, Clarke A. Chambers.

Blackman, Dora. The Treatment of the Mentally Ill in Early America 1700-1800. Washington, Max Savelle.

Blackman, Joab. Samuel Sewall. Washington, Max Savelle.

Bowditch, James R. American-Japanese Cultural Relations 1850-1900. Harvard, Kenneth S. Lynn.

Bullock, Richard. The Image of the American Colonial Merchant. Minnesota, Charles H. Foster.

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Collins, George W. The United States and the Moroccan Crises 1905-1911. Colorado, Daniel Smith.

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Engebretsen, Leonard. The Americanization of the Clergy in the American Revolution. Washington, Max Savelle.

Filene, Peter. American Attitudes toward the Soviet Union 1920-1939. Harvard.

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Ford, Richard B. The Frontier in South Africa: A Comparative Study of the Turner Thesis. Denver, Harold H. Dunham.

Frazier, Joseph. The Influence of Bolingbroke in the Thinking of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. Washington, Max Savelle.

Frederick, Peter J. The Ethical Influence of Mazzini, Ruskin and Tolstoy on the Awakening of the American Social Conscience 1880-1900. California, Henry F. May.

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Gibb, Hugh R. John B. Jervis, Transportation Pioneer. Cornell, Paul W. Gates.

Giffen, Daniel H. A Study of Financial Architecture in Philadelphia 1795-1930. Pennsylvania, Anthony Garvan.

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Hall, David D. *The Congregational Clergy of New England Prior to the Great Awakening*. Yale, E. S. Morgan.

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Marcell, David W. *Progress and Pragmatism*. Yale, John E. Smith.

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Meyer, Kenneth J. *Class Attitudes in the Earliest American Novels 1789-1820*. Minnesota, Mary C. Turpie.

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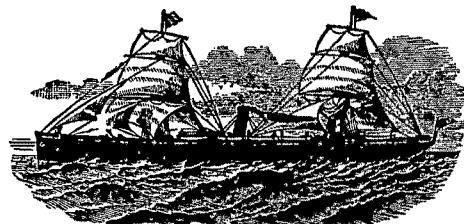
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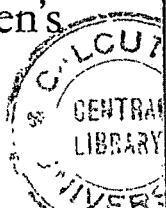
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RICHARD RULAND
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The American Plays of Bertolt Brecht

BERTOLT BRECHT HAS BECOME FASHIONABLE IN AMERICA. HE HAS ALWAYS had his share of supporters, both within and without the academic walls, who have followed the man and his work closely for better than a quarter century. More recent is the fame of the cocktail party variety; Brecht, like Kafka before him, is a name worth dropping these days. The most diligent toiler in Brecht's behalf has been Eric Bentley, whose translations have made possible the persistent appearance of a few Brecht plays on the university stage. His recent collection, *Seven Plays by Bertolt Brecht*, has made available for the first time a fair-sized sample of Brecht's best work, and its appearance has already precipitated several discussions in the popular reviews and quarterlies. Before long Brecht will follow Kafka into the company of European writers whose work has finally caught up with their American reputations.

Once all the plays have become widely available, either through published translation or actual production, most theater-goers will probably be surprised to find how many of Brecht's more than thirty plays make extensive use of this country. For *In the Jungle of Cities* (1921-23) and *The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny* (1927-29), America serves as setting, a boundless, unfamiliar land where anything is possible. Unlike Brecht's Europe, its future stretches before it with promise, and its people, if not already giants, can yet easily be drawn oversized and oversimplified, for their lives and aspirations suffer no limitation. Brecht made somewhat different use of America in later plays. As his concern with evil focused itself on capitalism (he began reading Marx and Lenin in 1926), he came more and more to narrow and simplify his image of America into a symbol for the violence and greed of the commercial classes. What has been in the earlier plays a deliberately undefined and unclarified concept of what America might be becomes a direct attack on what is now a sharply delineated socio-economic system. With *Saint Joan of the Stockyards* (1929-30), *The Seven Deadly Sins of the Petty Bourgeois*

(*Anna Anna*) (c. 1933), and *The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui* (1941), America is equated with capitalism and made to bear an impassioned indictment for all Brecht found awry in his native Germany.

By the time Brecht actually visited this country in 1941 as an exile from Hitler's Reich, he had all but finished his American plays. But in place of first-hand experience he had had what was surely the next most useful thing, a decade in Germany when America's influence dominated everybody and everything, the songs people sang, the dreams they dreamed, even the way they walked and held their shoulders. John Willett's study of Brecht sketches this Germany of the 1920s brilliantly—he sees the spurious Anglo-Saxon mythology that aped America's Jazz Age as possibly linked with the postwar influence of American economic and technical aid. What in Fitzgerald seems arrested adolescence was duplicated in a far more sophisticated Berlin as an exotic fad: Berthold Brecht became "Bert" and Georg Grosz "George"¹; sport, "Virginia" cigars and jazz became necessities of life; and American movies and novels helped people the arts with cowboys and Indians, Chicago mobsters and girls from the Salvation Army. It is this America that forms the backdrop for so much of Brecht's early work. With his extended visit and the commercial failure of *Arturo Ui*, the play he hoped would win him an American audience, Brecht's long preoccupation with this country came to a close, and he never again made use of his grotesque image of America.

This image is indeed a grotesque one, but before examining it in the dramatic works themselves, it may prove fruitful to recall those aspects of Brecht's theatrical technique which value it for its very inaccuracy and distortion. Much has been written about Brecht's insistence on *Verfremdung*, the need to alienate one's audience from the stage action, to drive a wedge between the emotion of the spectator and the emotion projected by the actor. "The audience is summoned," writes Brecht, "to establish its emancipation from the society represented and from the representation itself." Whether any actual audience ever answered this summons and whether Brecht ever succeeded in keeping them objective spectators—puffing their cigarettes in relaxed detachment—is highly unlikely. Brecht's plays are gripping in spite of their author's intention. But the important point here is that Brecht strove for such detachment, hoping to discourage passive identification—to Brecht anti-intellectual and hence subhuman indulgence—and induce forceful social action. Though after *Baal* (1918-23) he rejected the individualist, romantic self-absorption of the Express-

¹ Peter Demetz has seen the subtle implications of Brecht's two name changes. Born Berthold, he dropped the suffix "soft" or "kind." When he later drifted from the mannered Americanism of the 1920s, he rejected Bert for Bertolt, still avoiding the uncongenial suffix.

sionists, Brecht's pursuit of *Verfremdung* resulted in anti-realist dramas, plays which frequently suggest the technique of the German school by making deliberate use of distortion and exaggeration and by shunning the photographic realism of naturalist theater. Brecht's attacks on inhumanity and injustice were prompted by deep dissatisfaction with contemporary Germany, but to achieve what he felt was a necessary freshness and detachment he set his tales in a fantastic Soho, India, China or America. "Incorrectness," he writes,

or considerable improbability even, was hardly or not at all disturbing, so long as the incorrectness had a certain consistency and the improbability remained of a constant kind. All that mattered was the illusion of compelling momentum in the story being told. . . .

An unwary reader or viewer of Brecht's plays might easily be misled by what seems a naïve and ludicrous image of America. It is worth bearing in mind that Brecht, as Francis Fergusson remarked early in 1956, "knows what he is doing as well as any playwright alive."

Brecht's only experiment with "absurd" theater was *In the Jungle of Cities: A Boxing Match Between Two Men in the Giant City of Chicago*. He tells us that at the time the play was written he had become interested in boxing, "one of the great, almost mystical amusements of the gigantic cities across the ocean." The theme of *In the Jungle* is by now a familiar one—modern man's inability to communicate with his fellows. Brecht explores the idea with a "boxing match," a fight without motive, an attempt at psychical encounter to establish contact even at the expense of conflict. "In the end," he concludes, "the fighters themselves saw the fight for what it really was, pure shadow boxing. They could not come to grips even as enemies."

Brecht's heavy debt to Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*—available in German from 1906—is apparent in his very first attempt to use an American setting. The Chicago of *In the Jungle of Cities* is little more than a fresh serving of Upton Sinclair's city, with a heavy seasoning of gangsters and cheap hotels.² Garga, the clerk selected by Shlink—called "The Chief" by hoodlums like Worm and Baboon—as a worthy opponent for him in the contest, looks out his window and comments: "Ninety-five in the shade. Noise from the Milwaukee Bridge. Traffic." Later we learn that the city

² Two other influences on the play's America should be mentioned. Eric Bentley has pointed to the Chicago setting of J. V. Jensen's novel, *The Wheel* (1905); Erwin Piscator felt that Alfons Paquet's play, *Fahnen* (1923-24), had a great impact on Joyce and Dos Passos as well as Brecht. Paquet's sympathetic treatment of the Chicago strike of 1886 probably contributed much to *Saint Joan*.

is windy and apparently near the sea, for "the lobsters are mating" and ships leave the pier regularly for Tahiti. More significant is a simile employed by Garga's mother. "Four years in this city of iron and dirt," she says, "we wait like cattle in the stockyards." Sinclair's novel opens with livestock moving along runways to an inexorable slaughter and pauses to consider the aptness of the picture as an explanation of human existence. It is not an accident that three of the five dramatic works which concern us here are set in the meat packing capital, for Sinclair's metaphor was bound to attract a writer like Brecht who felt that human misery was inevitable in a world dominated by injustice and greed.

Sinclair works his opening figure out in terms of an immigrant family which has come to Chicago seeking employment, only to be ground to pieces bit by bit in the great meat packing machine. Brecht's background for the struggle of Shlink and Garga is similarly, though less completely, drawn. Garga's family has moved to Chicago from the "plains" or "savannas" to the south, but they long for their home in Ohio. "We were driven to the city," Garga says, "but we have the faces of the plains." Garga's sister, Marie, like so many of Sinclair's characters, yearns for the irretrievable past:

Chicago wakes amid the cries of milkmen and the loud rolling of meat wagons. . . . To go away would be good, and the savanna and the asphalt road have something to offer. Now, for instance, a cool wind blows in the savanna, where we were once. I am sure it does.

"Here we are up for auction," Garga says, sleeping "three in a bed beside a burst drainpipe. . . . The windows are shut, for Chicago is cold." In total effect, the city seems to the family a mass of contradictions and impenetrable mysteries:

In such cities you can't see from this house to the next. You don't know what it means to read a particular newspaper.

Or to have to buy a ticket. [i.e. because you can't afford one]

When people have to take these electric streetcars, they perhaps get . . . Stomach cancer.

Without knowing it. Wheat in America grows summer and winter.

But all of a sudden, without anyone telling you, you have no lunch. You walk the streets with your children, who observe the fifth commandment to the letter, and suddenly you're only holding the hand of your son or daughter in yours, while your son and daughter themselves have sunk over their heads in quicksand.

There are those for whom this is too cruel, who go away, perhaps "back to Ohio," but most are trapped and end their days in the city. There are also the few who succeed. Shlink is one of the few successful immigrants;

Garga: Did you inherit this house . . . ?

Shlink: No.

Garga: You worked forty years?

Shlink: With tooth and nail. I only took off four hours for sleep.

Garga: You came here poor?

Shlink: I was seven. I have worked ever since.

Garga has not been equally successful, and as Shlink gains advantage of him in their mysterious match, he thinks of running away to San Francisco, to New York, or to the idyllic tobacco fields of Virginia. "I want you to come south with me," he tells his mother. "I'll work there. I can fell trees. We'll build a log cabin and you'll cook for me." Such a picture is akin to Garga's dream of escape to Tahiti. Eric Bentley feels that Brecht was perhaps not serious in suggesting that the voyage could be made directly from Chicago; it seems more likely to me that the geographical error is a carefully contrived intimation that Garga has as much chance of finding a new life, of escaping from America's machine civilization to a primitivist paradise, as he has of sailing from Chicago to Tahiti. Garga's father makes the same point at the play's close when he calls to his son: "Good-bye, George! Take a good look at New York. You can come back to Chicago when they're at your throat."

In the final scenes of the play Garga sends a letter to the police—referred to throughout as "the Sheriff"—accusing Shlink of rape. The letter is made public, and it raises a howling lynch mob. Taunting Shlink, Garga remarks: "I hear they're hanging yellow men from the Milwaukee Bridge like so much bright colored washing. . . . What screams!" In spite of Shlink's contempt for the authorities—"I . . . could explain many things to the Sheriff as niftily as Standard Oil could explain its tax declaration"—he is forced to flee to the shores of Lake Michigan, for Garga, now playing the able private investigator, has alerted taxi-cabs at every corner to be on the lookout for the fugitive. Hidden in a grove of trees three miles south of Chicago, in an "abandoned railroad workers' tent along the gravel pits of Lake Michigan," Shlink utters the sad burden of the play. "If you stuff a ship with human bodies till it bursts," he tells Garga, "there will still be such loneliness in it that one and all will freeze."

The city of Chicago provides a persuasive setting for Brecht's parable, for its immense size and chilling impersonality give the struggle of Shlink and Garga the very cosmic scope Brecht is after. In *The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny* the target is the baseness to which man's avarice and lust can bring him, and the setting is again the city—always for Brecht the cesspool of human depravity—this time a mythical city in Florida called Mahagonny (Mähägónny), or "the city of nets." Reminiscing some

thirty years after the opera's first performance, Lotte Lenya recalled many of the elements that went into its make-believe picture of America:

All of us were of course fascinated by America, as we knew it from books, movies, popular songs, headlines—this was the America of the garish Twenties, with its Capones, Texas Guinans, Aimee Semple Mac-Phersons, Ponzi—the Florida boom and crash, also a disastrous Florida hurricane—a ghastly photograph, reproduced in every German newspaper, of the murderess Ruth Snyder in the electric chair—Hollywood films about the Wild West and the Yukon—Jack London's adventure novels—Tin Pan Alley songs. . . .

Each of these ingredients plays a part in the fabulous world of Mahagonny. The founders of the city are close kin of Baboon, Worm and the hoodlums, prostitutes and pimps who people most of Brecht's plays. From *A Man's a Man* (1924-25) we meet again the Widow Begbick, the founding mother of the new city of nets. In the earlier play she is a kind of public utility:

In Widow Begbick's travelling bar
You can smoke and sleep and drink for years on end.
From Singapore to Cooch Behar
Begbick's beer wagon's your friend. . . .

With the help of Trinity-Moses, Fatty the Bookkeeper and Jenny the prostitute's six girls, Begbick sets about building a city of sin where she can provide much the same service as before, this time for the newly rich miners taking gold "farther up the coast." The merging of the two coasts persists throughout, but again geography has no effect on accuracy of insight: "You'll get the gold more easily from men than from rivers," Begbick observes; "Therefore let us found a city here . . . like a net which is put out for edible birds." The net will be baited with gin, whiskey, girls and boys, and at its center will stand the "Here-You-May-Do-Anything Inn" (In another version, *Das Hotel zum Reichen Manne*).

The new city is soon operating at full capacity. Jenny and her girls arrive and sing the famous "Alabama Song," a haunting, bluesy foxtrot:

Oh, show us the way to the next whiskey-bar!
Oh, don't ask why, oh, don't ask why!
For we must find the next whiskey-bar
For if we don't find the next whiskey-bar
I tell you, we must die! (3 times)

The same urgency informs the next two verses in which the girls ask the way to "the next pretty boy" and "the next little dollar." Kurt Weill's music underlines the empty desperation of the plaint with a jerkily over-

syncopated imitation of American jazz, matching the girls' hollowness with snare drum, banjo and saxophone. Weill's contribution to Brecht's ironies is nowhere better illustrated than in the song's refrain:

Oh, moon of Alabama
we now must say good-bye
we've lost our good old mamma
and must have whiskey
oh, you know why.

This is the familiar lament of the decadent for the irretrievable past—here less a place than a happy state, if not of innocence then at least of steady employment under "mamma's" wing. Brecht intends criticism of the girls' bathetic self-pity, and Weill comes to his aid with a masterly parody of the popular American love song. In sharp contrast to the syncopated verses, the refrain carries the complaint of the prostitutes in a slow and sentimental dance tempo, brilliantly emphasized by the most saccharine trombone solo I have ever heard.

Foremost of Mahagonny's attractions is love, and Jim, Jake, Bill and Alaska-Wolf-Joe, new arrivals from Jack London's Yukon, are looking for "horse- and woman-flesh, whiskey and poker tables." Jake takes a liking to Jenny, and he and Begbick haggle over her price while Jenny recalls how her mother cautioned her not to sell herself too cheaply. "Jenny Smith from Havana" (another version has "Oklahoma"), she sings, "I was down there in the big cities. I do everything that people ask of me." It is Jim who finally picks Jenny, and their relationship throughout reveals the role that sex plays in the drama. Wavering between lyrical love and a business proposition, their affair is ultimately no more than a temporary commercial arrangement. As Begbick remarks on an early love, "the money is gone and sex went with it." And Fatty adds, "money makes sexiness."

Restraint soon disappears from Mahagonny. Jake eats himself to death, all pretense of affection disappears from lovemaking, and Alaska-Wolf-Joe, representing intellect, guile and cleverness, succumbs to raw brute force in his boxing match with Trinity Moses and dies amid laughter, savage cheering and the noise of a brass band. In a wild drinking scene, Jim is forced to pay the price for his anarchy, for he breaks the only law yet honored in Mahagonny: he fails to pay for his drinks. His friends will not help him, and Jenny shows the quality of her love with a refrain that echoes through much of the opera:

For as you make your bed, so you will lie;
There's no one to cover you there

And if someone's going to kick, it'll be me
 And if someone's getting kicked it'll be you.
 . . . As long as you grow older every day,
 You don't care a rap about love;
 Then you got to make use of the short time that is yours.

As Jim is tied up, Moses announces his crime to the other customers:

Hey there, people, there's a man who cannot pay his bar bill.
 Impertinence, folly, and vice! And the worst thing is: no dough!
 Naturally, this is a hanging crime, but, gentlemen, don't let this interrupt you!

Jim's trial is a savage attack on justice in a commercial society. With Moses, the prosecuting attorney, acting as barker, the spectators pay five dollars for their tickets and file into a tent, where they lounge about reading the newspaper, chewing gum and smoking. In the day's first trial, Tobby Higgins is accused of premeditated murder, but, while Moses delivers a set-speech on the horrors of the crime, Tobby reaches agreement with the judge, Begbick, on the bribe that will free him. When Fatty calls, "Who is the injured party?" Begbick remarks, "If no injured party comes forward, we must perforce acquit him," and the spectators intone, "Dead men tell no tales." Jim is then arraigned and turns to his friend Bill for money to bribe the judge. "Jim," Bill replies, "I feel close to you as a person, but money is something else again." Unable to provide the bribe, Jim is sentenced two days for encouraging Joe to fight to his death, two years' suspension of civil rights for upsetting peace and harmony, four years at hard labor for seducing Jenny, and ten years in the dungeon for singing forbidden songs of joy during a hurricane. "But," adds the Widow,

because you did not pay for my three bottles of whiskey . . .,
 You are sentenced to death, Jimmy Mahoney.
 On account of lack of money, which is the greatest crime
 which exists on the face of the earth. (Wild Applause)

One version of the opera has Jim face the chair of execution—actually on-stage—with understanding of his failure: "The friends I bought were no friends, and Freedom bought for money is no freedom. I ate and was not satisfied, I drank and became thirsty." But sometime after the 1928/29 version appeared, Brecht deleted this to have Jim conclude:

I hope that my horrible death will not deter you from living exactly as it suits you, without worrying. For I too do not regret that I have done whatever I liked.
 . . . You are one with all the beasts and afterwards comes nothing.

Earlier in the opera, we see what happened when God came to Mahagonny and damned its sinners: "All of you, go down to hell! Put you Virginia cigars in your bags!" "On a grey morning," the men of Mahagonny reply,

in the midst of whiskey, you come to Mahagonny.
... In the midst of whiskey you start this fuss in Mahagonny.
... Everybody is going on strike. By our hairs you can't drag us into hell, because we always were in hell. . . .

This is Brecht's view of man, and it is not surprising that he turned to the Florida coast for his Eldorado of depravity. Here is where Ponce de Leon sought the fountain of youth; here is where the jaded pleasure seeker looks for a return of youthful enjoyment by escaping to the simplicity of the tropics. Such simplicity is as unattainable in Mahagonny as it is in Garga's Tahiti. For the sated businessman and the sated culture, the answer is the same: it is only the artificial stimulation of decadence that offers any attraction.

Brecht's drama gains in impact from the music of Kurt Weill. The primitivism of American jazz echoes the pretended simplicity of Mahagonny, but since the simplicity is only pretended, the music, like the pleasure city itself, becomes sophisticated parody. Every ingredient in a Brecht production works independently of every other. Weill's music can frequently be found underlining Brecht's strident lyrics, as in the "Alabama Song," providing saccharine themes for saccharine statement, but just as often it will contribute its share to *Verfremdung* by working artfully in contrast, often supplying religious pomp or sentimental lyricism for brutally harsh and acid dialogue: the music alienates itself and makes comment on the action. But however independent he may be in individual scenes, Weill's total vision consistently re-enforces Brecht's. Taken whole the opera comes much closer to using America as a universe dominated by evil than does *In the Jungle*, and it thus leaves us far better prepared for the virulence of *Saint Joan*, *Seven Sins* and *Arturo Ui*.

Brecht's disillusionment with capitalism and the America it dominated is nowhere better rendered than in "Vanished Glory of New York, the Giant City," a poem he wrote about 1929.

Who among us still remembers
The glory of New York the giant city
In the decade after the Great War?
America: fabulous pond!
God's own country!
... Like everyone's boyhood friend, incapable of change!

Here is the melting pot assimilating all races; here is the Golden Age; here is a people incomparably blessed, who travel "down neverending roads," erect gigantic buildings at unparalleled expense and think poverty a sin.

What self-confidence! What a stimulus!
 The engine-rooms! The biggest in the world!
 Motor factories carried on birth-propaganda, built autos ahead of
 schedule
 For the unborn!

.....

What men! Their boxers the strongest!
 Their inventors the most practical! Their trains the fastest!

This is the America Europe emulated: "We insisted too on full-cut suits of rough material / With padded bulges at the shoulders. . . ." American mannerisms and values, American chewing gum (Beechnut), comic-strip characters (Pokerface) spawned apprentice businessmen and Regular Guys. "Oh, how we aped the glorious race that seemed predestined / To dominate the world by making it march forward!"

But for Brecht and his fellow Europeans there came a time of disenchantment, "for one day there ran through the world a rumor of incredible breakdowns. . . . Now it has got abroad / That these people are bankrupt, / We on the other continents (yes, also bankrupt) / Look on it all quite otherwise [than we did]—we think more acutely." What about the tall buildings? "We look at them more coolly. / What contemptible barns, skyscrapers that yield no rent! / Filled so high with poverty . . . piled to the clouds with debt." And what of those speeding trains? Now people say of the passenger, "*He journeys nowhere / With incomparable speed!*" The promises of the American Dream, like the vaunted machines, "are lying in giant heaps (the biggest in the world) / And rusting / Like those over here (in smaller heaps)," and the people are left "holding tight to their smiles (nothing else!), retired world champions. . . ."

In 1939 Brecht published in *Svendborger Gedichte* a collection of anti-war poems. Beneath a photograph of Winston Churchill decked out with derby, cigar and submachine gun, he announced:

Gang law is something I can understand.
 With man-eaters I've kept up good relations
 I've had the killers feeding from my hand.
 I am the man to save civilization.

Both John Willett and Martin Esslin have studied carefully Brecht's conversion to Communism. "The point of Communism for him," writes Willett, "was not only that it was the one rational force to oppose the rising barbarism which the more moderate parties throughout Europe were then refusing to face; it was that it seemed identifiable with scientific scepticism, with the interests of the dispossessed, with the ways of thought (and art) proper to a highly industrial age."

In Communism Brecht found a logical systemization of his world-view, a convenient ordering of his thoughts that gave him a sense of direction and purpose for his work. Artistically, the conversion could not have been simpler. When Brecht joined the Left, Eric Bentley observes, "all he has to do is rename his jackals Capitalists." Responsibility for the cities, hinted at in *Jungle*, is now clearly linked with industry. In *Saint Joan*, America and its capitalism are no longer peripheral, for the play's very stuff is Chicago, the stockyards and the packers, and its aim is to attack capitalist ethics and their degradation of man. In place of a faraway land where human passions reign untrammelled, America here becomes the center of the capitalist world where all the evils of the system exist in grotesque and exaggerated form. For a Communist these evils find their expression in the class struggle; in his late plays Brecht is a good deal more careful in delineating this struggle than he was earlier. *Mahagonny* portrays a corrupt commercialism, but its sinners come wholly from the laboring classes. Red critics have not been slow to point this out and to damn the play as useless; it has never been performed behind the Iron Curtain. Like many intellectuals, Brecht had little first-hand experience with the proletariat—when workers appear in his plays they are most frequently over-simplified caricatures unlikely to satisfy communist critics or convince anyone else.³ But his goons and vipers make very satisfactory Capitalists, and so he turns Sinclair's Chicago upside down: the dispossessed retreat—not always entirely innocent—into the background, an undifferentiated mass. In their place we find the owners, the manipulators, the giants of industry and those who share their values and ambitions.

The meat kings of *Saint Joan of the Stockyards* bear names like Criddle, Lennox, Slift and Pierpont Mauler, "giant of packers,/Lord of the stockyards." As a result of Mauler's war with Lennox, seventy thousand workers are out of work, work that has won them only a bare subsistence in the first place:

³ The Soviet playwright and novelist, Sergey Tretiakov, once complained that in *The Mother*, "the workers are hard to distinguish from each other; this is a general shortcoming of all Brecht's plays, which shows that he does not know the proletarian milieu intimately (this is a warning to him that he must get to know it so)."

For a long time now this work has made us sick
 The factory our hell and nothing
 But cold Chicago's terrors could
 Keep us here . . .
 By twelve hours' work a man can't even
 Earn a stale loaf and
 The cheapest pair of pants.

They are being treated "like steers," they protest in the familiar Sinclair figure. "Bloody Mauler grips / Our exploiter by the throat and / We are the ones who choke!" The workers' only friends are the Communists, who try to organize a strike which will force the packers to act decently and justly, and the "Black Straw Hats," a group like the Salvation Army which ministers to the poor with sermon, song and soup. Joan Dark, at the head of the Straw Hats, fails to see that her message of patience actually protects the packers from the more violent remedies of the Communists. "In gloomy times of bloody confusion," Joan announces,

Ordered disorder
 Planful wilfulness
 Dehumanized humanity
 When there is no end to the unrest in our cities:
 Into such a world, a world like a slaughterhouse—
 Summoned by rumors of threatening deeds of violence
 To prevent the brute strength of the short-sighted people
 From shattering its own tools and
 Trampling its own bread-basket to pieces—
 We wish to reintroduce
 God.

But God is not what the workers want. In a daring attempt to alleviate their hunger, Joan goes directly to Mauler, who is touched by her innocence. While he negotiates the utter collapse of the packing industry to secure a corner on all available livestock, he gives Joan money for the workers and arranges for her education in the depravity of the poor, hoping thereby to demonstrate the fruitlessness of her mission work. "Man-kind's not ripe for what you have in mind," Mauler tells Joan, "Before the world can change, humanity / Must change its nature." But even after a tour which reveals worker after worker willing to sell his brother for a more secure position, Joan remains sympathetic: "If their wickedness is beyond measure, then / So is their poverty. Not the wickedness of the poor / Have you shown me, but / *The poverty of the poor.*" (As Mack says in *Threepenny Opera*, "First comes the grub, then come the morals.")

Mauler's business maneuvering is more successful. With the help of bribed politicians and mysterious "New York influences" which lurk

behind long scenes of intricate stock market manipulation, he at last holds "the city of Chicago by the throat." For seven days 100,000 workers mill about in the snow and biting wind outside the now-closed packing plants. When Joan decides to join the workers in protest, she asks, "Are there no people here with any enterprise?"

A worker: Yes, the Communists.

Joan: Aren't they people who incite to crime?

The worker: No.

But as the army of police approaches with cannon and machine guns, it becomes apparent that the Communists will precipitate violence. Watching the struggle develop, Joan comes to her first understanding of the capitalism she has been defending:

I see this system and on the surface
It has long been familiar to me, but not
In its inner meaning! Some, a few, sit up above
And many down below and the ones on top
Shout down: "Come on up, then we'll all
Be on top," but if you look closely you'll see
Something hidden between the ones on top and the ones below
That looks like a path but is not a path—
It's a plank and now you can see it quite clearly,
It is a seesaw, this whole system
Is a seesaw, with two ends that depend
On one another, and those on top
Sit up there only because the others sit below,
And only as long as they sit below;
They'd no longer be on top if the others came up,
Leaving their place, so that of course
They want the others to sit down there
For all eternity and never come up.
Besides, there have to be more below than above
Or else the seesaw wouldn't hold. A seesaw, that's what it is.

And since only violence can upset such an arrangement, Joan dissociates herself from the Straw Hats, a convert to atheism well on the way toward communism. As for the Straw Hats, their sellout is now complete: "Just give us a band and some decent soup / . . . and God will settle things / And all of Bolshivism, too, / Will have breathed its last." "And ever 'tis a glorious sight," the packers chant, "When soul and business unite!"

The play ends with one of Brecht's finest ironies. While loudspeakers announce world-wide economic catastrophe: "Pound crashes! . . . Eight million unemployed in U.S.A.! . . . Six million unemployed in Germany!"

Three thousand banks collapse in U. S. A.! . . . Battle between police and unemployed outside Ford factory in Detroit!" Joan is slowly dying of the pneumonia she caught in the yards. But as she tries to make clear her new insight into America's economic system—that "only force helps where force rules"—her failing voice is drowned out by the singing of the newly allied Straw Hats and packers, who hope to capitalize on her sanctity by turning her into the patron of their renewed effort to enslave the workers.

Since the play deals with "Packingtown, . . . the stockyard swamps," it is not surprising that many of its details come directly from Sinclair's novel. There is Gloombs, who has lost his hand in the tin-cutting machine, Luckerniddle, who is inadvertently turned into bacon and whose wife is then told that he has left town for Frisco, and there is the inevitable fertilizer cellar with its bonegrinding machine. Directly from Sinclair also comes the worker who fears losing his house:

How am I to pay for my little house now, the cute damp thing
With twelve of us in it? Seventeen
Installments I've paid and now the last is due:
They'll throw us onto the street and never again
Will we see the trampled ground with the yellowish grass
And never breathe again
The accustomed pestilent air.

Indeed, one has only to turn to Sinclair's *The Jungle* to see that *In the Jungle* and *Saint Joan* share the same Chicago; yet the three works can be distinguished. Brecht's *In the Jungle* is both broader and deeper than Sinclair's novel, for it plumbs the universe within every man; and though *Saint Joan* and *The Jungle* attack the same industry, Sinclair pleads his case simply and directly, while Brecht moves beyond the industry to indict the system which, as he thinks, supports it, edging his barbs consistently with an irony and wit that is wholly foreign to Sinclair's more heavy-handed approach.

The least complex of the Brecht works we are considering is *The Seven Deadly Sins of the Petty Bourgeois (Anna Anna)*. In a simple tale, acted, danced and sung, the Chicago of *Saint Joan* expands to identify the whole country, North and South, East and West, with crassness and vulgarity. Working together for the last time, Brecht and Weill informed their folk tale with biting satire and jazz figures that secure an immediacy of impact beyond the reach of their more subtle efforts.

As the ballet opens, Anna I stands at a blackboard with a pointer to trace the journey she and her sister have taken to earn enough money for a new family home. "My sister is beautiful, I am practical," sings Anna I.

She is a little crazy, but I have a good head.
We are really not two people, but only a single one.
We are both named Anna, we have one past and one future,
one heart and one savings account
Isn't that so, Anna?

And her sister replies, "Yes, Anna." "One of the two Annas is the Manager, the other the artist," notes Brecht; "one is the saleswoman, the other the article sold." The difficulties the sisters will encounter are suggested in the first scene. The family, back in Louisiana behind the framework of a house which rises slowly as the girls surmount the dangers which beset them, sings a pompously moralistic hymn asking God's help for Anna II, who is a bit too easygoing and may lack the diligence necessary to success. After repeatedly intoning the Calvinist dictum, "Idleness is the beginning of all vice," they conclude with a prayer:

The Lord enlighten our children that they may know the Way that
leads to Prosperity.
May he give them the Strength and the Joyfulness that they do not
sin against the Laws which make us rich and happy!

It develops that Anna II's idleness is not the only vice the family has to fear, for each city the girls visit offers its own temptation. Time and again Anna I must rebuke her sister for lack of dedication and purpose. When Anna II substitutes a serious dance for her scheduled strip tease in Memphis, she is accused of pride; when she attacks the ringmaster who mistreats her horse in a "Douglas Fairbanks type film," she is belabored for her anger; and when her dancing is threatened by overeating, she is condemned for gluttony. "They want no hippopotamus in Philadelphia," her sister warns, "they stand by their principle: 110 pounds is what we bought, 110 pounds is her value."

The climax of the girls' adventure occurs in Boston, where they have found a man who "paid well . . . for the sake of love." Anna I does her best to promote this love-bargain so reminiscent of *Mahagonny*, and when her sister falls in love with Fernando, a gigolo, she warns her that "unfaithful, your value is cut in half." Anna II is so incensed at finding her sister and Fernando together discussing the problem that she creates a scene: "She shows her little white behind, worth more than a little factory, shows it free to idlers and guttersnipes. . . ." Love that brings no profit, she is warned, is merely lust.

The final city of the journey is San Francisco, and at last the girls' efforts are crowned with success: the home in Louisiana is complete and their family awaits their return. But Anna II is beset by one more temptation, envy, the seventh deadly sin, whose attraction is suggested by a

powerful march. The "triumph over Self" has taken its toll; she envies whoever is idle, proud and not for sale, "raging at every brutality, giving in to his own desires, . . . loving only the Beloved." Anna I is again equal to the task of controlling her sister. "Eat not and drink not and don't be lazy," she sings, "think of the punishment which is the cost of love! Think what would happen, if you did what you pleased! Youth passes quickly, take no advantage of youth. Sister, believe me, you will see at the end that you will at last emerge in triumph."

These lines of Anna I emphasize the theme of this final scene: The last shall be first. Turning Scripture upside down is one of Brecht's favorite forms of parody. Here he has followed the "Protestant Ethic" to its absurd and unchristian conclusion: in a capitalist society, what makes money is right, all else is vice. The split in Anna-Anna's personality is not an oversimplified opposition of good and bad; but once given the end which the girls pursue, it is only through conquest of much that is fresh and natural—above all, what is human—that the goal can be reached; and the moment the distortion is attributed to capitalist values, the ballet fits nicely into a Marxist schema.

There is little point to the cities named in *Seven Sins*—with the obvious exception of Los Angeles where the film is made—except to make the tale panoramic: seven states and every section of the country help demonstrate how pervasive are the family's values. In *The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui*, our final play, Brecht again utilizes Chicago as an easily controlled microcosm, finding within its limits and those of nearby Cicero all that he hated in the capitalist world. It is true that the play deals primarily with the triumph of fascism and the civic lethargy that makes it possible, but equally significant is the role played by a decadent capitalism in aiding and abetting fascist dominance.

In *Arturo Ui* Brecht seeks *Verfremdung* in two ways: he not only recreates the Chicago of Al Capone and countless gangster movies, but he also underlines his exotic setting by borrowing blank verse, rhymed couplets, soliloquies, even characterization and staging, from the dramas of Shakespeare. The object of Brecht's attack is the recent rise to power of Adolph Hitler, but to achieve freshness and immediacy for his all-too-familiar story, he transforms Hitler into an American gangster, Arturo Ui, *Gangsterchef*, and makes his supporters Italian mobsters: Ernesto Roma (Ernst Röhm), Emanuele Giri (Göring) and Giuseppe Civola (Goebbels). These figures act out a simplified comic allegory of Hitler's rise to power that points the finger of blame at those who could have resisted it.

The play opens with a projection of headlines which tell the story in outline—a kind of Elizabethan dumb show—and with a prologue which

introduces the major figures. Here we first meet Arturo Ui:

The hero of our show . . . king of the rod.
Richard III seems like his next of kin.
. . . The king of murderers he is.

"What you see tonight is nothing new / . . . written only to divert you," we are told. "Europe is witness to the play we show / These gangster characters are men you know. (Sound of machine gun fire. . . .)"

Chicago is suffering an economic crisis. The leaders of the huge cauliflower trust—Flake, Caruther, Butcher, Mulberry and Clark—are meeting to lament the trucks piled high with produce that roll daily into a market where customers buy "half a cabbage and that on credit." Arturo Ui offers to force the purchase of vegetables. "Tommyguns and pineapples," Mulberry remarks. "New merchandising ideas at last . . . a sure way to get new blood in artichokes." A more appealing possibility is supported by Dogsborough (Hindenburgh), the highly respected "chairman of the grand old party." But Dogsborough must be approached carefully, for he is honorable, "pompous as a deacon," and quick to insist, "'Gentlemen, Chicago is no pork barrel.' " "The city / Isn't stone and steel to him or someplace / Where people live and fight for food and rent"

When we meet Arturo Ui and his henchmen we discover that his visit to the trust was an attempt to find work for his organization; his men are getting stale from inactivity, and—even worse—the fickle public is turning to new heroes. Fame is fleeting, Roma observes, and must be won over and over again. "Nineteen years ago," Ui recalls in a delightful parody of the American success story, "just a Bronx boy out of work, I hit this town / And got my start and if I do say it / I've been going places"; from a modest beginning with only seven gunmen, he has risen to the command of thirty. To help him with his plans for the future, Ui hires a destitute Shakespearean actor—"I played Antony in Zenith in 1908"—to teach him to walk, stand, sit and talk in the grand style so he will be able to impress the "little guys" when he moves into politics.

The cauliflower trust succeeds in corrupting Dogsborough and seems well on the way to recovery with public funds, but Ui discovers the arrangement and demands a share of the profits for his "protection": "I'll plug anyone who tries to touch a hair of your white head," he promises Dogsborough. With a murder on the city hall steps and a warehouse destroyed by fire, he convinces the trust that his services are indispensable. What chance the law has of impeding Ui's rise is savagely rendered in the trial of one of his gunmen for the warehouse fire—a trial essentially the same as the one in *Mahagonny*. When Giri establishes as alibi a hike

he took to Cicero, where fifty people recognized him, and his henchman is acquitted because "he isn't the type to set anything on fire, he's a baritone," a drugged lush named Fish is sentenced to fifteen years for the crime. The Counsel for the Defense (Dimitroff), the only honest participant in the mock trial, sounds the play's theme when he pleads for someone to stop Ui's march, but the only fruits of his protest are threats from Ui's hoodlums.

With the treacherous murder of Roma in a kind of St. Valentine's Day massacre, Ui's power is consolidated, and he has the entire city under his control in less than two weeks. Expansion is now in order, and in an effective parody of the garden scene from *Faust*, Ui woos Betty and Ignatius Dullfeet (Dollfuss).

When we next see Betty Dullfeet she is attending her husband's funeral. In a scene recalling *Richard III*, Ui succeeds in winning Betty's consent—not to marriage but to his providing protection for the grocers of Cicero. A few broken windows and damaged supplies convince most of these grocers that they, too, need Ui's organization; they are asked to vote on the issue, for Ui will move by only the most democratic means. One grocer asks if he may abstain and is given permission to leave the meeting, but the ensuing gunfire speedily convinces the rest to support Ui's proposal. Again we hear the lament that someone must stop this gangster, but again no one is willing to assume the responsibility. Fresh from his triumph in Cicero, Ui looks forward to spreading to the major cities of the country and finally coast to coast, "*wherever there are grocers.*" (Italics mine)

In an epilogue, Brecht makes his concern even more explicit, warning: "Don't forget—/ The womb that spawned that thing is fertile yet!" The womb is most obviously indifference, but there is no denying the responsibility of capitalism. Slipping into decay—from the Hegelian point of view—and turning to fascism for support, capitalism and its center of influence, America, is directly responsible for the otherwise resistible rise of Arturo Ui.

The bitterness of these plays is a direct result of America's impact on Europe in the lustrous twenties and empty thirties; it reflects Brecht's disillusion with a Germany dominated by the influence of American capitalism. Like many Europeans, Brecht felt he had been sold out, but it is worth noting that his affection for the American people endured. Reminiscing on the playwright's visit here, Eric Bentley recalls the care with which Brecht distinguished the American people from their system: "Back in East Berlin, he was forever correcting what ignorant Communists would say about America. 'Oh, no, it isn't like that at all,' he'd say, 'everything'

is very, very nice—it's just the Capitalists . . . etc.' In short, he didn't let them believe you see lynchings on every street corner." There is no softening, however, the acid indictment that informs the works we have been considering. This indictment is of course directed at the image Brecht constructed of America, not at America itself. But America is clearly guilty of providing a serviceable substitute for midwar Germany; Brecht's image of America, grotesque as it is, frequently hits a nerve. That the consequent condemnation was a strong one Brecht himself was the first to see. "We knew only too well," he remarked with a rare trace of apology, that

Even the hatred of squalor
Makes the brow grow stern.
Even anger against injustice
Makes the voice grow harsh. Alas, we
Who wished to lay the foundations of kindness
Could not ourselves be kind.⁴

⁴ These lines from "To Posterity" were translated by H. R. Hays. All of the translations used here have been compared with Brecht's German. I have made some changes and additions, but for the most part I have relied on the work of Eric Bentley (*In the Jungle*), Guy Stern (*Mahagonny*), Frank Jones (*Saint Joan* and "Vanished Glory of New York") and H. R. Hays (*Arturo Ui*); I have utilized the unsigned translation which accompanies the Capitol recording of *Seven Sins* in preference to W. H. Auden's freer rendering.



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Women's Clothes and Women's Rights

"YOUR DRESS MOVEMENT INVOLVES THE WHOLE WOMAN'S RIGHTS CAUSE. The woman, whose soul is capable of casting from her person the absurd and degrading dress, in which fashion has bound it, can aid that cause. No other woman can."¹ These words of Gerrit Smith expressed the opinion of the dress reformers of the 1850s, and were to be repeated in various forms during the next half century.

The feminist objections to current styles were based in part on the socially acceptable ground of feminine health. Long skirts swept the ground, collecting the unspeakable filth that lay ankle-deep on contemporary streets; they were voluminous and difficult to handle, and during the Civil War were draped over hoops, with added danger to their wearers and increased discomfort to bystanders. Tightly corseted waists rearranged the vital organs, encouraging the frequent and well-advertised feminine ill health. Lace, ribbons, spangles and other decorations made the well-dressed woman resemble a combination of variety store and Christmas tree. A multitude of petticoats dragged at the waist. Tight garters interrupted the circulation in the legs. Low necks and flimsy shoes invited pneumonia. Not only feminists, but also doctors and educators, deplored fashionable dress, moaning that women were courting sickness and death, and were becoming unable to perform normal housework and to bear healthy children.

A second line of feminist attack was that current feminine clothes incited immorality. A tightly compressed waist emphasized bust and hips. A low-cut bodice and bare arms encouraged male imaginations. Flowing skirts attracted prurient peering as they gave glimpses of white-clad ankles when a woman boarded an omnibus or swung in the waltz, or as they outlined their owner's legs in a stiff breeze, and women's legs were taboo in the nineteenth century. Women's purity would have a better chance of survival if male passions were not aroused, for while

¹ *Sibyl*, I (June 1, 1857), 178.

women were considered innately pure and sexless, they were also felt to be affectionate and desirous of pleasing, and hence possible to be seduced by the passionate and aggressive male. In this point of view the feminists also had considerable support from the conservatives, who had long held women's clothes to be immodest and immoral.

Arguments based on health and purity were approved by most Americans, but then the feminists moved to shakier ground. They speculated that women's clothes were the result of a male conspiracy to make women subservient by cultivating in them a slave psychology. Feminine apparel was designed consciously to hamper women's movements and thus prevent them from earning their livings except through marriage. In Susan B. Anthony's words: "I can see no business avocation, in which woman in her present dress *can possibly* earn *equal wages* with man."² The result was that a woman spent her life first in attracting an economically desirable husband, and then in petting, pampering and flattering him to obtain considerate treatment. In attracting and placating men, asserted Elizabeth Cady Stanton, women realized that "the shortest way to a man's favor is through his passions,"³ and hence arranged their clothes to produce the maximum stimulation of the animal nature of the opposite sex.

Reformed dress would change the whole position of women. Women could earn their own livings and not be forced to marry merely to stay alive. They could pick their husbands, not on the basis of economic prosperity, but according to the traits they desired in the fathers of their children. Male erotic speculations would not be encouraged, and hence naturally chaste women would have more freedom from the demands of coarsely passionate men, both inside and outside of marriage. Both men and women would live "far purer and higher lives,"⁴ and could devote more thought and energy to the improvement of this sinful world.

The first effort of the feminists to put their ideal into practice came in 1851 with the so-called Bloomer costume, which included full Turkish trousers gathered at the ankles, and a short overskirt coming just below the knees.⁵ Presumably it gave greater freedom of movement, with no diminution of modesty. The originator was Elizabeth Smith Miller,

² S. Anthony to G. Smith, December 25, 1855, in Gerrit Smith Collection, Syracuse University.

³ *Sibyl*, I (February 1, 1857), 119-20.

⁴ E. C. Stanton *et al.*, *History of Woman Suffrage* (6 vols.; 1881-1922), I, 841.

⁵ Paul Fatout, "Amelia Bloomer and Bloomerism," *New York Historical Society Quarterly*, VV.VLII (October 1980), 600-70; L. B. Brumich, "The Lily and the Bloomer, *Colophon*, pt. 12, 1932; Betty L. Henshaw, *The Bloomer Costume* (Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 1955); Margaret F. Thorp, *Female Persuasion* (New Haven,

daughter of the eminent reformer Gerrit Smith, who more than any other person developed the philosophy of dress reform.⁶ The name of the new costume came from Amelia Bloomer; short, slender, red-haired and tremendously energetic, she propagandized the reform dress in her little temperance magazine *The Lily*.⁷ Most important of the early advocates was Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who lived near Mrs. Bloomer in Seneca Falls; plump, intelligent, attractive and extroverted, she worked her ideas into the columns of *The Lily* until that paper gave wholehearted support to feminism.⁸ These ladies were all feminists and lived in west central New York in the region of Seneca Falls, where the feminist convention of 1848 had made history.

Other feminists approved dress reform immediately and adopted the new garments, although some of the ladies self-consciously confined their sartorial radicalism to their homes. Among the converts were Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Abby Kelley Foster and Paulina Wright Davis.⁹ On the other hand, such feminists as Caroline Dall, Lucretia Mott and Martha C. Wright found various reasons for not conforming.¹⁰ For example, the elderly and dignified Mrs. Mott, while approving the new costume, could hardly be blamed for not abandoning her Quaker dress in favor of voluminous Turkish trousers.

Popular reaction to Bloomers was mixed. Moderate numbers of wearers were reported throughout New England, in the Middle states, and as far west as Colorado and Wyoming; apparently no Southern lady abandoned

1949), pp. 107-42; Stanton, *Suffrage*, I, 836-44; Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 83-84. Every biography of Mrs. Bloomer, Mrs. Stanton, Mrs. Stone and Miss Anthony has something on the subject.

⁶ Mrs. Bloomer gave specific credit to Mrs. Miller in a letter to the *Sibyl*, I (September 15, 1856), 43. See also the *Lily*, I (December 1, 1849), 94 and III (February 1851), 13; S. J. C. Clarke (Grace Greenwood), *Greenwood Leaves* (1849), p. 364.

⁷ Mrs. Bloomer later stated that she was interested primarily in promoting women's rights (A. Bloomer to C. L. Thiel, January 7, 1852, at New York Historical Society) and not particularly in the Bloomer costume (letter of August 21, 1889 printed in *Ladies' Home Journal*, VII [January 1890], 8).

⁸ The *Lily* began publication January 1, 1849 as "A Monthly Journal Devoted to Temperance." Mrs. Stanton made her first contribution in the fall of 1849, and by January 1852 the paper was "Devoted to the Interests of Women."

⁹ Mrs. Stone reputedly looked quite well in Bloomers (*Arthur's Home Magazine*, III [January 1854], 79). Angelina Grimké always felt the costume to be unattractive, while Sarah Grimké felt herself immodest (C. H. Birney, *The Grimké Sisters* [Boston, 1885], pp. 281-82; *Sibyl*, II [October 1, 1857] 242-43, 246-47). Mrs. Davis wore the costume at home and sometimes for travel (P. W. Davis to E. C. Stanton, July 20, 1851, in Stanton Collection, Library of Congress). Mrs. Foster wore Bloomers only in her home (*Sibyl*, I [February 15, 1857], 125).

¹⁰ Martha C. Wright, sister of Lucretia Mott, favored more practical clothes, but considered the Bloomers unattractive (M. C. Wright to L. Mott, March 14, 1851 and July 30, 1854, in Garrison Papers, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College).

her flowing skirts.¹¹ Many newspapers and magazines approved the idea of reformed dress, although some of these publications considered Bloomers unattractive and favored other ideas.¹² Some of the women's magazines printed patterns for quite elaborate, and even spectacular, Bloomers.

Majority opinion was adverse. Various commentators gibed that women who had formerly only worn the pants of the family while at home were now advertising their proclivities publicly,¹³ while others contended that Bloomers were adopted only by the homely to attract male attention. Conservatives wept at how women lost mystery and attractiveness as they discarded their flowing robes,¹⁴ and moaned that women were desexing themselves, with potentially catastrophic results for the American family and hence for all American civilization.¹⁵ The spectacle of bifurcated garments for women also inspired almost universal craning of necks, surprised whistles and semi-humorous, audible comments which confused and embarrassed the fair reformers. Modern sympathy may well go to the astonished viewer of the extraordinary garment, as when he saw the short, plump Mrs. Stanton in baggy pants, short skirt and large, floppy hat.¹⁶

The Bloomer costume was a failure from the standpoint of the feminists, and hence had only an ephemeral existence of a little over half a

¹¹ Gleason's *Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, I (August 2, 1851), 223; M. C. Wright to D. Wright, October 26, 1856, in Garrison Papers, Sophia Smith Collection; J. M. and M. Turnbull, *American Photographs* (2 vols.; London, 1859), I, 245-46; Ballou's *Pictorial*, IX (September 22, 1855), 189; Mrs. M. D. Colt, *West to Kansas* (Watertown, N. Y., 1862), p. 65; R. F. Burton, *The City of the Saints* (London 1862), pp. 91-92; R. G. Athearn (ed.), "Across the Plains in 1863," *Iowa Journal of History*, XLIX (July 1951), 230; *Sibyl*, III (March 15, 1859), 521-23; *Southern Literary Messenger*, XXIII (August 1856), 134.

¹² Favorable comments appeared in *Arthur's Home Magazine*, I (May 1853), 571; *Illustrated New York News*, I (June 7, 1851), 1; *New York Times*, November 10, 1855, p. 3, and July 8, 1858, p. 4. Other reactions were frequently that the ladies could wear what they pleased, but that the new costume was awkward and not beautiful—*United States Magazine*, V (December 1857), 746-47; *Godey's* as quoted in Henshaw, *Bloomer Costume*, p. 40; *Ladies' Repository*, XII (June 1852), 232-33; *The Illustrated Manners Book* (New York, 1855), p. 33; *Peterson's Magazine*, XX (October 1851), 172 and XX (November 1851), 208. Most news, but no point of view, characterized *Gleason's*, I (May 31, 1851), 79; I (June 14, 1851), 104, 109; I (June 28, 1851), 141; I (August 16, 1851), 255.

¹³ W. H. Milburn, *The Pioneer Preacher* (New York, 1860), p. 42.

¹⁴ J. Todd, *Woman's Rights* (Boston, 1867) pp. 16-17; *The Knickerbocker, or New-York Monthly Magazine*, XL (September 1852), 240-43.

¹⁵ Todd, *Woman's Rights*, pp. 16-17.

¹⁶ Mary S. Bull, "Woman's Rights and Other 'Reforms', in Seneca Falls," *Good Company*, V (1880), 334. Henry Stanton, husband of Elizabeth, took the costume good-humoredly, but must have shocked his wife when he wrote to her that men would probably like the Bloomers because they could then see for themselves whether the legs of potential wives were plump or scrawny—typed copy of letter from H. B. to E. C. Stanton, February 15, 1851, in Stanton Collection.

dozen years. Not only was the reformer subject to the stares and cutting remarks of "coarse brutal man,"¹⁷ but even her friends and relatives were unhappy. Mrs. Stanton's son pleaded with his mother to wear long skirts when she visited him.¹⁸ Mrs. Stone found Mrs. Mott's daughters unwilling to appear with her on the street.¹⁹ Mrs. Davis foresaw that the Bloomers would "crucify me ere my hour had come."²⁰ Possibly in the long run Bloomers would have increased feminine opportunities by providing more physical freedom, but the immediate effect was far otherwise. The audience at a women's rights convention might devote more attention to the costumes of the speakers than to their messages.²¹ Opponents were able to document their frequent charge that women were trying to become men.

The sad experiences of the feminists with Bloomers led to the rapid abandonment of the new costume. Miss Anthony came home many days in tears, and Mrs. Stanton advised her to let down her dress—"The cup of ridicule is greater than you can bear."²² Miss Anthony, however, stuck to her principles for another year. Mrs. Stanton first reacted to criticism with increased resolution to continue the costume, but soon decided that she had been a martyr long enough, and quietly lengthened her skirts.²³ Mrs. Miller held out a little longer because of pressure from her father.²⁴ Even Mrs. Bloomer finally deserted the cause in 1859, and by that year *Ballou's* commented that Bloomerism was dead except for a few strong-minded females in the rural areas.²⁵

The last-ditch fight for dress reform was waged by Lydia Sayer through the medium of her magazine *The Sibyl*, which she founded at Middletown, New York, in 1856.²⁶ Her experience was frustrating, for every year she found support slipping away from this reform which she was sure was basic for the advance of women's rights. Her hardest blows came when leading feminists deserted the cause. She castigated each such

¹⁷ Quoted in Ida H. Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (3 vols.; Indianapolis, 1898-1900), I, 116.

¹⁸ T. Stanton and H. S. Blatch, eds. *Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (2 vols.; New York, 1922), II, 35-36.

¹⁹ Harper, *Susan B. Anthony*, I, 115-16.

²⁰ P. W. Davis to E. C. Stanton, July 20, 1851, Stanton Collection.

²¹ Feminist meetings tended to attract idlers and rowdies who seized every opportunity to disturb the proceedings.

²² Typed copy of letter from E. C. Stanton to S. B. Anthony, February 19, 1854, in Stanton Collection.

²³ M. C. Wright to L. Mott, 1854 (?) in Garrison Letters, Sophia Smith Collection.

²⁴ S. Grimké to E. C. Stanton, March 29, 1856, in Stanton Collection.

²⁵ *Ballou's*, XVI (March 12, 1859), 171.

²⁶ *The Sibyl: A Review of The Tastes, Errors, and Fashions of Society, Devoted to Dress Reform*. I, No. 1 (July 1, 1856).

traitor, and blamed her defection—incorrectly—on the tyranny of a slave-driving husband.²⁷ Ultimately her paper faded into an untimely grave (1864), and she switched her dominant enthusiasm to hydropathy. When Miss Sayer relaxed her suspicions of all men sufficiently to get married, she naturally was resplendent in a bridal gown of white Bloomers. In fact she continued true to her sartorial principles and wore the reformed costume (usually slacks and overskirt) until her death in 1910.

Dress reform was comatose during the Civil War, but revived vigorously by the early 1870s. By this time the feminists had two national organizations. The National Woman Suffrage Association, headed by Mrs. Stanton, published the short-lived *The Revolution*. The American Woman Suffrage Association, dominated by Mrs. Lucy Stone (her usual designation after her marriage) published the long-lived *The Woman's Journal*. Both publications gave considerable space to dress reform, although neither risked its prestige by supporting a particular costume.

During the same period the modern women's club movement came into existence with pioneer organizations in New York and Boston. Both had feminist leanings. The New York group, calling itself Sorosis, originated in 1869 as a protest by women to their exclusion from a dinner in honor of Charles Dickens.²⁸ Its members were business and professional women, who naturally were interested in greater opportunities for their sex. The club supported dress reform by a sweeping resolution, but the resolution had so many loopholes that even the most conscientious club member could find justification for dressing as she pleased.²⁹

The New England Woman's Club was even more feministically inclined. It was formed at the home of Dr. Harriet Hunt, and had for its president another outstanding believer in women's rights, Caroline Severance.³⁰ It embraced dress reform with great enthusiasm, although its interest was more in underwear than in outer garments. A committee investigated,³¹ and finally held a public meeting to air the ideas it had gathered.³² Possibly because reporters were excluded, the shocking rumor was

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I (January 1, 1857), 100.

²⁸ Godey's, LXXVII (August 1868), 159. See also Mrs. J. C. Croly, *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America* (New York, 1898), 15-34; Margaret M. Merrill, "Sorosis," *Cosmopolitan*, XV (June 1893), 153-58; E. R. Groves, *The American Woman* (New York, 1944), p. 255.

²⁹ *Woman's Journal*, IV (July 5, 1873), 212.

³⁰ Croly, *Woman's Club Movement*, pp. 35-53; Stanton, *Suffrage*, III, 304; L. E. Richards and M. H. Elliot, *Julia Ward Howe* (2 vols.; Boston, 1915), I, 291.

³¹ The committee had as its chairman the energetic Mrs. Abba G. Woodson, who had just published *Woman in American Society* (1873).

³² *Boston Globe*, quoted in *Woman's Journal*, V (June 27, 1874), 210; Croly, *Woman's Club*, p. 41. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, XXXVIII (June 20, 1874), 225, 229. Mrs. Woolson reported on the meeting in *Woman's Journal*, V (July 25, 1874), 236-37.

circulated that the new underwear was to be displayed on living models—a possibility that was rejected indignantly by the horrified ladies. Dolls were used to demonstrate various garments, including a well-received "chemiloon," which was a combination of chemise and drawers. A fashionable Boston dressmaker was cheered when she announced that for many years she had not only worn the underclothes she was displaying, but had also eschewed corsets.

The New England Woman's Club went the final step of opening a store to give advice, demonstrate various garments, provide patterns and take orders. It not only favored such undergarments as the "chemiloon," but urged the abandonment of corsets, the simplifying of dresses, the shortening of skirts and the hanging of everything from the shoulders; even stockings were to be attached to suspenders. This propaganda must have been at least moderately effective, because soon the reformed garments were being produced commercially. Advertisements in *The Woman's Journal* were often placed alongside the offerings of such other feminine necessities as Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound.³³

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century most feminists supported dress reform with arguments that were now hoary with age. Traditional dress, they said, was that of the female slave who served and pampered her male master, and who catered to his sensual grossness by titillating his passions. Only with rational dress could pure womanhood free herself from thralldom, attain health and vigor and compete equally with men in all activities.

The more radical of the women wrote diatribes against skirts, holding them to be not only hampering, but also immoral. Consider, they said, a low-minded man ascending a staircase behind a young lady dressed in flowing skirts that swung revealingly with each step.³⁴ Mrs. Stanton pointed out that criminal attacks would be much more difficult if the girls wore trousers or bloomers.³⁵ The reformers argued that petticoats were not necessary for the preservation of femininity, that men would not be surprised nor their morals impaired if women admitted they had legs, and that there was no valid biological reason why men and women should not wear similar clothes.³⁶ Charlotte Perkins Stetson, who was

and V (August 1, 1874), 224; she edited the lectures of the meeting under the title of *Dress-reform* (1874).

³³ A. G. Woolson in *Woman's Journal*, V (October 10, 1874), 323; Woolson, *Dress-reform, passim.*; examples of advertising include *Woman's Journal*, VII (February 26, 1876), 71; VII (March 25, 1876), 103; XI (August 19, 1880), 199; XVII (January 2, 1886), 8.

³⁴ H. M. H. D. in *Revolution*, I (April 23, 1868), 244-45.

³⁵ E. C. S. in *Revolution*, IV (July 22, 1869), 41.

³⁶ *Woman's Journal*, XVIII (August 6, 1887), 250 and XIX (October 13, 1888), 324.

the oracle of the more radical feminists near the turn of the century, contended sweepingly that all clothes were provocative, and that nudity would encourage higher morality.³⁷

The practical proposals emerging from such theories tended to be anti-climactical. Not only did no woman propose nudity seriously, but the actual suggestions showed little imagination. Most extreme were flesh colored tights³⁸ or a revival of the ancient Greek costume.³⁹ A representative of the National Dress Association of England appeared in 1884 to urge the advantages of a loose-flowing vest and basque, and of a short, draped skirt covering trousers of the same material, but she apparently made little impression.⁴⁰ The usual proposal was to revive the Bloomer, with sometimes the substitution of trousers, but always with an overskirt.⁴¹

The most obvious solution of the dress problem was for women to adopt men's clothes, and some of the ladies took this final step in spite of the commonly expressed opinion that men's clothes were far from ideal in freedom and comfort. Unfortunately for the general adoption of men's clothes by women, male costume was used most frequently either by women who limited its wearing to the privacy of their homes, or by women whom no self-respecting reformer would cite as shining examples of pure womanhood. From time to time throughout the century the police picked up a woman dressed as a man, and while such a woman usually claimed that her costume was adopted only to help her attain a better job, the police were cynically unconvinced; they could think of other, and less creditable, reasons. Luckily for the apprehended, the usual judge could find no law prohibiting male impersonation unless it involved fraud, and so freed the woman.⁴²

Very rarely a woman of social standing and respectability presented herself as a candidate for martyrdom by asserting woman's freedom to wear pants in public. Best known was Dr. Mary E. Walker, who said she had worn men's clothes from the age of sixteen. As an assistant surgeon during the Civil War she dressed like her male fellow officers. After the war she practiced medicine in Washington, D. C., wearing a frock coat and striped pants during the day, and full male evening dress for parties

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XVII (October 23, 1886), 338; XVIII (February 26, 1887), 60; XXXVI (March 11, 1905), 38, copying from the *Independent*.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, IV (June 7, 1873), 175.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, X (January 4, 1879), 4.

⁴⁰ *Leslie's*, LIX (August 30, 1884), 18.

⁴¹ *Woman's Journal*, IV (April 26, 1873), 130; IV (May 17, 1873), 155; IV (June 7, 1873), 178; II (September 30, 1871), 311; V (August 22, 1874), 273. *Justitia*, I (May 15, 1888), 6.

⁴² *New York Times*, June 11, 1866, Sec. 2, p. 6; May 10, 1877, 2; November 5, 1879, Sec. 3, p. 2; February 21, 1882, Sec. 3, p. 2; November 11, 1883, Sec. 3, p. 7; July 14, 1893, Sec. 1, p. 6; March 8, 1884, Sec. 5, p. 2 (refers to Anna Dickinson).

and lectures. She curled her hair so that, in her own words: "everybody would know that I was a woman"—a necessity that raises certain speculations about her physique. She never married, and in time (1897) established a women's colony called "Adamless Eve." Her basic argument was that the wearing of draperies injured women psychologically, and that since "the anatomy of woman is similar to that of man" that the sexes should dress identically.⁴³

Radical dress reform proposals of the late nineteenth century were submerged in a flood of more moderate suggestions.⁴⁴ Here and there women banded together to reinforce their individual desires for more satisfactory underwear and shorter skirts.⁴⁵ The members of one such group, the Dress Reform Club of Boston, planned to greet the next rainy day in waterproof skirts coming just below their knees, heavy boots and waterproof gaiters. When rain was unduly delayed, one of the ladies jumped the gun, but was surprised, and possibly disappointed, when the promised gawking and tittering males failed to appear.⁴⁶

The increased moderation of the dress reformers was best shown in the attitudes of outstanding feminists. These ladies continued to parrot the time honored argument that cumbersome skirts were part of the male effort to enslave women, but actually such feminists as May Wright Sewall, Isabella Beecher Hooker and Mary Jacobi went little further than to urge improved underwear.⁴⁷ Mary Livermore spoke of one-piece flannel underwear, no corsets and shorter skirts, which meant three or four inches from the ground.⁴⁸ That fiery journalist Jane Swisshelm confined her dress reform largely to underwear, including a "chemlin," com-

⁴³ *Leslie's*, LXXI (January 10, 1891), 430; background biographical material comes from the *Dictionary of American Biography*. See also Charles M. Snyder, *Dr. Mary Walker; The Little Lady in Pants* (New York, 1962).

⁴⁴ *Woman's Journal*, I (October 15, 1870), 322; III (March 16, 1872), 82; IV (February 22, 1873), 59; IV (September 20, 1873), 304; IV (December 6, 1873), 385; IX (July 20, 1878), 225; XXIII (December 17, 1892), 405-6; XXIV (October 21, 1893), 329-30. *Revolution*, IV (August 12, 1869), 81. F. E. Russell, "Woman's Dress," *Arena*, III (February 1891), 352-60.

⁴⁵ E. B. D. in *Arthur's Magazine*, XLII (March 1874), 203; *New York Tribune*, quoted in *Woman's Journal*, VI (January 30, 1875), 34; *New York Times*, July 26, 1891, Sec. 8, p. 2; *Woman's Journal*, XXIV (February 11, 1893), 42; XXIV (April 15, 1893), 114; XXIV (May 20, 1893), 158.

⁴⁶ *New York Times*, August 8, 1891, Sec. 5, p. 5; August 9, 1891, Sec. 4, p. 4; October 5, 1891, Sec. 9, p. 7; October 21, 1891, Sec. 1, p. 3.

⁴⁷ These ladies belonged to the Congress of Women for Improved Dress, which emphasized better underwear—*New York Times*, February 17, 1894, Sec. 8, p. 3. Mrs. Sewall was the leader in the National Council of Women, which included various feminist leaders, and advocated moderate improvements in women's clothes—*Woman's Journal*, XXIV (April 1, 1893), 97, 100-1.

⁴⁸ M. A. Livermore, *What Shall We Do With Our Daughters?* (Boston, 1883).

bining chemise and drawers; a "carry all" to replace the corset and act as a brassiere; an "underdress" for summer wear; "gaiter drawers" to protect against damp and cold. Her only suggestion involving a change in outer appearance was a somewhat shorter skirt.⁴⁹ Even Mrs. Stanton stopped preaching revolution, and sat approvingly on the platform as her daughter, Margaret Stanton Lawrence, talked mainly of the desirability of hanging clothes from the shoulders.⁵⁰

Comments on dress reform in the public press were generally mild, and frequently favorable.⁵¹ *The Arena* waged a vigorous campaign during the 1890s for more sensible clothes, while other magazines gave moderate support. Usually there was approval of better underwear, shorter skirts and simplified dress, but then the question was raised as to why a popular crusade was necessary to accomplish minor changes that were within the control of any women. In regard to corsets, the point was made that some women were dependent upon them, and that other women could do as they pleased—there was no law on the subject. Whereas the *New York Times* in 1881 had predicted that all women would be wearing trousers within two or three years,⁵² now the journals were more wary about predicting or advocating radical changes.

The obvious collapse of the dress reform movement in the late 1890s was explained in various ways. One theory was that women's clothes were no longer in such great need of reform. Many women were wearing shorter skirts, particularly for walking.⁵³ Gymnasium bloomers were widely accepted for active exercise, particularly indoors.⁵⁴ Divided skirts were appearing more and more frequently, with the popularity of the bicycle an important influence.⁵⁵ No less a person than police commissioner Theodore Roosevelt broke with tradition by approving a woman riding

⁴⁹ Jane G. Swisshelm in *Woman's Journal*, V (December 5, 1874), 394.

⁵⁰ *New York Times*, May 23, 1895, Sec. 16, p. 1.

⁵¹ *New York Tribune*, quoted in *Woman's Journal*, VI (January 30, 1875), 34; *Leslie's*, LX (June 6, 1885), 250; *Woman's Journal*, XVIII (January 1, 1887), 2 and XVIII (January 22, 1887), 20; *Ladies' Home Journal*, V (June 1888), 13 and VII (January 1890), 8; *New York Times*, October 11, 1868, Sec. 3, p. 3 and June 4, 1893, Sec. 12, p. 1; *The Education of American Girls*, ed. Anna C. Brackett (New York, 1874), pp. 38-46.

⁵² *New York Times*, October 31, 1881, Sec. 4, p. 5.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, October 17, 1900, Sec. 7, p. 3 reported the dismissal of two New Haven teachers for such action.

⁵⁴ *Boston Transcript*, quoted in *Woman's Journal*, X (February 8, 1879), 43; Elizabeth F. Read, "Basket-Ball at Smith College," *Outlook*, LIV (September 26, 1896), 557-58; *Leslie's*, LXXXIV (April 1, 1897), 216 and CVI (March 19, 1908), 277; *Harper's Weekly*, XLVI (February 22, 1902), 234-35.

⁵⁵ *The Woman's Column*, VII (March 31, 1894); Anna W. Sears, "The Modern Woman Out of Doors," *Cosmopolitan*, XXI (October 1896), 680; H. J. Garrigner, "Woman and the Bicycle," *Forum*, XX (January 1896), 578-87; Marguerite Merington, "Woman and the Bicycle," *Scribner's*, XVII (May 1895), 702-4; Mrs. Reginald De Koven, "Bicycling

astride a horse in Central Park.⁵⁶ This contention that women's clothes did not need change had certain merits, but a glimpse of the currently popular "Gibson girl" suggests that existing reforms were being exaggerated.

Radical reform was also inhibited by the certainty that practically no woman was willing to incur popular ridicule by wearing new outer garments. The old theory still remained that in their hearts women preferred simpler garments but were forced to conform to men's desires, but whereas the villains of the mid-century had been all men desiring to enslave women, now under the intellectual influence of the Muckrakers the villains were increasingly identified as greedy manufacturers intent upon large profits.⁵⁷ A slightly different type of male responsibility came as an associate editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal* explained that the girls themselves preferred the giddy and frivolous because their main aim still remained marriage, and they had good reason to believe that men preferred the helplessly feminine to the practical and efficient.⁵⁸ Whatever the proper explanation there seemed little doubt that women embraced their chains with enthusiasm, following current fashions eagerly, and with no apparent protest.

Even the feminist leaders of the 1900s had lost the old enthusiasm for dress reform. No longer was there any Elizabeth Miller, Amelia Bloomer or Elizabeth Stanton. The feminists had learned from long and bitter experience that the talk of a revolution in women's clothes took attention from more important matters and created unnecessary hostility. Moreover, the new feminist leaders differed vastly from their predecessors. Mid-century feminists had been self-conscious members of a small, fighting minority on the extreme fringes of reform, and had naturally been attracted by other unpopular causes. Now an Anna Howard Shaw or a Carrie Chapman Catt headed a large, well-organized and growing movement, with many successes in the immediate past and others in prospect. Appealing more and more to people of moderate views the new leaders were less willing to dissipate their energies in fighting minor crusades that would lessen their chances of attaining their main objectives.

for Women," *Cosmopolitan*, XIX (August 1895), 386-94; Dr. R. L. Dickinson, "Bicycling for Women," *Outlook*, LIII (March 28, 1896), 550-53 and LIII (April 25, 1896), 751-52. *Woman's Journal*, XXV (June 9, 1894), 177, reported an El Paso ordinance prohibiting divided skirts.

⁵⁶ *New York Times*, August 31, 1895, Sec. 1, p. 4.

⁵⁷ Nina Wilcox Putnam, "Fashion and Feminism," *Forum*, LII (October 1914), 580-84; Thorstein Veblen, "The Economic Theory of Woman's Dress," *Popular Science Monthly*, XLVI (December 1894), 198-205.

⁵⁸ Emma M. Hooper in *New York Times*, December 24, 1899, Sec. 23, p. 2. See also Paul Poiret, "Will Skirts Disappear?," *Forum*, LXXVII (January 1927), 31-40.

Most important of all in bringing the decline of dress reform agitation were certain basic economic and social changes. During the 1850s the opportunities of women in education, gainful employment and politics were very small, and the feminists could well argue that improved dress would help the situation. By the 1900s this line of argument had been made untenable by the facts. No major dress reform had occurred and yet the position of women had improved tremendously. Colleges and graduate schools were open to women. Property rights for married women had increased vastly. The vote had been given to women in many states, and a national suffrage amendment was clearly in prospect. Increasing opportunities existed in numerous occupations, including supervisory and professional positions. Quite obviously these various changes had come without the assistance of "rational" costume, and hence the main inspiration for the feminist drive for reformed clothes had lost its meaning.

The dress reform movement disappeared during World War I as it had during the Civil War, but then failed to revive in the postwar period. In fact, feminism itself lost its impetus during the 1920s, and there was no concerted drive by feminists or anyone else for improved dress. And yet, while propaganda support disappeared, the aims which the feminists had proclaimed loudly for a half century were now achieved by the vagaries of fashion. Undergarments became fewer and simpler. Corsets were made lighter or discarded. Skirts became skimpy and rose to the knees. Shorts, knickers and one-piece bathing suits provided all the physical freedom anyone could desire. This sequence of events actually bore out a prophecy made by *The Woman's Journal* in 1870, that reformed dress "is dependent upon and must come *after suffrage*."⁵⁹ Improved clothes had in fact played no part in feminine emancipation, but feminine emancipation had brought greater dress reform than the most visionary of the early feminists had advocated.

⁵⁹ *Woman's Journal*, I (October 15, 1870), 322.



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The Mountain Man as Jacksonian Man *

ONE OF THE MOST OFTEN STUDIED AND LEAST UNDERSTOOD FIGURES IN AMERICAN history has been the Mountain Man. Remote, so it would seem, as Neanderthal, and according to some almost as inarticulate, the Mountain Man exists as a figure of American mythology rather than history. As such he has presented at least two vivid stereotypes to the public imagination. From the first he has been the very symbol for the romantic banditti of the forest, freed of the artificial restrictions of civilization—a picturesque wanderer in the wilderness whose very life is a constant and direct association with Nature.

"There is perhaps, no class of men on the face of the earth," said Captain Bonneville [and through him Washington Irving], "who lead a life of more continued exertion, peril, and excitement, and who are more enamoured of their occupations, than the free trappers of the west. No toil, no danger, no privation can turn the trapper from his pursuit. His passionate excitement at times resembles a mania. In vain may the most vigilant and cruel savages beset his path; in vain may rocks, and precipices, and wintry torrents oppose his progress; let but a single track of a beaver meet his eye, and he forgets all dangers and defies all difficulties. At times, he may be seen with his traps on his shoulder, buffeting his way across rapid streams amidst floating blocks of ice: at

* The term "Jacksonian Man" is used throughout this essay in a general rather than a particular sense. It is intended to describe a fictional composite, the average man of the period under consideration regardless of whether or not he was a follower of Andrew Jackson and his party. Those qualities which I take to be general enough to characterize the average man are defined in my quotations from Richard Hofstadter, Marvin Meyers and Alexis de Tocqueville. It should not be inferred from this that I seek to portray the Mountain Men as members of Andrew Jackson's political party nor that I mean to suggest that the particular objectives of the Democratic Party were necessarily those described by Hofstadter, Meyers and Tocqueville. Rather their terms seem to characterize to some extent men of all political persuasions in this period. Lee Benson in his recent book, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*, has shown that in New York State, at least, the Jackson party had no particular monopoly on such terms as "egalitarianism" and "democracy," and that indeed most parties in the state including the Whigs actually preceded the Jackson men in their advocacy of these views. He thus demonstrates that there were certain values and goals common to all men of the

other times, he is to be found with his traps on his back clambering the most rugged mountains, scaling or descending the most frightening precipices, searching by routes inaccessible to the horse, and never before trodden by white man, for springs and lakes unknown to his comrades, and where he may meet with his favorite game. Such is the mountaineer, the hardy trapper of the west; and such as we have slightly sketched it, is the wild, Robin Hood kind of life, with all its strange and motley populace, now existing in full vigor among the Rocky mountains."¹

To Irving in the nineteenth century the Mountain Man was Robin Hood, a European literary convention. By the twentieth century the image was still literary and romantic but somewhat less precise. According to Bernard De Voto, "For a few years Odysseus Jed Smith and Siegfried Carson and the wing-shod Fitzpatrick actually drew breath in this province of fable," and Jim Beckwourth "went among the Rockies as Theseus dared the wine-dark seas. Skirting the rise of a hill, he saw the willows stirring; he charged down upon them, while despairing Blackfeet sang the death-song—and lo, to the clear music of a horn, Roland had met the pagan hordes. . . ."²

On the other hand, to perhaps more discerning eyes in his own day and down through the years, the Mountain Man presented another image—one that was far less exalted. Set off from the ordinary man by his costume of greasy buckskins, coonskin cap and Indian finery, not to mention the distinctive odor that went with bear grease and the habitual failure to bathe between one yearly rendezvous and the next, the Mountain Man seemed a forlorn and pathetic primitive out of the past. "They are stared at as though they were bears," wrote Rudolph F. Kurz, a Swiss artist who traveled the Upper Missouri.³

The Mountain Man, so it was said, was out of touch with conventional civilization and hence not quite acceptable.⁴ Instead in his own time and

day, Benson then concludes that instead of calling the period "The Age of Jackson," it should properly be called "The Age of Egalitarianism." His evidence indicates to me, however, that a still more precise term for the period might well be "The Age of Expectant Capitalism," and following Hofstadter and Meyers, and before them Frederick Jackson Turner, I have seen this as the most generally applicable descriptive concept for the period. Thus it forms the basis for my definition of "Jacksonian Man," or *Genus Homo Americanus* during the years of the presidency of Andrew Jackson and his successor Martin Van Buren.

¹ Washington Irving, *The Rocky Mountains: or, Scenes, Incidents, and Adventures in the Far West* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1837), I, 27.

² Bernard De Voto, "Introduction," *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, ed. T. D. Bonner (New York, 1931), p. xxvii.

³ Quoted in Dorothy O. Johansen, "Introduction," *Robert Newell's Memoranda* (Portland, Ore., 1959), p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3; see also Ray A. Billington, *The Far Western Frontier* (New York, 1956), p. 44.

even more today he has been viewed as a purely hedonistic character who lived for the year's end rendezvous where he got gloriously drunk on diluted rot-gut company alcohol, gave his beaver away for wildly inflated company trade goods and crawled off into the underbrush for a delirious orgy with some unenthusiastic Indian squaw. In this view the romantic rendezvous was nothing more than a modern company picnic, the object of which was to keep the employees docile, happy and ready for the coming year's task.

Pacified, satisfied, cheated, impoverished and probably mortified the next day, the Mountain Man, be he free trapper or not, went back to his dangerous work when the rendezvous was over. He was thus to many shrewd observers not a hero at all but a docile and obedient slave of the company. By a stretch of the imagination he might have seemed heroic, but because of the contrast between his daring deeds and his degraded status he seemed one of the saddest heroes in all history. Out of date before his time was up, he was a wild free spirit who after all was not free. He was instead an adventurer who was bringing about his own destruction even as he succeeded in his quest to search out the beaver in all of the secret places of the mountain West. A dependent of the London dandy and his foppish taste in hats, the Mountain Man was Caliban. He was a member of a picturesque lower class fast vanishing from the face of America. Like the Mohican Indian and quaint old Leatherstocking he was a vanishing breed, forlorn and permanently class-bound in spite of all his heroics.⁵

Both of these stereotypes embody, as do most effective stereotypes, more than a measure of reality. The Mountain Man traveled far out ahead of the march of conventional civilization, and the job he did required him to be as tough, primitive and close to nature as an Indian. Moreover, it was an out-of-doors life of the hunt and the chase that he often grew to like. By the same token because he spent much of his time in primitive isolation in the mountains, he very often proved to be a poor businessman ignorant of current prices and sharp company practices. Even if aware of his disadvantageous position he could do nothing to free himself until he had made his stake.

The fact is, however, that many Mountain Men lived for the chance to exchange their dangerous mountain careers for an advantageous start in civilized life. If one examines their lives and their stated aspirations one discovers that the Mountain Men, for all their apparent eccentricities,

⁵ Billington, pp. 46-47; Robert Glass Cleland, *This Reckless Breed of Men* (New York, 1952), pp. 24-25; Bernard De Voto, *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston, 1947), pp. 96-104. See also Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land* (Boston, 1950), pp. 59-70, 81-89. My portrait is a composite derived, but not quoted from the above sources.

were astonishingly similar to the common men of their time—plain republican citizens of the Jacksonian era.

Jacksonian Man, according to Richard Hofstadter, "was an expectant capitalist, a hardworking ambitious person for whom enterprise was a kind of religion."⁶ He was "the master mechanic who aspired to open his own shop, the planter, or farmer who speculated in land, the lawyer who hoped to be a judge, the local politician who wanted to go to Congress, the grocer who would be a merchant. . . ."⁷ To this list one might well add, the trapper who hoped some day, if he hit it lucky and avoided the scalping knife, to be one or all of these, or perhaps better still, a landed gentleman of wealth and prestige.

"Everywhere," writes Hofstadter, the Jacksonian expectant capitalist "found conditions that encouraged him to extend himself."⁸ And there were many like William Ashley or Thomas James who out of encouragement or desperation looked away to the Rocky Mountains, teeming with beaver and other hidden resources, and saw a path to economic success and rapid upward mobility. In short, when he went out West and became a Mountain Man the Jacksonian Man did so as a prospector. He too was an expectant capitalist.

Marvin Meyers has added a further characterization of Jacksonian Man. He was, according to Meyers, the "venturous conservative,"⁹ the man who desired relative freedom from restraint so that he might risk his life and his fortune, if not his sacred honor, on what appeared to be a long-term, continent-wide boom. Yet at the same time he wished to pyramid his fortune within the limits of the familiar American social and economic system, and likewise to derive his status therefrom. Wherever he went, and especially on the frontier, Jacksonian Man did not wish to change the system. He merely wished to throw it open as much as possible to opportunity, with the hope that by so doing he could place himself at the top instead of at the bottom of the conventional social and economic ladder. "They love change," wrote Tocqueville, "but they dread revolutions."¹⁰ Instead of a new world the Jacksonian Man wished to restore the old where the greatest man was the independent man—yeoman or mechanic, trader or ranchero—the man who basked in comfort and sturdy security under his own "vine and fig tree."

The structure of the Rocky Mountain fur trade itself, the life stories of the trappers and on rare occasions their stated or implied aspirations all make it clear that if he was not precisely the Meyers-Hofstadter Jack-

⁶ Richard Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition* (New York, 1955), p. 57.
⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59. ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁹ Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion* (New York, 1960), pp. 33-56.

¹⁰ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 43.

sonian Man, the Mountain Man was most certainly his cousin once removed, and a clearly recognizable member of the family.

It is a truism, of course, to state that the Rocky Mountain fur trade was a business, though writers in the Mountain Man's day and since have sometimes made it seem more like a sporting event. The Mountain Man himself often put such an ambiguous face on what he was doing.

"Westward! Hol!" wrote Warren Ferris, an American Fur Company trapper. "It is the sixteenth of the second month A.D. 1830, and I have joined a trapping, trading, hunting expedition to the Rocky Mountains. Why, I scarcely know, for the motives that induced me to this step were of a mixed complexion,—something like the pepper and salt population of this city of St. Louis. Curiosity, a love of wild adventure, and perhaps also a hope of profit,—for times *are* hard, and my best coat has a sort of sheepish hang-dog hesitation to encounter fashionable folk—combined to make me look upon the project with an eye of favor. The party consists of some thirty men, mostly Canadian; but a few there are, like myself, from various parts of the Union. Each has some plausible excuse for joining, and the aggregate of disinterestedness would delight the most ghostly saint in the Roman calendar. Engage for money! no, not they;—health, and the strong desire of seeing strange lands, of beholding nature in the savage grandeur of her primeval state,—these are the only arguments that *could* have persuaded such independent and high-minded young fellows to adventure with the American Fur Company in a trip to the mountain wilds of the great west."¹¹

Ambiguous though the Mountain Man's approach to it may have been, it is abundantly clear that the Rocky Mountain fur trade was indeed a *business*, and not an invariably individualistic enterprise at that. The unit of operation was the company, usually a partnership for the sake of capital, risk and year-round efficiency. Examples of the company are The Missouri Fur Company, Gant and Blackwell, Stone and Bostwick, Bean and Sinclair, and most famous of all, the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and its successors, Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, Sublette & Campbell, and Sublette, Fitzpatrick, Bridger, Gervais and Fraeb. These were the average company units in the Rocky Mountain trade and much of the story of their existence is analogous to Jackson's war on the "Monster Bank" for they were all forced to contend against John Jacob Astor's "Monster Monopoly," the American Fur Co., which was controlled and financed by eastern capitalists.

¹¹ W. A. Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, ed. Paul C. Phillips (Denver, Colo., 1940), p. 1.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the independent fur companies was their fluid structure of leadership. There was indeed, "a baton in every knapsack" or more accurately, perhaps, in every "possibles" bag. William Ashley, owner of a gun powder factory and Andrew Henry, a former Lisa lieutenant, and lead miner, founded the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.¹² After a few years of overwhelming success, first Henry, and then Ashley, retired, and they were succeeded by their lieutenants, Jedediah Smith, David Jackson and William Sublette, three of the "enterprising young men" who had answered Ashley's advertisement in the *St. Louis Gazette and Public Advertiser* in 1823. When Smith and Jackson moved on to more attractive endeavors first William Sublette and Robert Campbell, then Tom "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick, James "Old Gabe" Bridger, Henry Fraeb, Milton "Thunderbolt" Sublette and Jean Baptiste Gervais moved up to fill their entrepreneurial role.

In another example Etienne Provost was successively an employee of Auguste Chouteau, partner with LeClair and leader of his own Green River brigade, and servant of American Fur.¹³ Sylvestre Pattie became a Santa Fe trader, then an independent trapper, then manager of the Santa Rita (New Mexico) Copper Mines and ultimately leader of an independent trapping venture into the Gila River country of the far Southwest—a venture that ended in disaster when he was thrown into a Mexican prison in California and there left to die.¹⁴ Most significant is the fact that few of the trappers declined the responsibility of entrepreneurial leadership when it was offered them. On the contrary, the usual practice was to indenture oneself to an established company for a period of time, during which it was possible to acquire the limited capital in the way of traps, rifle, trade goods, etc., that was needed to become independent and a potential brigade leader. Referring to his arrangement with the old Missouri Fur Company in 1809, Thomas James wrote,

We Americans were all private adventurers, each on his own hook, and were led into the enterprise by the promises of the Company, who agreed to subsist us to the trapping grounds, we helping to navigate the boats, and on our arrival there they were to furnish us each with a rifle and sufficient ammunition, six good beaver traps and also four men of their hired French, to be under our individual commands for a period of three years.

¹² Harrison C. Dale, *The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829*, rev. ed. (Glendale, Calif., 1941), pp. 57-61.

¹³ Dale L. Morgan, *Jedediah Smith* (Indianapolis and New York, 1953), pp. 145-48; Ferris, pp. 150, 156, 158.

¹⁴ James Ohio Pattie, *Personal Narrative*, ed. Timothey Flint (Cincinnati, 1831), *passim*.

By the terms of the contract each of us was to divide one-fourth of the profits of our joint labor with the four men thus to be appointed to us.¹⁵

James himself retired when he could from the upper Missouri trade and eventually became an unsuccessful storekeeper in Harrisonville, Illinois.¹⁶

In addition to the fact of rapid entrepreneurial succession within the structure of the independent fur companies, a study of 446 Mountain Men (perhaps 45 per cent of the total engaged in this pursuit between 1805 and 1845) indicates that their life-patterns could be extremely varied. One hundred seventeen Mountain Men definitely turned to occupations other than trapping subsequent to their entering the mountain trade. Of this number 39 followed more than one pursuit. As such they often worked at as many as four or five different callings.¹⁷

¹⁵ Thomas James, *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans*, ed. Milo M. Quaife (Chicago, 1953), pp. 9-10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 100. When his store failed, Thomas James set out in May 1821 on a trading venture to Santa Fe. By July of 1822 he had returned to his home in Illinois.

¹⁷ This study is based upon the lives of the Mountain Men whose entrance into the Rocky Mountain fur trade during the period 1805-45 can be proven, and who fit the criteria listed below. As anyone who has worked in the field will undoubtedly understand, the estimated one-thousand-man total given for those who would possibly qualify for consideration under these criteria represents merely an informed guess, since it is impossible with present-day evidence to determine with accuracy *all* of the Mountain Men who entered the West during this period. The data upon which this study is based is the sum total of men and careers that the extensive investigation described below has yielded. The author believes this to be the most extensive such investigation undertaken to date and also the largest number of such Mountain Men and careers located as of this time. However, in presenting this statistical analysis, the author wishes to stress the tentativeness of the conclusions herein reached. Further study of those whose "other occupations were indeterminable," and those "whose other occupations are probable" quite obviously might alter the present statistical results to a significant degree, and though the attempt was made to determine the occupations of as many men as possible, the author wishes specifically to acknowledge this possibility.

The basic sources for this sample study were: 1) General histories of the western states. In this respect the pioneer register in H. H. Bancroft's *History of California* proved to be particularly useful. 2) Original and modern editions of the relevant fur trade classics listed in Henry Raup Wagner and Charles Camp, *Plains and Rockies*. 3) The many available monographs and biographies relating to the fur trade such as those by Hiram M. Chittenden, Paul C. Phillips, Dale L. Morgan and John E. Sunder. 4) The files of historical journals containing materials on the fur trade of the Far West. 5) Reports submitted to the United States Government and published in the House and Senate document series. 6) Newspapers and periodicals for the fur trade period. In this latter category the author's research was by no means complete, nor was it possible to carry out the research project to the extent of consulting the multitude of local and county histories that almost certainly would have yielded further information. Enough research was conducted in these latter two categories of materials, however, to indicate the probable extent of their utility, which the author deemed insufficient for the present purposes.

The criteria for selecting the men to be included in the study are relatively simple. 1) They must have been associated with the fur trapping enterprise during the period 1805-45. 2) They must have pursued their trapping activities in the Rocky Mountains.

Moreover beyond the 117 definite cases of alternative callings, 32 others were found to have indeterminate occupations that were almost certainly not connected with the fur trade,¹⁸ making a total of 149 out of 154 men for whom some occupational data exists who had turned away from the trapping fraternity before 1845. Of the remaining men in the study, 110 men yielded nothing to investigation beyond the fact that they had once been trappers, 182 can be listed as killed in the line of duty and only five men out of the total stayed with the great out-of-doors life of the free trapper that according to the myth they were all supposed to love.

TABLE I

Total Number of Cases	446
Persons whose other occupations are known	117
Persons whose other occupations are probable	32
Persons with more than one other occupation	39
Persons who stayed on as trappers	5
Persons whose status is unknown	110
Persons killed in the fur trade	182

The list of alternative callings pursued by the trappers is also revealing. Twenty-one became ranchers, fifteen farmers, seventeen traders (at stationary trading posts), eight miners, seven politicians, six distillers, five each storekeepers and army scouts, four United States Indian agents, three carpenters, two each bankers, drovers and hatters and at least one pursued each of the following occupations, sheepherder, postman, miller, medium, ice dealer, vintner, fancy fruit grower, baker, saloon keeper, clockmaker, cattle buyer, real estate speculator, newspaper editor, lawyer, lumberman, superintendent of schools, tailor, blacksmith, and supercargo of a trading schooner. Moreover many of these same individuals pursued secondary occupations such as that of hotel keeper, gambler, soldier, health resort proprietor, coal mine owner, tanner, sea captain, horse thief and opera house impresario.

northern or southern; hence the term Mountain Man. 3) They could not be employees of the American Fur Company, nor engagées at any of the Missouri River trading posts. The American Fur Company men are excluded from this study for two reasons: first, because the majority of them were river traders, not Mountain Men and they have never been classified under the old stereotyped images; secondly, of those few American Fur men who did go into the mountains in this period a large percentage were killed. Further study of the survivors, however, indicates that they too changed occupations much as did the Mountain Men. (See for example the career of Warren A. Ferris.)

¹⁸ This conclusion is deduced by the author primarily upon the basis of their residence during this period in places far removed from fur trapping or trading activities.

TABLE 2
List of Occupations

A. Primary

1. Farmer	15	17. Blacksmith	1
2. Rancher	21	18. Tailor	1
3. Politician	7	19. Supercargo	1
4. Sheepherder	1	20. Superintendent of Schools	1
5. Scout [For Govt.]	5	21. Lumberman	2
6. Trader	17	22. Newspaper Editor	1
7. Miner	8	23. Carpenter	3
8. Postman	1	24. Cattle Buyer	1
9. Distiller	6	25. Clockmaker	1
10. Miller	1	26. Saloon Keeper	1
11. Storekeeper	5	27. Baker	1
12. Medium	1	28. Fruit Grower	1
13. Banker	2	29. Vintner	1
14. Drover	2	30. Ice Dealer	1
15. Hatter	2	31. Real Estate Speculator	1
16. Indian Agent	4	32. Lawyer	1

B. Secondary

1. Trader	4	12. Lumberman	2
2. Transportation	2	13. Gambler	3
3. Scout	5	14. Blacksmith	1
4. Hotel Keeper	1	15. Soldier	1
5. Miner	2	16. Spa Keeper	1
6. Farmer	5	17. Coal Mine Operator	1
7. Politician	3	18. Tanner	1
8. Rancher	5	19. Opera House Impresario	1
9. Storekeeper	4	20. Sea Captain	1
10. Miller	3	21. Carpenter	1
11. Real Estate	3	22. Horse Thief	1

From this it seems clear that statistically at least the Mountain Man was hardly the simple-minded primitive that mythology has made him out to be. Indeed it appears that whenever he had the chance, he exchanged the joys of the rendezvous and the wilderness life for the more civilized excitement of "getting ahead." In many cases he achieved this aim, and on a frontier where able men were scarce he very often became a pillar of the community, and even of the nation. From the beginning, as Ashley's famous advertisement implied, the Mountain Men were men of "enterprise" who risked their lives for something more than pure ro-

mance and a misanthropic desire to evade civilization. The picturesqueness and the quaintness were largely the creation of what was the literary mentality of an age of artistic romanticism. For every "Cannibal Phil" or Robert Meldrum or "Peg-Leg" Smith there was a Sarchel Wolfskill (vintner), a George Yount (rancher) and a William Sublette (banker-politician).

Two further facts emerge in part from this data. First, it is clear that though the Jeffersonian agrarian dream of "Arcadia" bulked large in the Mountain Man's choice of occupations, it by no means obscured the whole range of "mechanical" or mercantile pursuits that offered the chance for success on the frontier. Indeed, if it suggests anything a statistical view of the Mountain Man's "other life" suggests that almost from the beginning the Far Western frontier took on the decided aspect of an urban or semi-urban "industrial" civilization. Secondly, though it is not immediately apparent from the above statistics, a closer look indicates that a surprising number of the Mountain Men succeeded at their "other" tasks to the extent that they became regionally and even nationally prominent.

William H. Ashley became Congressman from Missouri and a spokesman for the West, Charles Bent an ill-fated though famed governor of New Mexico. "Doc" Newell was a prominent figure in the organization of Oregon Territory. Elbridge Gerry, William McGaa and John Simpson Smith were the founders and incorporators of Denver. Lucien Maxwell held the largest land grant in the whole history of the United States.

Joshua Pilcher was a famous superintendent of Indian Affairs. William Sublette, pursuing a hard money policy, saved the Bank of Missouri in the panic of 1837 and went on to be a Democratic elector for "young hickory" James K. Polk in 1844. Benjamin Wilson was elected first mayor of Los Angeles. James Clyman and his Napa Valley estate were famous in California as were the ranches of George Yount and J. J. Warner, while Sarchel Wolfskill was a co-founder of the modern California wine industry. James Waters built the first opera house in Southern California, and Kit Carson, in his later years a silver miner, received the supreme tribute of finding a dime novel dedicated to his exploits in plunder captured from marauding Apache Indians who had recently attacked and massacred a wagon train.¹⁹

Many of the Mountain Men achieved fame and national status through works that they published themselves, or, as in the case of Carson, through works that immortalized correctly, or as was more usual, incorrectly, their exploits. Here one need only mention Kit Carson's *Autobiography* and his

¹⁹ Kit Carson, *Autobiography*, ed. Milo M. Quaife (Chicago, 1935), p. 135.

favorable treatment at the hands of Jessie Benton Frémont, T. D. Bonner's *Life and Adventures of James Beckwourth*, Francis Fuller Victor's *River of the West* (about Joe Meek), James Ohio Pattie's *Personal Narrative*, Thomas James' *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans*, H. L. Conard's *Uncle Dick Wooton*, David Coyner's *The Lost Trappers* (about Ezekial Williams), Irving's portrait of Joseph Reddeford Walker in *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, Zenas Leonard's *Narrative*, Peg-Leg Smith's "as told to" exploits in *Hutchings' California Magazine*, Stephen Meek's *Autobiography*, Warren Ferris' letters to the Buffalo, New York, *Western Literary Messenger*, John Hatcher's yarns in Lewis H. Garrard's *Wah To Yah and The Taos Trail* and perhaps most interesting of all, trapper John Brown's pseudo-scientific *Mediumistic Experiences*, to realize the extent and range of the Mountain Man's communication with the outside world in his own day. Not only was he a typical man of his time, he was often a conspicuous success and not bashful about communicating the fact in somewhat exaggerated terms to his fellow countrymen.

Direct evidence of the Mountain Men's motives is scarce, but it is clear their intentions were complex.

"Tell them that I have no heirs and that I hope to make a fortune," wrote Louis Vasquez ("Old Vaskiss" to Bernard De Voto) in 1834 from "Fort Convenience" somewhere in the Rockies.²⁰ Later as he set out on one last expedition in 1842 he added somewhat melodramatically, "I leave to make money or die."²¹ And finally Colonel A. G. Brackett, who visited Fort Bridger (jointly owned by Bridger and Vasquez), described him as "a Mexican, who put on a great deal of style, and used to ride about the country in a coach and four."²²

"It is, that I may be able to help those who stand in need, that I face every danger," wrote Jedediah Smith from the Wind River Mountains in 1829, "most of all, it is for this, that I deprive myself of the privilege of Society and the satisfaction of the converse of My Friends! but I shall count all this pleasure, if I am allowed by the Alwise Ruler the privilege of Joining my Friends. . . ." And he added "let it be the greatest pleasure that we can enjoy, the height of our ambition, now, when our Parents are in the decline of Life, to smooth the Pillow of their age, and as much as in us lies, take from them all cause of Trouble."²³ So spoke Jedediah Smith of his hopes and ambitions upon pursuing the fur trade. No sooner had he left the mountains, however, than he was killed by Plains Indians

²⁰ Quoted in Leroy Hafen, "Louis Vasquez," *The Colorado Magazine*, X (1933), 17. De Voto's nickname for Vasquez appears in *Across the Wide Missouri*, p. xxvi.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²³ Jedediah Smith to Ralph Smith, Wind River, East Side of the Rocky Mountains, December 24, 1829. MS. Kansas State Historical Society. Also reproduced in Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, pp. 351-54.

before he could settle down in business with his brothers as he had intended.²⁴ Noble and ignoble were the motives of the Mountain Men. Colonel John Shaw, starting across the southern plains and into the Rockies in search of gold; Thomas James, desperate to recoup his failing fortunes; the Little Rock *Gazette* of 1829 "confidently" believing "that this enterprise affords a prospect of great profit to all who may engage in it"; the St. Louis *Enquirer* in 1822 labeling the Rocky Mountains "the Shining Mountains," and innocently declaring, "A hunter pursuing his game found the silver mines of Potosi, and many others have been discovered by the like accidents, and there is no reason to suppose that other valuable discoveries may not be made";²⁵ Ashley calling clearly and unmistakably for men of "enterprise," all added up to the fact that the Mountain Man when he went West was a complex character. But in his complexity was a clearly discernible pattern—the pattern of Jacksonian Man in search of respectability and success in terms recognized by the society he had left behind. His goal was, of course, the pursuit of happiness. But happiness, contrary to Rousseauistic expectations, was not found in the wilderness; it was an integral product of society and civilization.

If the Mountain Man was indeed Jacksonian Man, then there are at least three senses in which this concept has importance. First, more clearly than anything else a statistical and occupational view of the various callings of the Mountain Man tentatively indicates the incredible rate and the surprising *nature* of social and economic change in the West. In little more than two decades most of the surviving enterprising men had left the fur trade for more lucrative and presumably more useful occupations. And by their choice of occupations it is clear that in the Far West a whole step in the settlement process had been virtually skipped. They may have dreamed of "Arcadia," but when they turned to the task of settling the West as fast as possible, the former Mountain Men and perhaps others like them brought with them all the aspects of an "industrial," mercantile and quasi-urban society. The opera house went up almost simultaneously with the ranch, and the Bank of Missouri was secured before the land was properly put into hay.

²⁴ Jedediah S. Smith to Ralph Smith, Blue River, fork of Kansas, 30 miles from the Ponca Villages, September 10, 1830. MS. Kansas State Historical Society. Also reproduced in Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, pp. 355-56.

²⁵ St. Louis *Enquirer* quoted in Donald McKay Frost, *Notes on General Ashley* (Barre Mass., 1960), p. 67. Little Rock *Gazette* quoted in Leroy R. Hafen, "The Bean-Sinclair Party of Rocky Mountain Trappers, 1830-32," *The Colorado Magazine*, XXXI (1954), 163.

Secondly, as explorers—men who searched out the hidden places in the western wilderness—the Mountain Men as Jacksonian Men looked with a flexible eye upon the new land. Unlike the Hudson's Bay explorer who looked only for beaver and immediate profit, the Mountain Man looked to the future and the development of the West, not as a vast game preserve, but as a land like the one he had known back home.

"Much of this vast waste of territory belongs to the Republic of the United States," wrote Zenas Leonard from San Francisco Bay in 1833. "What a theme to contemplate its settlement and civilization. Will the jurisdiction of the federal government ever succeed in civilizing the thousands of savages now roaming over these plains, and her hardy freeborn population here plant their homes, build their towns and cities, and say here shall the arts and sciences of civilization take root and flourish? Yes, here, even in this remote part of the Great West before many years will these hills and valleys be greeted with the enlivening sound of the workman's hammer, and the merry whistle of the ploughboy . . . we have good reason to suppose that the territory *west* of the mountains will some day be equally as important to the nation as that on the east."²⁶

In 1830 in a famous letter to John H. Eaton, the Secretary of War, Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette aired their views on the possibilities of the West. Smith made clear that a wagon road route suitable for settlers existed all the way to Oregon, and Sublette dramatized the point when he brought ten wagons and two dearborns and even a milch cow over the mountains as far as the Wind River rendezvous. Their report made abundantly clear that in their opinion the future of the West lay with settlers rather than trappers. Indeed they were worried that the English at Fort Vancouver might grasp this fact before the American government.²⁷ In short, as explorers and trappers theirs was a broad-ranging, flexible, settler-oriented, public view of the Far West.

Tied in with this and of the greatest significance is a third and final point. Not only did they *see* a settler's future in the West, but at least some of the Mountain Men were most eager to see to it that such a future was *guaranteed* by the institutions of the United States Government which must be brought West and extended over all the wild new land to protect the settler in the enjoyment of his own "vine and fig tree." The Mexican Government, unstable, and blown by whim or caprice, could not secure the future, and the British Government, at least in North America, was under the heel of monopoly. France was frivolous and decadent. Russia

²⁶ Zenas Leonard, *Narrative of the Adventures of Zenas Leonard*, ed. John C. Ewers (Norman, Okla., 1959), pp. 94-95.

²⁷ Reproduced in Morgan, *Jedediah Smith*, pp. 343-48.

was a sinister and backward despotism. Only the free institutions of Jacksonian America would make the West safe for enterprise. So strongly did he feel about this that in 1841 the Mountain Man Moses "Black" Harris sent a letter to one Thornton Grimsley offering him the command of 700 men, of which he was one, who were eager to "join the standard of their country, and make a clean sweep of what is called the Oregon [sic] Territory; that is clear it of British and Indians." Outraged not only at British encroachments, he was also prepared to "march through to California" as well.²⁸ It may well have been this spirit that settled the Oregon question and brought on the Mexican War.²⁹

Settlement, security, stability, enterprise, free enterprise, a government of laws which, in the words of Jackson himself, confines "itself to equal *protection*, and as Heaven does its rains, showers its favors alike on the high and the low, the rich and the poor,"³⁰ all of these shaped the Mountain Man's vision of the West and his role in its development. It was called Manifest Destiny. But long before John L. O'Sullivan nicely turned the phrase in the *Democratic Review*,³¹ the Mountain Man as Jacksonian Man—a "venturous conservative"—was out in the West doing his utmost to lend the Almighty a helping hand. James Clyman perhaps put it most simply:

Here lies the bones of old Black Harris
who often traveled beyond the far west
and for the freedom of Equal rights
He crossed the snowy mountain Hights
was free and easy kind of soul
Especially with a Belly full.³²

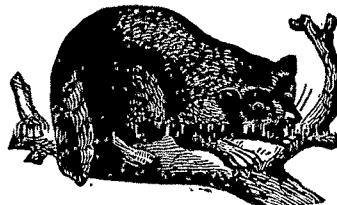
²⁸ Quoted in Charles L. Camp, ed. *James Clyman Frontiersman* (Portland, Ore., 1960), pp. 61-62.

²⁹ Ray Allen Billington, *The Far Western Frontier*, pp. 154-73. See also Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York, 1963).

³⁰ James D. Richardson, ed. *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897* (1900), II, 590-91. Italics mine.

³¹ John L. O'Sullivan, "Annexation," unsigned article, *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, XVII (July-August 1845), 797-98. See also his more popular statement in the *New York Morning News*, December 27, 1845.

³² Camp, *James Clyman Frontiersman*, p. 64.



MERLE CURTI, JUDITH GREEN & RODERICK NASH *

Anatomy of Giving: Millionaires in the Late 19th Century

THE PROLIFERATION OF LARGE-SCALE PHILANTHROPIC INSTITUTIONS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMERICA HAS ENCOURAGED, IN THE PAST FEW YEARS, INTEREST IN THE HISTORY OF VOLUNTARY GIVING. LONG BEFORE THIS WRITERS, WITHOUT BENEFIT OF EITHER QUANTITATIVE STUDIES OF AMERICAN GIVING OR OF CAREFUL COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF PHILANTHROPIC BEHAVIOR IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN OTHER COUNTRIES, MAINTAINED THAT GENEROSITY HAD BEEN AN IMPORTANT AND INDEED A DISTINGUISHING ASPECT OF THE NATIONAL CHARACTER.¹

These generalizations, which rested on impressions, can be illustrated by representative examples. James Bryce, writing in 1888, declared that "in works of active benevolence, no country has surpassed, and perhaps none has equalled, the United States. Not only are the sums collected for all sorts of philanthropic purposes larger relatively to the wealth of America than in any European country, but the amount of personal effort devoted to them seems to a European visitor to exceed that he knows at home."² Informed observers and scholars have largely supported Bryce's judgment. In 1953 a leading authority on American history wrote that

* In every sense, this project was a cooperative one. Dr. Margaret Wooster Curti helped to plan the project. My colleague, Professor Irvin G. Wyllie, offered helpful suggestions during the planning stage. Charles Strickland, a research assistant in the University of Wisconsin History of Philanthropy Project, gave valuable aid in planning the layouts and in collecting and coding biographical material. Professor and Mrs. Burton Fisher, while in no way responsible either for planning procedures or for our interpretations, have given us valuable criticisms and suggestions.

¹ For examples see Merle Curti, "American Philanthropy and the National Character," *American Quarterly*, X (Winter 1958), 420-37.

² James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (3d ed.; 2 vols.; New York, 1909), II, 723.

successful Americans "shared their money with others almost as freely as they made it, returning at least part of their substance to channels of social usefulness through munificent gifts and bequests. This philanthropic streak in the national character, an index of the pervasive spirit of neighborliness, appeared early and has in our own day reached fabulous proportions."³ Some years later a scholar competent in the economic history of both Europe and America concluded that, despite the inadequacy of the statistical record, "the best data available indicate that philanthropic contributions in Western Europe, for all purposes—education, social work, religion, scientific research, and art—amount to less than one-half of one per cent of the annual national income, whereas in the United States they amount to some two per cent of the national income."⁴

While several studies lend support to the thesis of outstanding generosity on the part of Americans in the past,⁵ we have nothing comparable to the elaborate and detailed quantification that marks the notable work of W. K. Jordan for British philanthropy in the Tudor and Stuart periods.⁶ The work of F. Emerson Andrews, to be sure, is admirable in its statistical base and methodology, but it is largely confined to the recent period.⁷ The extent to which the American reputation for generosity is valid over time has been one of the many inquiries that has concerned the University of Wisconsin Project on the History of American Philanthropy, defined as private and voluntary giving for public purposes.

Many other questions might and ought to be asked concerning the activities of American donors and the Wisconsin Project has tried to fill

³ Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr., "The True American Way of Life," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, December 13, 1953, Part II, 3.

⁴ Shepard E. Clough, "Philanthropy and the Welfare State in Europe," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXV (March 1960), 87.

⁵ For example, the completed and recently published book-length study of American giving overseas by Merle Curti and the investigation in progress on the impact of philanthropy on American colleges and universities by Curti and Roderick W. Nash; Jesse B. Sears, *Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education*, "Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 26" (Washington, 1922); Robert Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago, 1960); Merle Curti, "Tradition and Innovation in American Philanthropy," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CV (April 1961), 146-56; Edward C. Jenkins, *Philanthropy in America* (New York, 1950); and Arnaud C. Marts, *Man's Concern for his Fellow Man* (New York, 1961).

⁶ W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660* (New York, 1959), *The Charities of London, 1480-1660* (London, 1960), and *The Charities of Rural England, 1480-1660* (New York, 1962).

⁷ F. Emerson Andrews, *Philanthropic Giving* (New York, 1950), *Corporation Giving* (New York, 1952), *Attitudes toward Giving* (New York, 1953), and *Philanthropic Foundations* (New York, 1955). The forthcoming study of American philanthropy sponsored by the National Bureau of Economic Research similarly concentrates on the recent period.

some of the gaps. What, for instance, are the fields that have received the most support from donors, and what trends are discernible over a period of time? How much philanthropy has been in the form of lifetime gifts rather than bequests? Are gifts and bequests more likely to be made by those with few or no dependents or survivors than by those with many? Was there any marked difference between men and women donors in the causes chosen for philanthropy? What part does religion, educational background, means of acquisition of fortune, and occupation play in philanthropic giving? On the assumption that philanthropy reflects social trends, can an analysis of American giving reveal any definite trends?

Widespread concern during the 1890s and early years of the twentieth century over the creation of million-dollar fortunes and the uses of great wealth resulted in the publication of several relevant articles and studies. This interest was reflected in and stimulated by the compilation of two nation-wide lists of millionaires. The more important appeared as a supplement of the *New York Tribune* and was the work of Roswell G. Horr, a financial editor of the paper.⁸ The report listed 4,047 men and women reputed to be millionaires. The list was arranged state by state, city by city. The kind of economic activity thought to be the major factor in the creation of each fortune was indicated. The *Tribune's* financial editor claimed to have consulted 1,500 merchants, bankers, commercial agents, lawyers, surrogates of counties, trustees and other citizens all over the country in a position to know the facts. The concentration on major cities and on the Eastern section of the country may have resulted in some exaggeration of the proportion of millionaires in this region. The *New York Tribune's* commitment to protective tariffs may also have resulted in a slight bias in minimizing the importance of protected industries in the growth of great fortunes. Yet scholars who have studied the compilation believe that it was carefully and honestly done.⁹ In 1902 the *New York World*, a staunch advocate of income and inheritance taxes and a vigorous opponent of protective tariffs, made a comparable list of millionaires for that year.¹⁰

⁸ "American Millionaires: The Tribune's List of Persons Reputed to be Worth a Million or More," *Tribune Monthly*, IV, No. 6 (June 1892). Sidney Ratner has reprinted the *New York Tribune* list and discussed it in an informing introduction: *New Light on the History of Great American Fortunes: American Millionaires of 1892 and 1902* (New York, 1953).

⁹ George P. Watkins, "The Growth of Large Fortunes," *Publications of the American Economic Association*, VIII, 3d series (1907), 875 ff. For other favorable judgments on the care with which the *Tribune* list was compiled and on its general reliability see Ratner, *New Light on the History of Great American Fortunes*, p. xix.

¹⁰ The *New York World's* list of 3,561 millionaires living in 1902 is also included in the Ratner volume.

These lists of millionaires were only one factor in explaining the increasing discussion of the origins and uses of great wealth around the turn of the century. As evinced by a rash of book and periodical publications many Americans were pondering the Spencerian concept of social Darwinism and the gospel of wealth as enunciated by Andrew Carnegie. The sharp debates over trusts, tariffs and income taxes, together with the growing strength of Populism, also accentuated the issue of the sources of great fortunes and the uses to which they were put. Moreover, a series of notable gifts for philanthropic purposes attracted a good deal of attention. These included Rockefeller's 1886 gift of \$600,000 to resuscitate the defunct University of Chicago and Stanford's to the West Coast institution bearing that name; Armour's bequest of \$100,000 for the establishment of a mission for poor Chicago youngsters, which was a start toward the technical institution bearing the family name; the Drexel endowment of a similar school in Philadelphia; and the donations for libraries associated with the names of Pratt, Newberry and Crerar. Most spectacular of all benefactions were those of Andrew Carnegie for public libraries and other educational institutions. These implemented the thesis advanced in his famous essay, "The Gospel of Wealth," which first appeared in the *North American Review* for June 1889. Carnegie argued, in secular terms, for a vast extension of the ancient doctrine of stewardship. A man of wealth was obligated to society to spend all but a minimal part of his fortune for desirable social purposes which did not properly engage the public treasury and which did not undermine individual initiative and self-reliance.¹¹ In the context of all these things it was natural to raise questions concerning the reputation of millionaires for benevolence and to make the *New York Tribune* list a point of reference.

Within a few months after the appearance of this list the *Review of Reviews* published an article entitled "American Millionaires and their Public Gifts."¹² It was unsigned but may have been written by the editor, Dr. Albert Shaw, who was known to have been interested in the general problem. The author observed that it would be interesting if the millionaires enumerated by the *Tribune* could be separated into givers and non-givers and if, further, the list had included men worth less than a million dollars, many of whom were known to be generous contributors to philanthropic causes. In preparation for the article the writer had consulted knowledgeable men in several cities regarding the local reputation for benevolence of the millionaires listed. The New York contingent included 1,003 men and women, but the writer of the article found that this num-

¹¹ For a recent edition of this and other essays bearing on the problem of wealth see Andrew Carnegie, *The Gospel of Wealth*, ed. Edward C. Kirkland (Cambridge, 1962).

¹² *Review of Reviews*, VII (February 1893), 48-60.

ber was too large to classify. No estimates were available for Philadelphia, and the correspondent from Boston had a low opinion of that city's philanthropic habits. Although 200 millionaires were listed, there were no great benefactions: Henry Lee Higginson's support of the Boston Symphony Orchestra was an exception. Of eastern cities, Baltimore enjoyed an especially favorable record: half of its 55 millionaires were checked as generous. The correspondent in Cleveland noted that of 68 millionaires in that city 28 were considered "to a moderate extent at least, mindful of their public opportunities and duties."¹³ Of the 67 millionaires listed for Cincinnati, 21 were checked as being comparatively liberal givers. At least 12 of Detroit's 42 millionaires enjoyed a reputation for benevolence. The St. Louis correspondent checked 10 out of 45 persons listed in his city. In St. Paul, nine of the 28 millionaires had a reputation for giving, James J. Hill being the best known, while in Minneapolis, 14 out of 44 were so regarded. The California respondent felt that the millionaires of his state were not reasonably mindful of their responsibilities despite the examples of James Lick, Darius O. Mills, Edwin Searles and Serranus C. Hastings.

Desiring, perhaps, more complete data on the giving habits of men and women of wealth than the fragmentary and imprecise estimates revealed by the article in the *Review of Reviews*, George J. Hagar, a member of the staff of *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, began in 1893 to collect figures on gifts and bequests during the year for religious, charitable and educational purposes. He decided to exclude all gifts or bequests under \$5,000 in money or material, all national, municipal and state appropriations, and all ordinary contributions to churches and missionary societies. "The result of the first year's quest," Hagar later wrote, "was such a grand tribute to the humanity of the American men and women" that he continued to make similar investigations through the year 1903. In that year Hagar summarized and commented on the figures he had collected, which he believed to prove "a stalwart unselfishness, a willingness of favored ones to promote the welfare of the less favored, and particularly a growing tendency on the part of men and women of large means to personally administer a fair share of their estates to aid the educational, religious and philanthropic activities of the country."¹⁴ The following table shows

¹³ Attention was called to the generosity of several Cleveland millionaires to Western Reserve University, to the \$1,000,000 gift of William J. Gordon for a park and to the donations of Mrs. Samuel Mather and her late husband for several public causes.

¹⁴ George J. Hagar, "Magnitude of American Benefactions," *Review of Reviews*, XXIX (April 1904), 464-65. The yearly totals as well as an itemized listing of the contributions appeared in *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Important Events* under the heading "Gifts and Bequests" from 1893 to 1902. Hagar's figure for 1903 appears only in his article.

in round numbers the amounts of gifts and bequests that were made or that became legally available. No claim was made for their completeness. In fact the compiler was certain that the total contributions in the eleven-year period must have been at least \$250,000,000 more than his record indicated.

TABLE I

Annual Contributions in Gifts and Bequests 1893-1903 according to Investigations of George J. Hagar of Appleton's Encyclopaedia

1893	<i>Over</i>	\$ 29,000,000
1894		32,000,000
1895		32,800,000
1896		27,000,000
1897		45,000,000
1898		38,000,000
1899		62,750,000
1900		47,500,000
1901		107,360,000
1902		94,000,000
1903		95,000,000
<hr/>		
Total		\$610,410,000

As one might expect, the figures reflected the general financial condition of the country. In 1896, when almost every business was depressed, the total contributed was the lowest in the record. In 1898 benevolence tended to meet the immediate demands of war relief, with the result that contributions to religious, charitable and educational purposes dropped. The high water mark in 1901 was explained by the fact that in that year Carnegie's gifts aggregated more than \$31,000,000, but even so more than \$75,000,000 were contributed by other benefactors. In 1903, 19 persons gave or bequeathed more than \$65,000,000. Gifts and bequests ranging from \$5,000 to \$25,000 aggregated nearly \$2,000,000, and those from \$25,000 upward composed the sum of more than \$87,000,000. Hagar added somewhat ambiguously that in the great majority of cases the money came, "not from those considered rich in the present meaning of the word, though the acknowledged wealthy contributed the bulk of the total."¹⁵

¹⁵ Hagar, *Review of Reviews*, XXIX, 465.

Suggestive as these contemporary reports are, the light thrown on the larger questions under discussion leaves much to be desired. To find out whether an application of quantitative methods would be helpful in further illuminating the problem of the alleged generosity of Americans of great wealth, the authors conducted two related investigations of philanthropic activities. Our emphasis, as the study proceeded, was on the allocation of gifts and bequests to particular philanthropic areas, but where possible we also assembled data on factors which may have influenced motivation. The period chosen was that between 1851 and 1913.

For our first project we undertook a detailed study of the philanthropic habits of a sample from the 1892 list of 4,047 reputed millionaires compiled by the *New York Tribune*. Our sample, chosen by using Tippet's Table of Random Numbers, included 124 names. By means of a careful numerical analysis of this sample we hoped to establish the patterns of philanthropy among a class which, as we have shown, enjoyed in some quarters the reputation of fulfilling voluntarily and privately the welfare functions which in many countries are the charge of religious and political institutions. All but one of our sample are deceased so it was possible, within the limits of available data, to survey their life-long giving habits. Our quantitative study affords, we feel, a more reliable indication of certain conditions in American philanthropy and trends than do prevailing impressions based merely on general surveys and biographies.

Our procedure was to collect personal and philanthropic data on the 124 subjects, record the coded data on IBM cards, and then tabulate and analyze the information with the aid of a mechanical sorter. Only a few in the sample bore such familiar names as Crerar, Widener, Fahnestock and Frelinghuysen. But the wealth of many men and women in the sample often secured them a local reputation, so we were able to learn a good deal about them through correspondence with local libraries, historical societies, and surrogate courts. On our numerical analysis data sheets we recorded such biographical data as family background, education, religion, occupation or source of wealth, and philanthropic gifts and bequests amounting to more than \$5000. These donations were assigned to eleven categories: social welfare and health, religion (including missionary activities), civic improvement, liberal arts education, vocational and technical education, libraries and adult education, research in natural sciences, research in social sciences and humanities, the arts, aid abroad, and movements for peace and international understanding. All gifts and bequests for each category were then lumped together for each individual.

We had hoped to ascertain fairly accurately at least the major amounts donated by millionaires and to correlate type and magnitude of gifts with biographical variables. Three major problems, however, required us to

limit our plan severely. First, despite sustained effort, virtually no data concerning the presence or absence of philanthropic activity was found for 68 of the 109 men and 15 women in the sample. Second, we had reason to believe that many donations were given anonymously. This prevented our making even the relatively simple distinction between "givers" and "non-givers" for the names in the sample. Finally, the records frequently did not specify amounts of gifts, particularly for repeated donations to the same institution; some donations were simply labeled "generous" or "liberal."¹⁶ In other words it was, within our experience, impossible to discover records of lifetime giving comparable to the detailed and comprehensive ones which Professor W. K. Jordan found for his study of philanthropy in Tudor and Stuart England in accessible and carefully kept records at central depositories.

Records on bequests were the most reliable, but for 53 millionaires no testamentary information could be found at all. Consequently, attempts to analyze statistically dollar amounts even in the bequest category were effectively frustrated. Table III summarizes our over-all findings:

¹⁶ It seems not improbable that the records for outstandingly large gifts (and bequests) are fairly complete. The following table presents figures which may have some general interest.

TABLE II

Recorded Gifts and Bequests above \$250,000 (New York Tribune sample)

Name	Gift or Bequest	Field	Amount
Barber, Ohio C., born 1841	G	Vocational-Technical	\$3,000,000
	B	Education	417,000
Crerar, John R., 1827	B	Libraries	2,000,000
	B	Religion	750,000
	B	Voc.-Tech. Ed./Civic	300,000
Drexel, Joseph, 1833-	G	Welfare	600,000
Fahnestock, Harris C., 1835-	B	Welfare	505,000
Phelan, James, 1824-	B	Art	310,000
	B	Welfare	1,175,000
Proctor, John C., 1822-	G	Welfare	500,000
	B	Welfare	1,590,000
	B	Civic	300,000
Ralston, William C., 1826-	G	Art	300,000
Rose, Chauncy, 1794-		Voc.-Tech. Ed.	350,000
Thorn, John, 1811-	G	Civic/Welfare	500,000
Webb, William H., 1816-	G	Voc.-Tech. Ed.	250,000
	G	Welfare	250,000
Widener, Peter A. B., 1834-	G	Lib. Arts Ed.	1,000,000
	G	Voc. Tech Ed	6,000,000
	G	Libraries	1,000,000
	B	Art	2,500,000

TABLE III

Methods of Giving and Summary of Knowledge about the Sample of 124 Millionaires from the New York Tribune 1892 Listing.

<i>Donors</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
Gifts only	15	2	17
Gifts and Bequests	23	1	24
Bequests but no information on possible gifts	5	1	6
Gifts but no information on possible bequests	8	1	9
Totals	51	5	56
<i>Unknown</i>			
Absence of bequests ascertained but no information on possible gifts	24	1	25
No information	34	9	43
Totals	58	10	68

We decided, therefore, to limit any conclusions to those 51 men and five women for whom we had some evidence of philanthropy and to consider in the main only the number and intent, not the sketchily reported dollar amounts of gifts and bequests.¹⁷ The factors of anonymity and unspecific reporting are fairly constant among the categories of philanthropy, and we assumed that discrepancies in reporting donations to the various categories would roughly balance out among the 56 donors. This enabled us tentatively to establish correlations and non-correlations between biographical categories and philanthropic habits for the *New York Tribune* sample.

The most salient aspect of the patterns of recorded giving among the millionaires is their provincialism. *Virtually all giving was directed toward the local community.* With the exception of missionary activities there was little or no "world consciousness" among the donors, even those of foreign birth. Hospitals, museums and vocational schools might serve a small region, but the givers extended their horizons only for institutions of higher education. Nor did millionaires feel responsible for extending intellectual horizons into new fields. In strong contrast to our

¹⁷ For what limited value it may have, the authors compiled a table of dollar amounts for their own reference which is on file at the Wisconsin Project on the History of American Philanthropy.

contemporary donors, those of the *Tribune* sample gave virtually nothing directly to further research in either the social or natural sciences. Funds given to vocational, technical and liberal arts education may have had an indirect effect on the sciences and humanities, but the zest for research had not yet intrigued the American benefactor.

Education in the broad sense rivaled health and welfare in the competition for the largest share of contributors' dollars. Aid to liberal arts, technical and vocational education, libraries, adult education and the arts accounted for slightly over a third of the philanthropic categories chosen by the millionaires. Relief to the poor, sick and aged likewise took another third. Our evidence indicates that these funds usually were given to institutions rather than individuals, but many of the donors were reported to have made informal gifts to individuals which did not appear on the record. Religious organizations ranked next in the minds of contributors and received about a quarter of the donations. Less than a tenth went to civic improvement, chiefly to public buildings, monuments and parks.

On the whole, *the millionaires did not alter their lifelong philanthropic preferences when they included charitable and educational bequests in their wills.* Although our evidence shows some individual variations, the over-all allocations of gifts and bequests were virtually identical. Since it was impossible to determine the net worth of most of the estates, the relative weight of philanthropic and other bequests could not be reliably calculated in three out of four cases. But we found that while 54 per cent of the donors made some bequests, at least 30 per cent made none at all. It was impossible to find wills for the remainder. Table IV summarizes the allocations of gifts and bequests to seven of the eleven philanthropic categories, the only ones which received attention from donors:

TABLE IV¹⁸
Allocation of Gifts and Bequests in Relation to Philanthropic Categories

Welfare	Religion	Civic	Lib. Arts		Voc.-Tech.		Librari	Art	Totals	
			No.	%	No.	%			No.	%
Gifts only ...	40	36	24	22	9	8	11	10	9	100
Bequests only	19	33	15	26	4	7	4	7	5	100

Our figures suggest that women were more interested than men in donating to religious organizations and welfare activities. They were

¹⁸ These figures and percentages give only a rough indication of the areas which interested philanthropists. The table gives no indication of actual dollar amounts or of proportion of dollar amounts.

also possibly less interested in vocational and technical education. But since there are only five women in our sample, we cannot draw any really significant conclusions about their habits of philanthropy. Table V may, however, be regarded as suggestive of a general tendency.

TABLE V
Allocation of Gifts and Bequests in Relation to Sex
(51 men, 5 women)

	Welfare		Religion		Civic		Lib. Arts		Voc.-Tech.		Libraries		Art		Totals ¹⁹	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	51 men	42	3	27	21	11	8	12	11	12	8	17	12	10	8	131	100
5 women ..	4	30	4	30	1	8	2	15	..	..	1	8	1	8	13	100

Ten of the givers were of foreign birth, but this had no discernible effect on their allocations to fields of philanthropic interest. Place of residence, on the other hand, seems to have had a slight influence on allocations. Those living in New England and the Middle Atlantic states tended somewhat to emphasize welfare and health, while those in the old Northwest were more interested in libraries. For the West we have a much smaller number of millionaires to work with, but they tended to fall below the average in welfare and above it in gifts to civic improvements and to liberal arts education. Table VI gives the breakdowns:

TABLE VI
Allocation to Philanthropic Categories Compared with Residence
(all gifts and bequests integrated for each individual)

	Welfare		Religion		Civic		Lib. Arts		Voc.-Tech.		Libraries		Art		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	New Eng. and Mid. Atlantic States (34 phi- lanthropists)	29	39	16	21	4	5	7	9	5	7	8	10	6	8	75	100
Old N. W. and Middle West (16) ..	13	28	10	22	4	9	3	7	5	11	8	17	3	7	46	100
Mountain and West Coast (5)	3	15	4	20	4	20	3	15	2	10	2	10	2	10	20	100
South (1)	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	100
Totals:	46		31		12		14		12		18		11		144	

¹⁹ In these and some subsequent tables percentage components do not add to total because of rounding.

It appears clear from our study that *residence did not greatly affect the propensity to give*. The proportion of millionaires definitely identified as donors was 44 per cent in both areas—Northeast and Middle West—for which we had a sizable number of millionaires. The very small number of millionaires in the South and Southwest that turned up in our sample was too small to make comparisons between donors and non-donors in these regions meaningful. We cannot be at all sure that "non-donors" including unknowns really gave nothing (unlikely), but if we assume that the amount and reliability of our data on individuals were fairly constant for all parts of the country (a fair assumption), then the closeness of these percentages indicates that the proportion of donors to non-donors was also constant even if we cannot establish definitely the numbers of these two classes.

Since the religious affiliation of 70 millionaires in the sample of 124 could not be identified, no over-all conclusions could be drawn about the proportion of contributors in each group. Among those that could be identified, the 27 Protestants gave slightly more often than the average to religious activities. The six unaffiliated and "liberal" Protestants (Unitarians, Universalists and members of the Ethical Culture Society) ranked slightly lower in giving to religion and to technical and vocational education but gave more than the average for libraries. Tables VII and VIII present our findings:

TABLE VII
*The Religious Pattern of Givers and of Unknowns in the
124 Tribune Sample*

Religion	No. of Givers		No. of 124	Percentage of Givers
	No.	%		
Catholic	2		3	67%
Protestant	27		39	44%
Jewish	3		5	60%
No affiliation or Liberal	6		7	86%
Unknown	18		70	21%
 Total	 56		 124	

TABLE VIII
Allocations to Categories Compared with Religion

	Llb. Arts Voc.-Tech.										Totals					
	Welfare		Religion		Civic		Ed.		Ed.		Libraries		Art			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
2 Catholics ..	1	14	2	29	1	14	1	14	1	14	..	..	1	14	7	100
27 Protestants ..	25	32	23	29	7	9	7	9	5	6	8	10	4	5	79	100
3 Jews	3	43	2	29	...	...	1	14	..	..	..	..	1	14	7	100
6 no affiliation or Liberals ..	3	28	2	18	1	9	1	9	..	..	3	28	1	9	11	100
18 unknown..	14	35	2	5	3	8	4	10	6	15	7	18	4	10	40	100
 Totals: ..	 46		 31		 12		 14		 12		 18		 11		 144	

To our surprise *no very meaningful relationships could be discovered between the number of dependents or survivors and propensity to donate.* Those without children, however, tended to give less frequently to welfare and health. Table IX summarizes our findings.

TABLE IX
Dependents and Philanthropy

	Welfare No. %	Religion No. %	Civic No. %	Lib. Arts		Voc.-Tech.		Libraries No. %	Art No. %	Totals No. %
				Ed. No. %	Ed. No. %	Ed. No. %	Ed. No. %			
80% (45) had children ...	37 33	23 21	9 8	11 10	8 7	14 12	10 9	112 100		
18% (10) had no children	8 25	8 25	13 3	10 4	4 13	4 13	1 3	31 100		
2% (1) family unknown ..	1 10	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	1 100	
										144

The level of education attained by the millionaires seems to have had no regular or logical effect on their philanthropy, although no conclusions could be drawn with any confidence since the education of almost half could not be established. But on the basis of available data *those who had no more than secondary education seem to have done more for charitable, educational and other philanthropic causes than those with either elementary or higher education*, while the proportion of donors with elementary and with college educations (excluding graduate, professional and business schools) was approximately the same.

Among the donors, however, one notices that those with only elementary education apparently gave somewhat more often to liberal arts education and somewhat less to welfare and health. Those with secondary education tended in their giving to be more generous to libraries and less generous to religion. Those with higher education tended to emphasize religion and to slight vocational and technical education.

Only those with college and graduate professional school education omitted any categories in their choices of fields for philanthropy. No donors in either group gave to vocational and technical education. The graduate and professional school donor likewise did not give to liberal arts education or to art. Table X presents the over-all picture.

In our sample *neither sex, place of birth or residence, religion, family or education had more than a slight relationship to the decision of millionaires to donate to philanthropic causes.* A composite millionaire contributor would be male, native-born, resident in the Northeast, Protestant, head of a family and educated at only the elementary level. But these characteristics also describe a non-philanthropic millionaire.

TABLE X
Allocation to Categories Compared with Education

%	No.	Welfare		Religion		Civic		Lib. Arts		Voc.-Tech.		Totals		
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
21	(12)													
Elementary	10	25		8	20	4	10	6	15	5	13	4	10	
16 (9)														
Sec. public	8	32		4	15	1	3	2	7	3	12	6	24	
13 (7)														
Sec. private	7	35		4	20	2	10	1	5	2	10	2	10	
18 (10)														
College	6	33		6	33	1	6	2	11	..	..	1	6
11 (6)														
Grad. & prof.	4	50		2	25	1	13	..	..	..	..	1	13
7 (4)														
Bus. school	4	27		3	20	2	13	2	13	1	7	2	13	
14 (8)														
Unknown	7	40		4	24	1	6	1	6	1	6	2	12	
				—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6	
100	(56)	Totals: 46		31		12		14		12		18		11
														144

The only variable which seems to have had a pronounced influence on the propensity of a millionaire to be a philanthropist was the method by which he acquired his fortune. *The "self-made men" in the sample were much more philanthropic than were those who inherited their wealth.* There were 56 per cent more known philanthropists in the "self-made" category (Table XI, line 4) than in the other acquisition group (line 1), although there were twelve more subjects who inherited their money. Among those who inherited their fortunes, we found that 46 per cent of those gainfully employed became donors. Only 22 per cent of those who were not so employed or who held only minor jobs were philanthropists. Of the 27 subjects not gainfully employed (line 3) only six could even tentatively be called donors and this gives the benefit of the doubt to Hugh Baxter, contributor of the prize for the "Baxter Mile" in a New York City track meet. The remaining five non-employed, endowed philanthropists were all women, and this number, out of a total of 15 woman millionaires, is relatively close to the average for the entire sample, 56:124. On the other hand, 80 per cent of the subjects known to be entirely responsible for their own wealth were philanthropists (line 5). The few subjects who worked for their money but inherited a position, such as the presidency of a company, (line 6) were less generous than those entirely self-made but more so than the inheritors of wealth.

Source of fortune usually made no difference in allocation to specific fields of philanthropy, which approximate the general average (see Table IV). The sole exception was the sharp drop in donations to vocational and

technical education among the 34 per cent who had inherited their million. Table XI shows the major results of asking our data the question, "What relation did source of fortune have on philanthropy?"

TABLE XI
Philanthropy and Acquisition of Wealth

	Identified Givers		Non-Givers, Unknowns		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. <i>Inherited Wealth</i>	18	34	35	66	53	100
A. (20%) own work and/or position, ie., starting with family connections	12	46	14	54	26	100
41%						
B. (21%) no work or minor jobs only.	6	22	21	78	27	100
2. <i>Self-Made Wealth</i>	32	78	9	22	41	100
33%						
A. (28%) own work only	28	80	7	20	35	100
26%						
B. (5%) own work plus position ...	4	67	2	33	6	100
3. <i>Source of Wealth Unknown</i>	6	20	24	80	30	100
100%						
	Totals		56		68	
						124

A more meaningful expression of the relation between self-made men and heirs as philanthropists may be arrived at by computing the "generosity ratio" for each group. Dividing the ratio of self-made donors (line 4) to endowed donors with jobs (line 2) or 28:12 by the ratio of self-made non-philanthropists (line 4) to their endowed counterparts (line 2) or 7:14 gives the "generosity ratio" between these groups, which is 14:3. In other words the propensity of a self-made millionaire's being a donor was more than four times greater than that of a man who inherited his wealth but was also employed. *It would seem, therefore, that the most significant differences in philanthropic habits existed between the possessors of self-made and inherited wealth.*

One factor in making the self-made millionaire more philanthropically inclined than those who inherited their wealth or position was the opportunity his lowly start gave him to become acquainted firsthand with conditions on the lower social and economic levels. The problems he himself faced, and overcame, were constant reminders of the needs philanthropy could serve. Such a man was also aware of the importance of providing the less fortunate individual with access to education, books, medical care, works of art and fresh air. With such opportunities the chances of his improving his condition were increased. To the self-made man, philanthropy did not dampen initiative but provided an incentive to self-improvement. His benefaction helped open the door of success to more of his kind. Conversely, those born with the proverbial silver spoon had

difficulty seeing beyond its handle or, if they could, were less sensitive to the problems of the needy than those responsible for their own success.

Another factor in the philanthropic habits of those who worked for their wealth and those who inherited it was the nature of the responsibility engendered by the possession of a million dollars or more. The self-made man was less apt to take his wealth for granted. Having made his money actively and, as it were, taken it from society, he was highly susceptible to influence by the concept of stewardship of wealth. Like Carnegie, he was inclined to feel that after providing for his family he owed society a debt that could be paid with philanthropy. Merely to pass his money on to his heirs was a violation of the trust great wealth entailed. Society had a claim to his fortune of which the self-made millionaire was sometimes apt to be aware.²⁰ As an example of this attitude, George F. Peabody, generous American philanthropist to many causes, once made a forceful statement of the motives which impelled him to give:²¹

Twenty-five years ago I realized that I had considerable wealth and it dawned upon me that the money was the result of other men's labors. I had been a banker for a quarter of a century and during that time I fear that I had forgotten that the only way a dollar can be actually produced is by real work. But when I came to see that the money which I had amassed was the work of others, I then and there decided to retire from business and become my own executor, to administer for the people that which rightfully belonged to them.

Of course not all rich Americans agreed with Peabody, but his statement suggests that for a self-made man the claims of society to his fortune could have a special meaning.

It is also likely that some self-made men found it desirable to give to respectable and worthy causes in order to improve their own social status. Concern for one's standing in the community certainly figured in the mental outlook and behavior of some men who had come up the hard way from humble beginnings, and although quantification is obviously impossible, biographical data suggest that status considerations entered into the complex motivation of many donors, including Andrew Carnegie.

On the other hand, many of these considerations were irrelevant to the man who inherited his million. He owed only his benefactor, most probably his parents, for this fortune. Of course at one time someone must

²⁰ Hagar, *Review of Reviews*, VII, 49, argued in 1893 that millionaires are the product not only of their own efforts but of "the unearned increment in expanding land values, the productive value of railway and other franchises, and the other forms of wealth that arise out of conditions which Society itself creates. . . ." For this reason he concluded, the wealthy should give generously to public purposes.

²¹ *New York Times*, July 26, 1931.

have made the money with his own hands, but the beneficiary was less conscious of any debt to society that may have existed. Stewardship of wealth was not a pressing obligation. After all, his father, not his God, had given him his money. Moreover, being wealthy was something he took for granted, a commonplace with which he had usually grown up. The man who was given his money often felt a responsibility to *his* heirs and was inclined to pass it on to them rather than to the public, thereby perpetuating the pattern from which he benefited. Obviously, too, status considerations were much less important among those who inherited their fortunes than among many self-made men.

Our second project was an analysis of large-scale gifts and bequests in the *New York Times*.²² We checked every year from 1851 through 1879 but were forced by reason of the newspaper's greatly increased coverage to limit our study to only four years in the subsequent two decades. We chose 1885, 1887, 1890 and 1897 as years least likely to be affected by cataclysmic events such as depressions and wars. We then studied the *Times* for 1913 to see whether the trends continued to the dislocations of World War I and the income tax authorized by the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Working through the *New York Times* index we assigned all reported gifts and bequests to the eleven categories used in the *New York Tribune* study of millionaires. The results of our study of long-range trends in philanthropy through the *New York Times* study were disappointing. We had hoped that the use of a single, reasonably reliable source would yield a fair basis for comparing philanthropic habits of a broader category than millionaires over a long period. Regrettably, the daily exigencies of newspaper publishing and changes in editorial policy over the years had distorting effects for which we could not compensate.

On the one hand, a donation might have been considered newsworthy one day but might be slighted the next. Then, the coverage of the *Times* was naturally heavier for New York City and the metropolitan area; only the most important or impressive donations from other sections of the country were reported. The proportion of gifts to the field of welfare, for example, was much heavier for New York, while that for universities and other regional and national institutions was greater in the rest of the country. Furthermore, as the *Times* became larger and more national in scope, habits of reporting donations to the several fields of philanthropy changed also.

A few tentative conclusions may, however, be drawn. *The fields of wel-*

²² We appreciate the careful and time-taking work of Sharon Smith and John Tom-sich, research assistants on the University of Wisconsin Project, in collecting data on donations as reported in the *New York Times* in selected years.

fare and liberal arts education dominated the attention of American philanthropists in this period. Outside of general contributions to education, interest in scholarly research was negligible in the nineteenth century. Research in natural science grew to 10 per cent of the total donations by 1913, but then only five contributors (3 per cent) accounted for the \$2,573,000 contributed to this field. Support for research in the social sciences was also negligible, for in the entire period we found only one contributor in the 1860s of \$150,000 and two in 1913 of \$108,000. With the exception of missionary activities, donations to areas outside the country were higher in 1896 and 1913 but still small both in number of contributors and amounts given. The dollar amounts of gifts to libraries apparently hit a peak in the 1860s, with \$1,057,000 or 18 per cent of the total amount contributed and 8 per cent of the total number of donations. Philanthropic interest in libraries declined for the rest of the century and were only 1 per cent of the total number of donations in 1913.

The *New York Times* study uncovered some data on benefactions to Negro education. Although it is known that many churches and missionary societies in the North contributed to this cause, in the South after the Civil War one would have to generalize that interest in this cause was slight if one depended on the *New York Times* record alone. In the decade after Appomattox a New Haven Negro laundress bequeathed her life savings of \$5,000 to the Yale Theological School for a scholarship for a Negro student. This decade also witnessed a gift of \$50,000 to Fisk University. Since our study included only two years in the 1880s (1885 and 1887), the \$1,000,000 gift of John Slater in 1882 for Negro education in the South did not come into the range of the *New York Times* data. Mrs. John Jacob Astor bequeathed \$25,000 to Hampton in 1886 and the 1897 survey yielded two bequests, one of \$40,000 to a girls' school and one of \$100,000. The Rosenwald gift of \$202,000 in 1913 was, of course, only a small part of what one generous philanthropist did for the Negro.

The proportion of numbers and amounts of gifts to religion were comparatively high but no trend was noticeable. Gifts to social welfare and health, on the other hand, increased in the depression years clustered between 1870 and 1885 and thereafter replaced the liberal arts in numbers of donations.

In the field of education, the *New York Times* study indicated that donations to vocational and technical institutions increased somewhat irregularly up to the 1880s and 1890s, while the general interest in liberal arts education fell off after a high in the 1870s of 35 per cent both in amount and numbers of donations. Important exceptions to this general trend in liberal arts education were the endowments of three universities established in the 1880s: Stanford (\$20,000,000), Clark (\$1,500,000), and

DePauw (\$1,250,000), accounting for 60 per cent in amounts given in that decade.

In concluding the summary of the *New York Times* study it may be useful to include a list of the three leading philanthropies for each decade both with respect to dollars given and number of contributors:

TABLE XII
Top Three Philanthropies by Percentage of Dollar Amounts and Total Number of Contributors

<i>Time span</i>	<i>Per cent of dollars</i>	<i>Per cent of numbers</i>
1850s	Liberal Arts Ed. 59	Liberal Arts Ed. 19
	Religion 12	Civic 19
	Civic 9	Welfare 14
1860s	Liberal Arts Ed. 36	Liberal Arts Ed. 29
	Libraries 18	Welfare 21
	Welfare 14	Religion 18
1870s	Liberal Arts Ed. 35	Liberal Arts Ed. 35
	Welfare 27	Welfare 26
	Religion 12	Religion 21
1885, 1887	Liberal Arts Ed. 61	Welfare 32
	Welfare 10	Religion 26
	Libraries 9	Liberal Arts Ed. 11
1890, 1897	Religion 30	Welfare 28
	Welfare 23	Religion 26
	Liberal Arts Ed. 21	Liberal Arts Ed. 20
1913	Liberal Arts Ed. 24	Welfare 42
	Voc.-Tech. Ed. 20	Religion 22
	Art 20	Liberal Arts Ed. 17

Because of statistical difficulties involved in both the *New York Times* and the *New York Tribune* studies it is difficult to make any really valid comparison between the findings of the two studies. Nonetheless, our investigation led us tentatively to believe that *the interests of philanthropic millionaires, despite the preferences of a few for liberal arts education, the arts and civic improvement, was not substantially different from those of most donors of their time.*

In retrospect, the study we made might have proved more positively revealing had it been undertaken and executed along different lines. It might, for example, have been more profitable to have made an exhaustive investigation, in terms of the total universe or by random sample, of wills probated in one city. Or, had we chosen to study a period later than

the one we did choose, it might have been possible to have obtained permission from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to examine the estate tax records available at the Federal Records Center at Alexandria, Virginia for some part of the period since 1916 when the Federal estate tax first went into effect. But this study, while it might have yielded more positive results, would have thrown no light on the earlier period in which the generosity of millionaires was under special discussion. It is precisely this early period for which we have hitherto had no quantitative study in which an effort was made to control variables. It is nevertheless to be hoped that the path broken by F. Emerson Andrews and Frank Dickinson in quantitative studies of philanthropy in the period since 1916 may be followed back to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whether it is possible to project into the period before that date an investigation such as we undertook and succeed better than we did depends on the ability to uncover a complete record of the lives and philanthropic habits (or lack of them) for a group of Americans. This we found an extremely difficult task despite the use of available research tools including personal investigation in and hundreds of written inquiries to the surrogate courts, historical societies and libraries of the communities in which our sample of millionaires lived and in some cases gave. The effort might nevertheless be worth pursuing, for our results, limited though they are in many respects, do suggest that the available impressionistic writings, biographies, and even the efforts of a more systematic sort made by the *New York Tribune*, the *New York World* and *Appleton's Cyclopaedia* leave a great deal to be desired in precise knowledge. Moreover, our study has yielded significant results on the anatomy of the giving habits of a random sample of millionaires. It has given the first precise information on the categories of philanthropic causes which millionaire donors favored. It is also clear that sex, religion, family, education and place of birth and residence did not have more than a slight relationship to the decision of millionaires to donate to philanthropic causes; on the other hand, contrary to expectations, the self-made men were much more philanthropic than those who inherited their wealth. Hopefully we may some day know whether these generalizations hold for both men and women of wealth in other periods, and whether the same factors figure in the giving habits of the less well to do, and of how the anatomy of giving in America compares with that of other countries.



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The Shadow in *Moby-Dick*

PSYCHOLOGICAL PENETRATION AND ARCHETYPAL POWER ARE PLAINLY manifest in *Moby-Dick*. Melville, as an observer of mankind, often seems a forerunner of depth psychology. Often his probings into personality are in the imagery of a descent to a hidden inner being. One may think, for example, of the passage in *White-Jacket*: "It is no pleasing task, nor a thankful one, to dive into the souls of some men; but there are occasions when, to bring up the mud from the bottom, reveals to us on what soundings we are, on what course we adjoin." Or, again, that remarkable "Winding far down from within the very heart of this spiked Hotel de Cluny where we here stand" in Chapter XLI of *Moby-Dick*. The presentation and analysis of Captain Ahab's madness might, barring the great poetry, have come from a Freud or a Jung or a Binswanger. It is Jung, of course, who has provided the only thorough investigation and formulization of psychological archetypes, and it is reasonable, therefore, to turn to analytical psychology to see what aid can be found there for the elucidation of Melville's masterpiece. It is particularly the archetype of the "shadow" which seems strikingly applicable and vital to this novel.

Jung did not discover the shadow side of man. Among countless earlier instances, let Plato's black horse of the *Phaedrus* parable suffice as an example; nearly all religious and philosophical men, including Melville, have known of it. It is that darker half of the human soul, its lower, primitive, instinctual, sensual half. It is mysterious, inarticulate, capricious, demonic, even diabolical. All depth psychologists agree on this major part of the psyche, that it does not belong to ordinary consciousness, that it is essentially maternal. Jung was, however, the first to articulate the shadow figure as a concept and to explain its psychological function. It is, above all, a phenomenon of the preconscious mind, embodying those repressions of natural behavior which Freud acutely and gloomily demonstrated as the neurotic basis of civilization, and therefore, at least initially, sinister. In dreams and in the "forgotten language" of fairy tales and myths, the shadow side of the psyche may be constellated, embodied, into

a single figure; in dreams it is a dark figure of the same sex as the dreamer. For obvious reasons, it is an alter ego, a "dark brother." It may also be projected in waking life onto other persons. Indeed an entire group may project its collective shadow onto another group, a possibility that Laurens van der Post has explored in *The Dark Eye in Africa* to help explain white prejudice there, particularly in his native South Africa. Nor is such a notion foreign to Melville, who has his Spanish Sailor say to the black giant Daggoo: "Aye, harpooner, thy race is the undeniable dark side of mankind—devilish dark at that."

Rather less pessimistic than his teacher, Jung believed mankind to be salvable. The way out of the Freudian dilemma is the process of "individuation," a way based on self-knowledge, acceptance of the shadow, and the raising into consciousness of whatever in the unconscious *can* be raised. Jung's way is a psychological elaboration of many a timeless precept from "Know thyself" to "The kingdom of God is within you." It assumes a *conatus* of the self toward integration. The development of the individual into wholeness requires as its first step the recognition and assimilation of the shadow, including, of course, the withdrawal of its projections. The next major step is the acceptance of the contrasexual element of the psyche, the "anima" for men—and for male-dominated civilization in general. This female component Jung designates broadly as Eros in opposition to the ego as Logos. It comprises those qualities of character which are traditionally associated with women: kindness, tenderness, mercy, the "pitee" that "renmeth soone in gentil herte." It is the capacity to accept others and love them, a motherly quality and a non-rational one. One of Melville's contemporaries, Dickens, too often illustrates the ease with which the traditional association of such qualities with women becomes sentimentality. But another, a closer neighbor, reveals a truer understanding of the phenomenon; Thoreau, with the characteristic acumen of his genius, gives a precise account of the matter while writing of Chaucer: "A simple pathos and feminine gentleness . . . are peculiar to him. We are tempted to say that his genius was feminine, not masculine. It was such a feminineness, however, as is rarest to find in woman, though not the appreciation of it; perhaps it is not to be found at all in woman, but is only the feminine in man." Jung holds, as any rational humanist does, that the ideal personality maintains the feminine and masculine components in complementary balance. Justice should be tempered with mercy—and mercy should be tempered with justice.

The process of individuation reaches beyond the individual in its effects, for it raises and strengthens the sense of common humanity, the sense of human brotherhood. "If men can be educated to see the shadow-side of their nature clearly, it may be hoped that they will also learn to

understand and love their fellow men better. A little less hypocrisy and a little more self-knowledge can only have good results in respect for our neighbor; for we are all too prone to transfer to our fellows the injustice and violence we inflict upon our own natures." (Jung, *Coll. Works*, VII, 25)

The "meeting with the shadow," then, is crucial to the development of the self. As a preconscious phenomenon, the shadow figure is conceived by the analytical psychologists as an intermediary between the conscious mind (the ego) and the deep unconscious. The conscious ego may be symbolized by whatever is aerial or high, mountain peaks and particularly birds; the deep unconscious by whatever is deep and dark and formless, caves, for instance, but particularly the sea. The shadow is the "guardian of the threshold" who can lead the way to selfhood, symbolized by the mandala: the circle, the wheel with the vital center. To the ego the shadow may appear at first as frightening or evil, since it represents what the ego has repressed. But with its acceptance, the shadow reveals itself as the helpful friend, helping bring up to consciousness those elements of the unconscious, especially Eros, necessary to the wholeness and health of the self. Unassimilated, the shadow figure becomes evil, a constellation of all that is demonic in the dark side of the psyche, which in itself is ethically neutral.

Seen in the light of Jung's theory of the shadow, some rather perplexing events and personal relationships in *Moby-Dick* become clear and significant, for they embody archetypal figures and dynamics. The two principal characters, Ishmael and Ahab, both setting out on journeys of the soul, encounter their "shadows" and are saved and damned by the results of these encounters. Their journey is on the sea of the unconscious, "the ungraspable phantom of life," "the mystic ocean," which for the "sunken-eyed young Platonist" is "the visible image of that deep, blue, bottomless soul, pervading mankind and nature; and every strange, half-seen, gliding, beautiful thing that eludes him; every dimly-discovered, uprising fin of some undiscernible form, seems to him the embodiment of those elusive thoughts that only people the soul by continually flitting through it." For Ishmael, the ocean is "the dark side of this earth," but "in landlessness alone resides the highest truth, shoreless, indefinite as God." He recognizes the necessity, the value, of confronting the unconscious.

It is a spiritual sickness that impels Ishmael to the sea: "a damp, drizzly November in my soul," as he says. On the ocean in pursuit of the leviathan whale, he hopes for a cure. Thus it is a spiritual journey he embarks on, and his first important encounter is with Queequeg. Though treated

comically in retrospect, Ishmael's first meeting with Queequeg in the Spouter Inn is, at the time, an alarming and frightening event. In the middle of the night he is confronted by a purplish, yellow apparition covered with "blackish looking squares" of tattooing, a growling cannibal flourishing a tomahawk. No wonder he sings out, "Landlord! Watch! Coffin! Angels! save me!" But Peter Coffin assures him of Queequeg's harmlessness, and Ishmael takes a second look and realizes that "For all his tattooings he was on the whole a clean, comely looking cannibal." There quickly develops between them a profound rapport and friendship described in terms of marriage (language that causes some readers some uneasiness): "Thus, then, in our hearts' honeymoon, lay I and Queequeg—a cosy, loving pair." It is Queequeg's primitiveness that attracts Ishmael; he recognizes the validity of the primitive, which civilization represses: "There he sat, his very indifference speaking a nature in which there lurked no civilized hypocrisies and bland deceits. Wild he was; a very sight of sights to see; yet I began to feel myself mysteriously drawn towards him. And those same things that would have repelled most others, they were the very magnets that thus drew me." Almost at once Ishmael feels the beneficent influence of this "marriage": "No more my splintered heart and maddened hand were turned against the wolfish world. This soothing savage had redeemed it."

Where is an objective correlative for these strong emotions and extravagant language? Less than a day's acquaintance with an unprepossessing and nearly incoherent savage does not seem an adequate basis for Ishmael's feeling of redemption. Yet we do not doubt him; his words convince. We do not doubt, because the experience is archetypal.

Queequeg is twice dramatically presented as a rescuer; both times he dives into the sea to save a drowning man. In the first rescue (Chapter XIII), the "bumpkin" seems to be lost; Ishmael can see Queequeg, "the grand and glorious fellow," but "no one to be saved." But Queequeg dives down and disappears into the sea and rises again with the "lifeless form." This act confirms all of Ishmael's feelings for his friend: "From that hour I clove to Queequeg like a barnacle; yea, till poor Queequeg took his last long dive." The second rescue is the famous obstetric delivery of Tashtego from the sinking whale's head (Chapter LXXVIII), where once again Queequeg must dive deep into the sea to perform his heroic task. Even after his "last long dive," it is Queequeg's coffin that saves Ishmael. In all these things we can see the function of the helpful shadow.

The symbolic relationship between Ishmael and Queequeg is represented most vividly in Chapter LXXII. Queequeg, "cutting in" the dead whale, is on the surface of the sea, kicking sharks away with his bare feet. Ishmael is up above him on deck and attached to him by a "monkey-rope."

It was a humorously perilous business for both of us. For, before we proceed further, it must be said that the monkey-rope was fast at both ends; fast to Queequeg's broad canvas belt, and fast to my narrow leather one. So that for better or for worse, we two, for the time, were wedded; and should poor Queequeg sink to rise no more, then both usage and honor demanded, that instead of cutting the cord, it should drag me down in his wake. So then, an elongated Siamese ligature united us. Queequeg was my own inseparable twin brother; nor could I any way get rid of the dangerous liabilities which the hempen bond entailed.

The dark twin brother, between Ishmael and the unconscious sea, attached to him by an indissoluble bond—this Queequeg is Ishmael's shadow.

By his acceptance and assimilation of his shadow, Ishmael discovers Eros, expressed as the sense of brotherhood and love. "I saw that this situation of mine was the precise situation of every mortal that breathes." Moving within himself closer to the human collectivity, he changes radically from the man who feels the urge to go about "methodically knocking people's hats off" to the celebrant of brotherly love who squeezes his neighbors' hands along with the spermaceti:

Oh! my dear fellow beings, why should we longer cherish any social acerbities, or know the slightest ill-humor or envy! Come; let us squeeze hands all round; nay, let us all squeeze ourselves into each other; let us squeeze ourselves universally into the very milk and sperm of kindness.

And the celebrant of man and democracy:

But this august dignity I treat of, is not the dignity of kings and robes, but that abounding dignity which has no robed investiture. Thou shalt see it shining in the arm that wields a pick or drives a spike; that democratic dignity which, on all hands, radiates without end from God; Himself! The great God absolute! The centre and circumference of all democracy! His omnipresence, our divine equality!

And the celebrant of the "First Congregational Church":

I mean, sir, the same ancient Catholic Church to which you and I, and Captain Peleg there, and Queequeg here, and all of us, and every mother's son and soul of us belong; the great and everlasting First Congregation of this whole worshipping world; we all belong to that; . . . in *that* we all join hands.

The "process of individuation," says Jung, "does not lead to isolation, but to an intenser and more universal collective solidarity."

For Ahab, as for Ishmael, the ocean is the "dark Hindoo half of nature" and an infidel queen as well; he begins his spiritual journey on the unconscious sea with a profound sickness of soul. Whereas Ishmael's sickness is a vague, indefinite gloominess and dissatisfaction, Ahab's is sharply defined demonic possession. He is ego ridden, all Logos and no Eros. That his conscious ego is disproportionately swollen is clearly seen when he interprets the "equatorial coin": "There's something ever egotistical in mountain-tops and towers, and all other grand and lofty things; look here,—three peaks as proud as Lucifer. The firm tower, that is Ahab; the volcano, that is Ahab; the courageous, the undaunted, and victorious fowl, that, too, is Ahab; all are Ahab; and this round gold is but the image of the rounder globe, which, like a magician's glass, to each and every man in turn but mirrors back his own mysterious self." Correspondingly, he hates the unconscious and is maddened by it. "That inscrutable thing is chiefly what I hate." Whatever is not accessible to consciousness he violently rejects. The sea and the white whale are for him inarticulate evil. His own terrible eloquence demands Logos where there is only "speechless, placeless power"; the sea remains silent, the whale has "not one syllable." Projecting his own unconscious self onto the whale, he would assault and destroy it—and therewith destroy himself. The projection is elaborately explicit in the book: Ahab "at last came to identify with him [Moby-Dick] not only all his bodily woes, but all his intellectual and spiritual exasperations. The white whale swam before him as the monomaniac incarnation of all those malicious agencies which some deep men feel eating in them . . . all the subtle demonisms of life and thought; all evil, to crazy Ahab, were visibly personified, and made practically assailable in Moby Dick." Thus for Ahab the whiteness of the whale is like an empty canvas which he fills with the "subtle demonisms" from his own unconscious. Ahab's ego domination—in exact opposition to Ishmael's experience—breeds an arrogant solitude rejecting all sense of human brotherhood. "Cursed be that mortal inter-indebtedness," he cries, "which will not do away with ledgers. I would be free as air; and I'm down in the whole world's books." There is Ahab, and there is the rest of the world: "Ahab stands alone among the millions of the peopled earth, nor gods nor men his neighbors!" Such a man must be, as Aristotle said, either a beast or a god, and Ahab is something of both, superhuman and sub-human at once. A consequence of his egocentricity is that he has no sense of responsibility. He is ready to destroy not only himself but all with him; it is not *his* doing—the "whole act's immutably decreed," Ahab is "the Fates' lieutenant,"

The effect of projection is to isolate the subject from his environment, since instead of a real relation to it there is now only an illusory one.

Projections change the world into the replica of one's own unknown face. In the last analysis, therefore, they lead to an autoerotic or autistic condition in which one dreams a world whose reality remains forever unattainable. The resultant *sentiment d'incomplétude* and the still worse feeling of sterility are in their turn explained by projection as the malevolence of the environment, and by means of this vicious circle the isolation is intensified. (Jung, *Coll. Works*, IX.1, 9)

Ahab lives in his shadow: he is "darkness leaping out of light." Or, rather, his shadow side possesses him: "his special lunacy stormed his general sanity, and carried it." The "special lunacy" is the revenge of the unconscious on the ego.

Nevertheless, Ahab has had "his humanities," and his consuming obsession is intermittent by moments of awareness and regret. The possibility of redemption is agonizingly raised when the journey is nearly over, when Ahab, too, encounters a helpful shadow: the Negro boy Pip, whose diminutive size and timidity are in inverse proportion to his master's ego. (Ishmael and Queequeg seem, appropriately, to be about the same size; at the other end of the scale, there is the amusing and suggestive picture of little, mindless Flask riding the shoulders of the majestic black giant Daggoo.) Pip's first appearance is with the promising circle of his tambourine in hand, but it is not until, leaping from Stubb's boat, he becomes a deep diver into the sea that the promise is renewed. There in the "wondrous depths, where strange shapes of the unwarped primal world glided to and fro," there Wisdom "revealed his hoarded heaps." There Pip "saw God's foot upon the treadle of the loom, and spoke it; and therefore his shipmates called him mad."

With the same unexplained suddenness that Ishmael took to Queequeg, Ahab brings Pip under his protection: "Thou touchest my inmost centre, boy; thou art tied to me by cords woven of my heart-strings. Come, let's down." The imagery of the cords is picked up by Pip, gazing at Ahab's hand in his: "This seems to me, sir, as a man-rope; something that weak souls may hold by." Irresistibly the rope joining Ishmael and Queequeg is recalled, but the beauty and hope in that reminiscence are immediately tempered by the old Manxman pulling in the broken log-line: "But here's the end of the rotten line—all dripping, too. Mend it, eh? I think we had best have a new line altogether."

Ahab recognizes his potential salvation through Pip, who touches his "inmost centre," and it costs him much psychological effort to resist it. "There is that in thee, poor lad, which I feel too curing to my malady. Like cures like; and for this hunt, my malady becomes my most desired health. Do thou abide below. . . ." And Pip, too, knows Ahab's need for him: "No, no, no! ye have not a whole body, sir; do ye but use poor me

for your one lost leg; only tread upon me, sir; I ask no more, so I remain a part of ye." As M.O.Percival has shown (*A Reading of Moby-Dick* [Chicago, 1950], pp. 97 ff.), Pip offers Ahab the way to love. Ahab knows his "fiery father," but "my sweet mother, I know not. Oh cruel! what hast thou done with her?" As if in answer to Ahab's plea to the "clear spirit" to "come in thy lowest form of love," Pip appears to show the way to the "compassionate feminine." But Ahab repeatedly admonishes Pip to stay below; he will not raise him up to the deck level as Ishmael did Queequeg. Ahab remains master to the end, and Pip laments, "Oh, master! master! I am indeed downhearted when you walk over me."

For Ahab has another shadow, an "evil shadow," as Starbuck explicitly calls him. It is not Pip he will tread upon; he has already "put his foot upon the Parsee" to defy the corporalists. Fedallah first appears "tall and swart," wearing a "Chinese jacket of black cotton" and "black trousers of the same dark stuff." His presence and identity are continually matters of wonder. Stubb takes him for the devil. It is even uncertain "whether indeed he were a mortal substance, or else a tremulous shadow cast upon the deck by some unseen being's body." But he is most particularly Ahab's "lean shade"; Fedallah and Ahab are seen gazing at each other "as if in the Parsee Ahab saw his forethrown shadow. . . ." Few question that Fedallah is evil, yet he does nothing remotely wicked. He is recognized as little more than Ahab's own demonic dark side embodied and externalized. He is sensed to have some strange control over Ahab: "even as Ahab's eyes so awed the crew's, the inscrutable Parsee's glance awed his. . . ." Fedallah symbolizes Ahab's possession. It seems no accident that the touching rejection of Pip, quoted above (from Chapter CXXIX), is immediately followed in the next chapter by the picture of Ahab bound to Fedallah (bound as irrevocably to his evil shadow as Ishmael is to his helpful shadow). It is this iron hold that prevents the acceptance of Pip.

Yet twice after first taking Pip to him, Ahab shows signs of relenting; twice we see the welling up of humanity in him. "Close! stand close to me, Starbuck; let me look into a human eye; it is better than to gaze into sea or sky; better than to gaze upon God." And again, after the second day of the chase has ended disastrously and Ahab's ivory leg is shattered: "Aye, aye, Starbuck, 'tis sweet to lean sometimes, be the leaner who he will; and would old Ahab had leaned oftener than he has." But Starbuck is a bending reed; his simple-minded piety is hardly adequate to the old man's need. It has been said that Starbuck is not weak, but merely betrayed by the habit of obedience. Obedient he is, but his spiritual weakness is made quite clear, for he will not face the dark side of the world. More perceptive and intelligent than the other mates, he knows it exists but refuses to cope with it, taking refuge in piety, as Stubb takes refuge in his eternal

jolliness. He shies away from that "highest truth" in the sea which Ishmael seeks there: "Tell me not of thy teeth-tiered sharks, and thy kidnapping cannibal ways. Let faith oust fact. . . ." As for the doubloon that "but mirrors back" the viewer's "mysterious self"—"I will quit it, lest Truth shake me falsely." He foolishly denies his own dark side: "Oh, lifel 'tis now that I do feel the latent horror in theel but 'tis not mel that horror's out of me!" No, it is not Starbuck who can help his captain. "Ahab is forever Ahab" and will keep to his fixed purpose still, even "against all natural lovings and longings." Yet in his relationship to Pip and his subsequent near rediscovery of his human soul, he reaches a tragic stature well beyond the merely demoniac.

Having just implied that the book *is* in some way a tragedy, I should like to digress for a paragraph to comment on what seems a frequent problem in the criticism of Melville's masterpiece, that is the problem of whether to treat the book as a novel or as tragic drama. Both modes are present obviously, sometimes interwoven, sometimes sharply separated. The dramatic element is in some ways more impressive: the sudden appearance of "scenes" complete with stage directions, and the deliberate Shakespearianism with its echoes of *Lear* and *Macbeth*. And here it is that Ahab takes the central position. But is Ahab then the "hero" of *Moby-Dick*? To answer with an unqualified affirmative is to neglect just half of the book. For if it is the tragedy of Captain Ahab, it is also the novel of Ishmael, whose story follows, in essence, a rather traditional *Erziehungsroman* pattern of development of maturity, and occupies a good deal of space in the book. How successfully Melville pulled together all the diverse formal and substantial elements of the book is another question, but *Moby-Dick* without Ishmael, if not the same as *Hamlet* without the Prince, is nevertheless not *Moby-Dick*. Thus Professor Murray's fascinating essay "In Nomine Diaboli" (*New England Quarterly*, December 1951) seems finally very peculiar because it makes no room for Ishmael.

The story of Ishmael and Queequeg and Ishmael's salvation is essentially novelistic; Ahab's relationship to Pip (especially with its echoes of *Lear* and his fool) and Ahab's ultimate destruction belong to a dramatic mode. One story, moreover, is conducted predominantly in narrative, the other predominantly in dialogue.

Ahab fails because his hope for salvation arrives too late. The encounter with the helpful shadow is late and weak, and the sea must swallow him up at last. His evil shadow and true "pilot" has led the way to destruction. But even as his "soul's ship" starts on the third and final chase, Pip's voice cries out from the low cabin-window, "The sharks! the sharks! . . . O master, my master, come back!" "But Ahab heard noth-

ing; for his own voice was high-lifted then; and the boat leaped on." And Ahab, for whom Logos is all, is ironically strangled: "voicelessly . . . he was shot out of the boat, ere the crew knew he was gone." At the same time, the *Pequod* is sinking, pulling down with her the sky-hawk ("the courageous, the undaunted, and victorious fowl, that, too, is Ahab") pinned to the mast by Tashtego: "and so the bird of heaven, with archangelic shrieks, and his imperial beak thrust upwards, and his whole captive form folded in the flag of Ahab, went down with his ship. . . ." The symbolism is fitting for the end of that great aspiring ego, obliterated at last by a greater power.

Ishmael alone survives.

Round and round, then, and ever contracting towards the button-like black bubble at the axis of that slowly wheeling circle, like another Ixion I did revolve. Till, gaining that vital centre, the black bubble upward burst; and now, liberated by reason of its cunning spring, and, owing to its great buoyancy, rising with great force, the coffin life-buoy shot lengthwise from the sea, fell over, and floated by my side. Buoyed up by that coffin, for almost one whole day and night, I floated on a soft and dirge-like main. The unharmed sharks, they glided by as if with padlocks on their mouths; the savage sea-hawks sailed with sheathed beaks.

The symbolism is dense, compact and powerful. The circle image suggests the mandala, the symbol of the selfhood which Ishmael has attained. Queequeg's coffin is, as it were, the memory of the shadows, now assimilated. It appears at the "vital centre" of the self. Having achieved the wholeness of self, Ishmael is safe alike from the savage sea-hawks of the ego which ravaged Promethean Ahab and from the voracious sharks of the unconscious. Ishmael is saved because only he has fully accepted his own humanity. He is like, to invoke again that sanest of men, Thoreau, who could say: "I found in myself, and still find, an instinct toward a higher, or, as it is named, spiritual life, as do most men, and another toward a primitive rank and savage one, and I reverence them both." The center of Ishmael's being is serene: "But even so, amid the tornadoed Atlantic of my being, do I myself still for ever centrally disport in mute calm; and while ponderous planets of unwaning woe revolve round me, deep down and deep inland there I still bathe me in eternal mildness of joy." But "Ahab, in his hidden self, raved on."

To say that Queequeg and Pip are shadow figures is not, of course, to deny them status as living characters (to Fedallah, however, it might well be denied). Indeed, the term "shadow" may be discarded altogether and the same pattern is there. Queequeg and Pip are much alike (though their

physical resemblance ends with their dark color), especially in their relationship with the two leading characters of the novel. Both are unconscious: Queequeg's unconsciousness is natural, he is always at ease, unaffected by the neuroses of civilized consciousness; Pip's unconsciousness is accidental, the withdrawal of consciousness from unbearable reality. Queequeg and Pip are the deep divers. But Pip's dive is metaphorical; there is no indication in the story that he actually gets very far under water: we see him treading water in an appalling expanse of sea, physically nowhere near any "wondrous depths" at any time. Rather his dive is into the unconscious mind as shock induces psychotic withdrawal. "The sea had jeeringly kept his finite body up, but drowned the infinite of his soul." It is there that he sees "God's foot on the treadle of the loom." And it is because Ahab is so alienated from the unconscious that he can "suck most wondrous philosophies" from Pip.

The two relationships (Queequeg-Ishmael, Pip-Ahab) are both formed almost instantly without any adequate overt explanation, as if both were encounters of recognition. Both Queequeg and Pip are obviously and explicitly instruments of salvation to their respective friends, whatever the reason may be. Both induce feelings of natural love of fellow men. Queequeg is accepted wholeheartedly by Ishmael, who thereupon grows as a human being and survives. Pip is finally rejected by Ahab, who is destroyed physically and spiritually. Ahab is made human only fleetingly. Usually he is as godlike and demoniac as he regards himself, but Pip, who knows his master is not a whole man, touches the center of Ahab's humanity. His influence is not enough to save Ahab; it is enough to transform demonic obsession into tragic agony. Ishmael is a whole man, and Queequeg is the accredited agent of his humanity and salvation. Ishmael's is a beautiful and free soul "that can alike dive down into the blackest gorges, and soar out of them again and become invisible in the sunny spaces."



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Martin Arrowsmith: The Scientist as Hero

WITH THE MANUSCRIPT OF *BABBITT* ALMOST COMPLETE IN THE FALL OF 1921, Sinclair Lewis already planned his next novel. "Perhaps," he wrote Alfred Harcourt, his friend and publisher, it would not be satiric at all, "rebellious as ever, . . . but the central character *heroic*."¹ His next novel was *Arrowsmith*. Its heroic protagonist is a research scientist, the first of consequence in American fiction. To Sinclair Lewis he was far more than that.

Martin Arrowsmith is a new kind of hero, one appropriate to twentieth-century America. Journalists and historians tirelessly inform us that the 1920s were years of intense and aggressive materialism. Yet Arrowsmith is quite obviously a hero not of deeds, but of the spirit. His scientific calling is not a concession to material values, but a means of overcoming them. In the austere world of pure science and in the example of Max Gottlieb, Arrowsmith finds a system of values which guide and sanction his stumbling quest for personal integrity. It is this quest which provides the novel's moral structure. Martin Arrowsmith's professional career is the record of his deepening understanding and acceptance of these scientific values and of their role in assuring Arrowsmith's ultimate triumph in his struggles with a succession of increasingly plausible material temptations.

Other centuries have accepted patterns into which such moral achievement could be projected—the martyr, the pilgrim, the evangelist and, in

¹ December 13, 1921. *From Maine Street to Stockholm. Letters of Sinclair Lewis, 1919-1930*, edited and with an introduction by Harrison Smith (New York, 1952), p. 90.

A portion of this letter is quoted by Mark Schorer in his recent and excellent biography, *Sinclair Lewis, An American Life* (New York, 1961), p. 326. My impression of Lewis' life is based primarily upon this exhaustive study, upon Lewis' published letters and upon the memoir written by his first wife, Grace Hegger Lewis, *With Love from Gracie. Sinclair Lewis, 1912-1925* (New York, 1955). There has, unfortunately, been little serious criticism of *Arrowsmith*. Lyon N. Richardson has, however, provided a most interesting study of differences between the texts of the serialized and the published versions. "Arrowsmith: Genesis, Development, Versions," *American Literature*, XXVII (1955-56), 225-44. For the impression made by *Arrowsmith* upon a scientist of this generation, see Jay Tepperman, "The Research Scientist in Modern Fiction," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, III (1960), 550-53.

more recent generations, the creative artist. None of these seemed particularly relevant to Sinclair Lewis in 1922. He had emphatically rejected the forms of traditional religion, despite the appeal which they had held for him as a lonely adolescent. Religion had become just another marketable commodity; its purveyors could not easily be pictured as heroic.² Nor was the sensitive artist a potential hero; Lewis knew too many and knew them too well. Yet Sinclair Lewis was very much a novelist of society, very much bound to the particular. His hero had to have a vocation. The problem was to find one in which dignity and integrity could be maintained in a world of small compromise and petty accommodation.

Yet America did have a heritage of dignity and individualism, Lewis believed. It lay in the pioneering spirit of the men and women who had settled the nation's West. Their heroic qualities had created America, yet theirs were the very characteristics which seemed to be disappearing most rapidly in a twentieth-century America, settled and implacably confining. *Arrowsmith* begins with an almost crudely pointed vignette: Martin Arrowsmith's great-grandmother, aged fourteen, is seated at the reins of a wagon. Her father, lying racked with fever in the wagon's bed, begs her to turn aside and ask shelter at her uncle's. But she will be obligated to no one and turns the wagon west. "They's a whole lot of new things I aim to be seeing," she exclaims. On the opening page of *Main Street*, Lewis describes another restless young girl. Carol Milford, like Arrowsmith, is the descendant of pioneers. Though the days of their exploits are "deader than Camelot," the spirit of her daring ancestors survives to animate this rebellious girl.³ In the future Mrs. Kennecott, however, the divine discontent which helped people a continent becomes an unfocused and almost pathetic dissatisfaction with the commonplace world of Gopher Prairie. Arrowsmith is gifted with the same vigor and curiosity—but is able to attain through it the heroic stature denied Carol. In the life of the pure scientist he discovers a vocation in which his spiritual endowments find meaningful and constructive expression.

During the early part of 1922, the *Century Magazine* published a series of anonymous articles attacking the pretensions of American medicine. The articles were entitled "Our Medicine Men," and written by Paul

² Perhaps it was inevitable that the most thoroughly corrupt and one-dimensional of Lewis' central figures should have been the minister of a Gospel in which he placed no belief. Mark Schorer has sympathetically described Lewis' youthful attachment for evangelical religion while attending Oberlin Academy. *Lewis*, pp. 50-52.

³ The author's intention is unmistakable. The sentence in question reads: "The days of pioneering, of lassies in sunbonnets, and bears killed with axes in piney clearings, are deader now than Camelot; and a rebellious girl is the spirit of that bewildered empire called the American Middlewest." *Main Street* (New York, 1920), p. 1.

de Kruif, a junior staff member at the Rockefeller Institute. By the end of 1922 he was unemployed.⁴

In the summer of 1922, Sinclair Lewis still sought a suitable protagonist for his heroic novel. He had begun his customarily detailed research for a novel of the American labor movement, its hero to be a Christlike leader modeled after Eugene Debs. But the novel did not seem to coalesce. On a hot August day in Chicago, Morris Fishbein, associate editor of the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, introduced Lewis to the young bacteriologist from the Rockefeller Institute.⁵ *Arrowsmith* was the result of this meeting. No one but Sinclair Lewis could have written quite such a novel, yet insofar as *Arrowsmith* is a comment on the world of American medicine and biological research, insofar as it makes use of scientific values and preoccupations, it reflects clearly the attitudes of Paul de Kruif.

De Kruif provided Lewis with the *vitae* for his principal characters, with the details of laboratory procedure and with a plausible scientific setting for Arrowsmith's exploits. Even more important, Lewis believed, was his contribution of the scientist's "philosophy."⁶ De Kruif entertained few doubts concerning the nature of the scientific endeavor or of the intellectual and personal integrity it demanded. He was equally certain that most American research was slipshod and careless, simply cluttering the journals and indices. De Kruif's influence can be documented not only in Sinclair Lewis' own words, but in the youthful bacteriologist's published writings. Before the appearance of *Arrowsmith* in March of 1925, he had written, in addition to the articles in the *Century*, an essay on Jacques Loeb which appeared in *Harper's* and the section on medicine, also anonymous, in Harold Stearns' *Civilization in the United States*.⁷ His discussion

⁴ Paul de Kruif has published an account of these events in his recent memoir, *The Sweeping Wind* (New York, 1962), pp. 9-57.

⁵ De Kruif's recollection and Schorer's reconstruction of this boisterous meeting are essentially in agreement. Cf. Schorer, *Lewis*, pp. 337-41 and De Kruif, *Sweeping Wind*, pp. 60-67.

⁶ On February 13, 1923, for example, Lewis wrote to his friends at Harcourt, Brace: "It gives me joy to inform you that De Kruif is perfection. He has not only an astonishing grasp of scientific detail; he has a philosophy behind it, . . . and in all of this there's a question as to whether he won't have contributed more than I shall have." This letter was written at sea. Lewis and De Kruif were in the midst of the ocean cruise during which *Arrowsmith* was planned and blocked out. *From Maine Street to Stockholm*, p. 125, and see also pp. 122, 126-27. De Kruif received, of course, a fourth of the royalties from *Arrowsmith*. Lewis' gracious prefatory acknowledgment of De Kruif's help—though not on the title page—was an undoubtedly sincere expression of his gratitude.

⁷ "Jacques Loeb, the Mechanist," *Harper's*, CXLVI (January 1923), 182-90; "Our Medicine Men. By One of Them," *Century Magazine*, CIV (1922), 416-26; 593-601; 781-89; 950-56; "Medicine," in *Civilization in the United States. An Inquiry by Thirty Americans*, ed. Harold Stearns (New York, 1922), pp. 443-56.

of Loeb, both in *Harper's* and in Stearns' *Civilization*, is particularly significant, for it is Jacques Loeb's values which are those professed by Max Gottlieb. De Kruif's "philosophy" is not a philosophy at all, but the recent convert's overenthusiastic reflection of a philosophy—of Loeb's biological mechanism.

Loeb's methodological scruples, even his style of life, had, moreover, a particular significance for American medicine in the early 1920s. He lived and expressed the gospel of pure science. In at least a limited sense, *Arrowsmith* is an incident in the birth of a new scientific medicine.⁸ De Kruif's hostility toward the medical profession is an extreme, though not unrepresentative, instance of the laboratory scientist's hostility toward the clinician. Such attitudes, formed in the uneasy co-existence between laboratory and clinical medicine, shaped many of the particular incidents and emphases in *Arrowsmith*.

Martin Arrowsmith's professional biography is a record not only of the progress of a confused and easily misled young man toward emotional and intellectual fulfillment; it is the recapitulation in one man's life of the development of medicine in the United States. Each stage of Arrowsmith's career corresponds to a particular stage in the evolution of American medicine. Doc Vickerson's practice—and Martin's own practice in Westsylvania—dramatizes, for example, the trials and rewards of what De Kruif called "the splendid old type of general practitioner."⁹ Both he and Lewis were sympathetic to this aspect of American medicine. It seemed informal, individual, at moments even heroic; at least it was free of that mixture of ersatz science and sordid commercialism which De Kruif regarded as having corrupted contemporary medical practice.

At Winnemac University, both teachers and classmates of young Arrowsmith exemplify particular types and trends in medicine's coming-of-age. Dean Silva, for example, the pious disciple of Osler and Laennec, represents the understanding and craftsmanship to be found in clinical medicine. Professor Robertshaw, the self-exiled Brahmin physiologist, who always spoke—with elaborate casualness—of his student days in Leipzig with Carl Ludwig, illustrates the transference of German laboratory medicine to the United States—and with his "fussy little . . . maiden-aunt experiments" proves that the progress of science demands the spirit and not simply the techniques of German science.¹⁰ Roscoe Geake, the profes-

⁸ It has been a prolonged parturition; many of the criticisms voiced by Max Gottlieb and Arrowsmith are still heard in the basic science departments of our better medical schools.

⁹ *Century*, CIV (1922), 788. De Kruif entertained a roseate view of the dedicated and "non-commercial" nineteenth-century practitioner.

¹⁰ Carl Ludwig, possibly the greatest teacher of physiology in the second half of the nineteenth century, was the mentor of many of the leaders in the first generation of

sor of otolaryngology and future minion of the New Idea Instrument and Furniture Company, is a representative of the most sordid and ignoble aspects of clinical medicine, his specialism simply a device for the multiplication of fees.

Unlike most of his fellow medical students, Arrowsmith is the graduate of a four-year liberal arts curriculum. He is confident in his abilities as he enters medical school and looks forward to increasing his scientific knowledge. But, except for the inspiring example of Max Gottlieb, he is to be sadly disappointed. Arrowsmith's disillusionment is identical with that experienced by a hypothetical college graduate whose medical career was depicted by Paul de Kruif in the *Century*. He

enters his first medical course with confidence, aware of his superiority over the majority of his fellows. It is easy, then, to imagine his dismay when he discovers that he knows far more of physics and chemistry than many of his medical instructors, and finds himself surrounded by glib-memoried, poorly-prepared ignoramuses who shine by reason of their parrot-like ability to reel off an enormous number of facts crammed out of text-books.¹¹

After a short residency at a metropolitan hospital, an experience which at first stimulates then bores him, Arrowsmith begins practice in Wheatsylvania, North Dakota. But a newly inspired enthusiasm for public-health work earns him only the scorn of the small farming community. Fortunately, he is able to leave. Through the agency of Max Gottlieb and Gustav Sondelius, he obtains a position with the health department of a small Iowa city. In Nautilus, Arrowsmith's zeal quickly fades before the boosterism of his chief, the improbable Almus Pickerbaugh. Public-health programs, Martin discovers, are to be prosecuted in newspaper columns and on the lecture platform, not in the laboratory. De Kruif had, before meeting Lewis, recorded his intense dislike for such "shouters for public health," for these "dubious Messiahs who combine the zealous fanaticism of the missionary with the Jesuitical cynicism of the politician."¹² Boards of health, he argued, should be administered by engineers, statisticians and bacteriologists—not by half-educated physicians.

Driven finally from his post in Nautilus, Arrowsmith is forced to accept a position with that "most competent, most clean and brisk and visionless

American academic physiologists. George Rosen, "Carl Ludwig and his American Students," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, IV (1936), 609-50.

¹¹ *Century*, CIV (1922), 782. Martin Arrowsmith was born in 1883 and when he entered medical school in the first decade of this century, the vast majority of medical students were not college graduates. Many had no college or university training at all.

¹² This sentence is a conflation of remarks made by De Kruif in Stearns, *Civilization*, p. 451 and in the *Century*, CIV (1922), 594.

medical factory, the Rouncefield Clinic."¹³ In the early years of the 1920s, the clinic seemed to all observers the most advanced form of medical practice. And De Kruif, like many other laboratory men, had already demonstrated his distaste for these gilded repair shops. Research, Arrowsmith soon learns, is regarded simply as a means of securing free advertising for the clinic. After a year of bondage at the Rouncefield Clinic, Arrowsmith's first paper is published in the *Journal of Infectious Diseases* and he is offered a research position at the McGurk Institute (of course, Lewis' conception of the Rockefeller Institute). At first Arrowsmith feels that he has reached a kind of scientific Elysium. He has a well-equipped laboratory, competent assistants, the company of his revered Max Gottlieb. Yet this too proves less than idyllic. Its demand for social graces, for premature publication, in short, its cultivation of success leads Arrowsmith toward his final and most important decision. He resigns from the Institute and joins his friend, the irreverent chemist Terry Wickett, who had already fled the compromising security of McGurk, at a wooded Vermont lake. Here, with a few like-minded investigators, they plan to conduct years of uninterrupted research. Thus the novel ends; Arrowsmith has conquered the final and most plausible obstacle in his quest for personal integrity—he has renounced success itself.¹⁴ Or at least success by the ordinary standards of American life. Like Max Gottlieb Martin Arrowsmith is destined for fame, but in a world whose judgments are eternal, international and ultimately untouched by material considerations.

One of the tentative titles for *Arrowsmith* was *The Shadow of Max Gottlieb*. An unfortunate title perhaps, but in a way justified. For Gottlieb is the scientific vocation. He had, inevitably, to be German. It was not simply that Paul de Kruif was immensely impressed by Jacques Loeb. To the young men of Lewis' and De Kruif's generation, science was German science, its embodiment the German professor. Gottlieb is a symbol not only of the transfer of European knowledge and techniques to the New World, but an expression of the peculiar mystique of German academic life. His worship of research *qua* research and his reverent attitude toward this pursuit of knowledge are very much the product of the German university. Such beliefs never established themselves with quite such intensity.

¹³ *Arrowsmith*, p. 270.

¹⁴ It is clear that this is Lewis' explicit intention; no one had experienced more acutely than he the bitterness of American success. Martin is shown to be repulsed by the prospect of becoming a "Man of Measured Merriment," of succumbing to "the shrieking bawdy thing called Success." (*Arrowsmith*, p. 323). As the novel ends, Arrowsmith looks forward to years of research on quinine. And, he exclaims joyously, "probably we'll fail!" These are the final words of *Arrowsmith*. Paul de Kruif recalls protesting that the "probably" should be "possibly"; that no one begins a project with the conviction that he will fail. "That shows you've missed the whole meaning of *Arrowsmith*," Lewis sadly replied. *Sweeping Wind*, p. 116.

in France, in England—or in the United States. Yet the almost religious texture of this attitude toward the scientist's task is essential to the moral structure of the novel. It clothes Arrowsmith's long hours in his laboratory with a spiritual, an inherently transcendent quality.

As in the legends of the saints, every sordid aspect of Max Gottlieb's life is only evidence of his grace and a comment upon the tawdry standards of those who mock him. He lives in a "small brown weedy" house, rides to his laboratory on an ancient and squeaky bicycle, and wears the shabby topcoat of a poor professor. Most Americans could only regard him as something of a crank. His was "no work for the tall man at a time when heroes were building bridges, experimenting with Horseless Carriages, writing the first of the poetic Compelling Ads, and selling miles of calico and cigars." Yet on the crowded desk in Gottlieb's little bungalow, letters from the "great ones" of Europe awaited his reply—and mocked the collective wisdom of Mohalis and Wheatsylvania and Sauk Centre.¹⁵ But Arrowsmith is vouchsafed the grace to understand and find inspiration in Max Gottlieb's life and ideas. Arrowsmith too shares something of his curiosity, something of his indignation at the shoddy and imprecise.

Sinclair Lewis created Max Gottlieb, but with raw materials provided by Paul de Kruif. Gottlieb, De Kruif later recalled, was an amalgam of Frederick G. Novy and Jacques Loeb. Novy was the austere and scientifically elegant professor of bacteriology at the University of Michigan who introduced De Kruif to biological research. Loeb was his idol at the Rockefeller Institute.¹⁶ Though Gottlieb is a bacteriologist and immunologist like Novy, not a general physiologist like Loeb, his personality and mannerisms obviously represent the novelist's rendering of the articulate and sardonic German—or at least the picture of him which De Kruif had

¹⁵ *Arrowsmith*, p. 124. Lewis, it must be noted, made use of this device for passing judgment on American values before he met De Kruif. In *Babbitt*, he phrases an explicit criticism of Zenith in the words of Dr. Kurt Yavitch, "the histologist (whose report on the destruction of epithelial cells under radium had made the name of Zenith known in Munich, Prague, and Rome), . . ." *Babbitt* (New York, 1950), p. 100.

¹⁶ De Kruif's list of those actual persons upon whom the characters in *Arrowsmith* were based is to be found in Schorer, *Lewis*, pp. 418-19. The letter which contains this "key" is deposited in the Rare Book Room of the New York Academy of Medicine (Paul de Kruif to Archibald Malloch, April 16, 1931). De Kruif is careful to emphasize that Lewis attempted to capture the "spirit," not the physical characteristics of these men.

Though my interpretation emphasizes the ways in which Max Gottlieb is a reflection of Loeb, elements of Novy's life and work can easily be discerned in the fictional professor's character. Novy, like Gottlieb, was famous for having destroyed the premature theories of others and, again like Gottlieb, noted for the unfailing reliability of his experimental findings. Novy, moreover, placed constant emphasis upon the importance of controls in biological research—a methodological emphasis familiar to readers of *Arrowsmith*. See Ruth Good, "Dr. Frederick G. Novy: Biographic Sketch," *University of Michigan Medical Bulletin*, XVI (1950), 257-68.

presented to Lewis. In his recently published memoir, Paul de Kruif describes Gottlieb as a "muddy mélange" of Novy and Gottlieb. There is little evidence, however, of his having been dissatisfied with this sentimentally didactic figure when, in 1924, he first read the manuscript of *Arrowsmith*.¹⁷

The genuine scientists in *Arrowsmith*, Gottlieb, Terry Wickett and Arrowsmith himself, all share the same conception of truth. It is knowledge obtained in rigidly controlled experiments, knowledge analyzed and expressed in quantitative terms. There is only one assurance in life, Gottlieb warns the youthful Arrowsmith: "in this vale of tears there is nothing certain but the quantitative method."¹⁸ Though many biologists today would approve such methodological sentiments, they would hardly express them with such passionate conviction. Our contemporaries are almost a century removed from the philosophical preoccupations which meant so much in Jacques Loeb's youth. The emotional intensity with which he, and his fictional counterpart Max Gottlieb, express such quantitative goals is clearly the reflection of an ancient conflict within the scientific community. This is the struggle between vitalism and mechanism.

Physical chemistry and mathematics were more than a method to Jacques Loeb; they were his reason for becoming a biologist. He had, he recalled, read Schopenhauer and Eduard von Hartmann as a very young man.¹⁹ And while a student of philosophy at Berlin, the problem of free will seemed to him the most central of intellectual concerns. Loeb soon found himself unable to accept the existence of such individual freedom. Nor could he accept the techniques of philosophical analysis traditionally employed in the discussion of such problems. Loeb turned to physiological research in an attempt to prove that animal behavior was simply the sum of inorganic phenomena no different in kind from those studied by the physical scientist. Human behavior too, he believed, was no more nor less

¹⁷ Grace Hegger Lewis comments in her memoir of Lewis upon the enthusiastic tone of De Kruif's marginal comments on the *Arrowsmith* manuscript in her possession. *With Love From Gracie*, p. 257. De Kruif's less enthusiastic evaluation of Max Gottlieb today may be found in *Sweeping Wind*, p. 109.

There is little question, however, of the influence exerted upon the youthful De Kruif by the ideas and personality of Jacques Loeb. The most convincing evidence is to be found in the worshipful tone adopted toward Loeb in De Kruif's journalistic ventures. See, for example, "Loeb," *Harper's*, CXLVI (1923), 189-90. In *Civilization in the United States* (p. 456), he unhesitatingly classes Loeb as the greatest of American biologists.

¹⁸ *Arrowsmith*, p. 39.

¹⁹ Loeb, *The Mechanistic Conception of Life* (Chicago, 1912), p. 35. A biography of Jacques Loeb is needed. Fortunately, however, a useful memorial sketch is available, written by his long-time associate W.J.V. Osterhout, "Jacques Loeb," *Journal of General Physiology*, VIII (1928), ix-lix. Loeb was born in 1859 in Mayen, Germany and died in 1924.

than the product of such physical and chemical forces. The "mystical" aspects of life were to be dissolved in the acid of mathematics and physical chemistry.

Naturphilosophie had been thoroughly vanquished by the late 1840s; yet the struggle against it had left a lasting impression on German biological thought.²⁰ The men most articulate in opposing formal idealism were imbued with an instinctive sensitivity to philosophical implications and many embraced mechanistic materialism with an absolutist zeal inevitably paralleling the idealistic convictions of an earlier generation. It was this period of conflicting ideologies which shaped Loeb's intense and consistently generalizing mind.

Jacques Loeb was, for example, an assistant of Adolf Fick. Fick was one of the greatest of Carl Ludwig's students and perhaps the one most inclined toward the study of physiological processes in physical and mathematical terms. And Ludwig—with his great colleagues Helmholtz, du Bois-Reymond and Brücke—had been a leader in the struggle against a romantic or purely descriptive biology.²¹ Loeb himself always regarded the significance of his classic experiments on artificial parthenogenesis "to be the fact that they transfer the problem of fertilization from the realm of morphology into the realm of physical chemistry." His earlier investigations of animal tropisms were, he explained, crucial because they proved that animal movements were regulated "by the law of mass action."²² (Max Gottlieb remarks to Arrowsmith when the young man arrives at McGurk, that he hopes "to bring immunity reactions under the

²⁰ It has, for example, been suggested recently that the post-Romantic generation of German biologists were conspicuously unenthusiastic in their reception of Darwinism because transmutation of species was "only too well remembered from the days of *Naturphilosophie* and speculative science." Owsei Temkin, "The Idea of Descent in Post-Romantic German Biology: 1848-1858," in *Forerunners of Darwin. 1745-1859*, eds. Bentley Glass, Owsei Temkin and William Straus Jr. (Baltimore, 1959), p. 355.

²¹ See Paul F. Cranefield, "The Organic Physics of 1847 and the Biophysics of Today," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, XII (1957), 407-32; Cranefield, "The Nineteenth-Century Prelude to Modern Biophysics," *Proceedings of the First National Biophysical Conference* (New Haven, 1959), pp. 19-26 and Owsei Temkin, "Materialism in French and German Physiology of the Early Nineteenth Century," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XX (1946), 322-27. In this thoughtful paper, Professor Temkin differentiates clearly between the French and German varieties of "materialism." J. H. Northrop, Nobel Prize winning chemist, contemporary of De Kruif's at the Rockefeller Institute, and one of the models for Terry Wickett, has recently and clearly shown the place of his and his teacher Jacques Loeb's work in the continuing struggle between vitalism and mechanism, "Biochemists, Biologists, and William of Occam," *Annual Review of Biochemistry*, XXX (1961), 1-10. I am indebted to Professor Karl Paul Link for having called this reference to my attention.

²² Loeb, *Mechanistic Conception of Life*, pp. 61, 123.

mass action law.")²³ When Gottlieb feels that Arrowsmith has learned the elementary principles of his trade, he warns that true scientific competence requires a knowledge of higher mathematics and physical chemistry. "All living things are physico-chemical," he points out to his disciple; "how can you expect to make progress if you do not know physical chemistry, and how can you know physical chemistry without much mathematics?" Arrowsmith's maturity as a scientist comes only in the last few pages of the book. His papers are praised in Paris and Brussels and Cambridge. But the socially impeccable Dr. Holabird is simply bewildered. "What," he asks, did Arrowsmith "think he was anyway—a bacteriologist or a bio-physicist?"

In a very real sense, the values which sanction and direct Arrowsmith's quest for truth reflect those of Jacques Loeb and of a generations-old debate within the academic confines of German biology. As I have suggested, moreover, Max Gottlieb's values record accurately the laboratory scientist's impatience with the impressionistic and empirical aspects of clinical medicine. The physician could not, in the nature of things, be truly a scientist. The essence of medicine is the functional relationship which the individual physician bears to his patient. It is his task to heal—or at least to console. It is the scientist's task to understand.²⁴ At best, De Kruif argued in 1922, the physician is a skilled technician of applied science. The attempt to train each practitioner as a scientist was simply delusive; a return to the preceptorial system of medical education would be preferable.²⁵ Lewis too found it natural to accept the pure scientist's vocation as a higher one. The very social necessity which created the medical profession tied it to the exigencies of everyday life, to compromise and commercialism, to the collection of bills and the lancing of boils. As able, self-sacrificing and understanding as the best physician might be, he could never transcend the social relationships which formed the fabric of his professional existence. And to Lewis the essence of heroism, the gauge of a man's stature, lay in the extent to which he was able to disengage him-

²³ This and the two succeeding quotations from *Arrowsmith* are to be found on pages 278, 298 and 406 respectively.

²⁴ A central episode in *Arrowsmith* is the West Indian plague epidemic during which Martin is to test the effectiveness of his new bacteriophage. He is, however, torn between the physician's human desire to heal and the scientist's need to maintain controls. De Kruif had already pointed to the physician's unwillingness to use human controls as conclusive evidence of the scientific worthlessness of most clinical findings. *Century*, CIV (1922), 424. Lewis, presumably with De Kruif's guidance, had become convinced that the vast majority of medical knowledge consisted simply of *post hoc* conclusions. *Arrowsmith*, p. 124 and see especially p. 120. Or compare De Kruif's explanation in *Microbe Hunters* (New York, 1926), pp. 235-36 for Theobald Smith's having deserted medicine for laboratory science.

²⁵ *Century*, CIV (1922), 785.

self from the confining pressures of American society. His heroic protagonist had to be a scientist; he could not be a physician. And certainly not an American physician.

Both De Kruif and Lewis agreed that American society had debased even the pursuit of science. For both men the essential factor in scientific progress was the initiative and creativity of the individual investigator. There seemed increasingly little provision for such individualism in twentieth-century America. To De Kruif, no development within American science was more dangerous than its growing "barrack spirit."²⁶ Centralization and bureaucratization of scientific research were not simply the inevitable concomitants of an increasing complexity within society and within the body of scientific knowledge—they were developments inimical to the impulse of spontaneous creativity. Hence Lewis' acid portraits of Rippleton Holabird, of A. De Witt Tubbs and of his League of Cultural Agencies. ("If men like Koch and Pasteur only had such a system," Tubbs bubbles to Martin, "how much more *scope* their work might have had! Efficient universal *cooperation*—that's the thing in science today—the time of this silly, jealous, fumbling individual research has gone by.")²⁷ The young scientist, in an unfortunate image of De Kruif's, was to be denied the "privilege of wandering forth equipped only with the rifle of his intelligence, and thus to remain for long periods of lawless and impudent penetration of the forests and jungles of ignorance."²⁸ No great man had ever drawn his inspiration from the memo pad of a research co-ordinator. Their hypotheses, De Kruif argued, were drawn directly from the observation of natural phenomena. The investigator who sought his inspiration in a library could hardly be considered a scientist at all.

Jacques Loeb was fond of aphorisms. He was especially fond of one coined by his friend and teacher, the great botanist Julius von Sachs. "All originality," Sachs observed, "comes from reading."²⁹ Loeb was acutely conscious of history and of the communal nature of the scientific endeavor. He might mock the institutions of science and the mediocrities who so often found shelter within such institutional bulwarks, but he realized the futility of rejecting the scientific community as such. He

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 951. De Kruif did trace this spirit to what he considered its German origin.

²⁷ *Arrowsmith*, p. 321.

²⁸ *Century*, CIV (1922), 950.

²⁹ Osterhout, "Jacques Loeb," *Journal of General Physiology*, VIII, lviii. Sachs is famous not only as a botanist, but for his outstanding history of botany, still a standard work.

Bernard de Voto has, in a well-known attack on American literature in the twenties, criticized Lewis harshly for his intellectual failure in allowing his hero to reject the community of American science. *The Literary Fallacy* (Boston, 1944).

died full of honors on the staff of the Rockefeller Institute. J. H. Northrop, model for Terry Wickett, even though a lover of the outdoors, always maintained his academic connections. Neither Loeb nor Northrop was a failure; neither renounced the corruptions of academic science and both learned to live with success. Even the criticisms and preoccupations of the restless Paul de Kruif were, as I hope to have shown, themselves characteristic products of the intellectual and institutional history of the biological and medical sciences. The conclusion of *Arrowsmith* is not only an indictment of the handicaps placed in the scientist's path by American society, it is a rejection at the same time of the scientific community whose values justify this indictment.

The novels of Sinclair Lewis are peopled with the wistful figures of Americans whose spiritual potentialities are unfulfilled. *Arrowsmith* is a conspicuous exception. Paul Riesling in *Babbitt* and Frank Shallard in *Elmer Gantry*, for example, were gifted with something of the sensitivity granted *Arrowsmith*. But unlike him, neither was able to enter a vocation in which his spiritual endowments could find expression. Their inability to conform brought only their own destruction. The tragedy of George Babbitt lies in the pathetic and overwhelming defeat administered his vague idealisms by the forces of organized Zenith. In the scientist's life, however, such chronic questionings find a recognized social function. Even *Arrowsmith*'s social inadequacies, his lack of humor, his callousness toward the old and the lonely and the workingman are simply evidences of his spiritual stature. It is the small people who make good administrators, who are attuned enough to the petty circumstances of life to function successfully within them.

It is this pervading air of compromise which finally drives *Arrowsmith* from his wife, from his child and from his laboratory in New York.³⁰ His ultimate rejection of society and its demands has been criticized as callow romanticism—and perhaps it is. But it is the logical result of Lewis' desire to depict greatness and his inability to conceive of its being allowed to exist within American society.

³⁰ The conclusion of *Arrowsmith* would, of course, seem particularly relevant to critics of a psychological persuasion. *Arrowsmith*'s final decision is a rejection of maturity, of responsibility, of wife and child for an idyll with the virile Terry Wickett—an idyll sanctioned by the purity of Nature.



Notes

Simon Suggs:

A Burlesque Campaign Biography

WHILE IT IS GENERALLY RECOGNIZED THAT JOHNSON HOOPER'S *Some Adventures of Simon Suggs* (1845) is written in the form of a campaign biography, no critic has yet recognized that the work is a *burlesque* of campaign biographies. This elementary distinction, however, is of some importance; for as in most great works of satire, the structure of *Simon Suggs* becomes itself a functional part of the humor. If one reads the story merely in terms of the Confidence-Man theme, there is a lengthy section (Chapters 7-9) that seems digressive and overly extended. This section becomes functional only when it is recognized as a direct burlesque of political biographies of Andrew Jackson. Hooper's title, *Some Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs Late of the Tallapoosa Volunteers*, parodies the title of John Henry Eaton's biography, *Memoirs of Andrew Jackson, Late Major-General and Commander In Chief of The Southern Division of The Army of The United States* (Boston, 1828). If Hooper's title would not have shown the alert reader of 1845 that burlesque was intended, the introductory chapter would surely have succeeded in doing so when the biographer defends his writing about a subject who is still alive by citing precedents:

Thus Jackson, Van Buren, Clay and Polk have each a biography published while they live. Nay, the thing has been carried further; and in the first of each "Life" there is found what is termed a "counterfeit presentment" of the subject of the pages which follow. And so, not only are the moral and intellectual endowments of the candidate heralded to the world of voters; but an attempt is made to create an idea of his *physique*.¹

Several paragraphs later, after comparing the lithograph of "Major General Andrew Jackson" to the "comparatively well-favoured, prince of the

¹ *Some Adventures of Captain Simon Suggs Late of The Tallapoosa Volunteers Together With "Taking the Census," And Other Alabama Sketches* (Philadelphia, 1847), pp. 8-9. All quotations in the text will refer by page numbers to this edition. See Walter Blair, *Horse Sense in American Humor* (New York, 1962), p. 103.

infernal world" (p. 9), the biographer describes Captain Suggs' physiognomy in such terms as to be an obvious caricature of Jackson.²

Kenneth Lynn has shown that the verbal description of Suggs and Darley's illustrations of Suggs are caricatures of Jackson, but he does not seem to see that the work is structurally burlesque.³ Chapters 7, 8 and 9 deal with Suggs' escapades as the leader of the Tallapoosa Volunteers who band together in 1836 to protect themselves against a supposed Creek Indian uprising. Suggs has himself elected the leader of the band, proclaims a state of martial law, conducts a farcical drumhead court-martial of a woman (who is sentenced to death but then released after paying Simon a fine), confiscates supplies from the surrounding area, and finally steals a large sum of money being wagered by two friendly Indian villages on an intratribal ballgame. The opening paragraph of Chapter 7 is such an important key to an understanding of the burlesque which follows, that it is necessary to quote it in full:

By reference to memoranda, contemporaneously taken, of incidents to be recorded in the memoirs of Captain Suggs, we find that we have reached the most important period in the history of our hero—his assumption of a military command. And we beg the reader to believe, that we approach this portion of our subject with a profound regret at our own incapacity for its proper illumination. Would that thy pen, O! Kendall, were ours! Then would thy hero—and ours—the nation's Jackson and the country's Suggs—go down to far posterity, equal in fame and honors, as in deeds! But so the immortal gods have not decreed! Not to Suggs was Amos given! Aye, jealous of his mighty feats, the thundering Jove denied an historian worthy of his puissance! Would that, like Caesar, he could write himself! Then, indeed, should Harvard yield him honors, and his country—justice! (p. 82)

Lynn mentions that the allusion is "to Amos Kendall of Jackson's Kitchen Cabinet"⁴ and adds that Suggs' "ruthless use of the Creek War crisis as an excuse for looting his neighbor's possessions was understood by Whig readers to be a commentary on the Democrat's manipulation of the Texas question as a means of winning power."⁵ In more immediate terms, however, the military episodes burlesque Jackson's military campaigns against the Creek Indians and ridicule mock-heroically Suggs' ludicrous attempts to emulate Jackson's exploits. Hooper's allusion is to Kendall primarily

² Many campaign biographies tended to be anticlimactic as a result of presenting the physical characteristics at the end. Hooper avoids this by giving a physical description of Suggs at the beginning.

³ *Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor* (Boston, 1959).

⁴ Lynn, p. 79.

⁵ Lynn, p. 87.

as a *writer*, not a cabinet member; in 1843-44 Kendall had published serially seven numbers of a biography of Jackson he never finished but which was published as a single volume in 1844 by Harper and Brothers.⁶ The last seven chapters of Kendall's biography (Chapters 12-18) concern Jackson's military campaign against the Creek Indians in 1813-14. It is more than mere coincidence that much of this campaign was fought along the Tallapoosa River and that Suggs' campaign is fought in the same area. In reading the biographies of Jackson written before 1845 one is struck by the accounts of threatened and actual mutinies among the volunteers of Jackson's army, and in fact one private, John Wood, was court-martialed and executed.⁷ The Battle of New Orleans is never reached, however, in Kendall's biography; and in connection with Suggs' drumhead court-martial of Mrs. Haycock a reader in 1845 would have recalled Jackson's proclamation of martial law at New Orleans, his arrest of Judge Hall who was escorted out of town, and his subsequent payment of a thousand-dollar fine after martial law had been suspended and civil law restored. In 1842 this episode was brought back into the limelight when Senator L. F. Linn introduced a bill proposing that the federal government pay back the fine with interest to Jackson. In the ensuing national debate both inside and outside Congress the issue of martial law versus civil law was thoroughly explored, and it was not until 1844 that Jackson's fine was refunded by vote of Congress.⁸

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 in *Simon Suggs* can best be explained as a telescoped burlesque of Jackson's military campaign against the Creek Indians in 1813-14 (Kendall's biography) and Jackson's use of martial law in New Orleans in 1815 (Eaton's biography and others). Support for this interpretation is provided by Hooper's envelope pattern of allusions, first to Kendall as a writer at the beginning of Chapter 7 and last to Jackson's fine in the opening paragraph of Chapter 10:

Captain Suggs found himself as poor at the conclusion of the Creek war, as he had been at its commencement. Although no "arbitrary," "despotic," "corrupt," and "unprincipled" judge had fined him a thousand dollars for his proclamation of martial law at Fort Suggs, or the enforcement of its rules in the case of Mrs. Haycock; yet somehow—the thing is alike inexplicable to him and to us—the money which he had contrived, by various shifts to obtain, melted away and was gone for ever. (p. 118)

⁶ *Life of Andrew Jackson, Private, Military, and Civil* (New York, 1843-44).

⁷ Kendall, pp. 273-74.

⁸ See Robert S. Rankin, *When Civil Law Fails: Martial Law and Its Legal Basis in the United States* (Durham, N. C., 1939), pp. 3-25.

The unity of this section would of course be destroyed if only one or two chapters are read out of context. It should also be pointed out that the burlesque need not be aimed so much at Jackson—by 1845 he was a legendary hero to the general public—as at the Confidence Man as demagogue using the Jacksonian myth as a smokescreen in order to achieve his own ulterior ends.

If then *Simon Suggs* is read not only as a picaresque narrative but also as a burlesque of campaign biography, certain restrictions will be imposed on its mode of expression. In his study of Southwestern humor Lynn distinguishes between the idiom of the Self-controlled Gentleman and the idiom of the Clown or Jacksonian Boor (the Self-controlled Gentleman is usually the narrator who in a dignified, somewhat verbose idiom satirizes or mocks the Clown whose idiom is vernacular). He implies that *Simon Suggs* is artistically defective in that the vernacular style is not allowed to triumph over the gentlemanly style.⁹ If Hooper is to be consistent, however, in his burlesque of campaign biography he must retain the mode of expression of the genre as well. The strategy of campaign biography is to give the appearance of impartiality and seeming objectivity while in reality trying to convince the reader of the virtues of the candidate. Campaign biography is usually written in the gentlemanly idiom.

Simon Suggs burlesques this strategy by ironically inverting it: the gentleman-biographer's impartial rhetoric borders not on the edge of praise, but on the edge of sarcasm throughout the work, and at no time is there any doubt that Suggs is a comic butt of satire. The sudden return to the gentlemanly style to which Lynn is undoubtedly referring occurs in the last chapter. The reader is presented with a first person point of view of Suggs by the gentleman-biographer's introduction into the text of a signed letter from Suggs. Simon indicts himself so successfully and comically that the biographer in the last paragraph of the book can launch into a biased campaign oration that is easily understood as irony:

Men of Tallapoosa, we have done! Suggs is before you! We have endeavoured to give the prominent events of his life with accuracy and impartiality. If you deem that he has "done the state some service," remember that he seeks the Sheriffalty of your county. He waxes old. He needs an office, the emoluments of which shall be sufficient to enable him to relax his intellectual exertions. His military services; his numerous family; his long residence among you; his gray hairs—all plead for him! Remember him at the polls! (pp. 147-48)

Such a shift back from the vernacular idiom of Suggs to the gentlemanly idiom of the biographer, made more abrupt because it is the last para-

⁹ Lynn, p. 83.

graph in the work, is not an artistic flaw if we recognize that *Simon Suggs* is burlesque. The return to the style of the campaign biography and the dropping of the pose of impartiality in order to make an impassioned plea to the voter burlesque the similar conclusions in American campaign biographies of the day. It is a conclusion that has been prepared for by the very genre in which *Simon Suggs* is written.

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Frontispiece by F. O. C. Darley for *Some Adventures of Simon Suggs*

Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

Generalizations Upon Generalizations*

IN THE SECOND PART OF *Democracy in America*, TOCQUEVILLE, IN A CHAPTER on why Americans show a special aptitude and taste for general ideas, begins with the observation that "the Deity does not regard the human race collectively. He surveys at one glance and severally all the beings of whom mankind is composed; and he discerns in each man the resemblances that assimilate him to all his fellows, and the differences that distinguish him from them. God, therefore, stands in no need of general ideas." Tocqueville's point, and he goes on to develop it, is that mortal man does, otherwise the "immensity of detail" would paralyze man, leave him impotent unless he risk the violation of the infinite particularity of the world in order to get on with the job of living in it. In this sense, general ideas are, at bottom, taboos which make humanity possible; we agree to agree so we can share. The curious conclusion, then, is that we take our tacit conventions matter-of-factly, to assume that all men everywhere must see the world as we, some men somewhere, see it. What begins in human weakness, ends in human pride. When the anthropologist takes us on a vicarious journey to some far removed and exotic spot, we assent to all this readily enough, but the truth is rather more unsettling when brought closer to home. Consider how long it has taken historians in their professional pride to consider that they make any generalizations at all.

The sanctions and privileges of social convention have great value, especially to those protected by them against the rudeness of change. Historians know this because of their study of the past, but they might know

* The principal books considered in this discussion are:

Louis Gottschalk, ed., *Generalization in the Writing of History: A Report of the Committee on Historical Analysis of the Social Science Research Council* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), also available in Vintage Books;

Emery Battis, *Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962); and

John Higham, ed., *Reconstruction of American History* (London: Hutchinson, 1962), available in the United States as a Harper Torchbook.

it better because of their location in the present. A member of a department of History rarely faces the embarrassment of, say, a scholar in American Studies, in having to confront the demand to define his field. We have had the study of history with us so long that it seems rather boorish to ask what it is. Yet, if one scratches beneath the institutional surface of nearly any considerable department of History one will quickly discover intellectuals doing their work serenely untroubled by the fact that their title, "historian," includes colleagues also doing their work who entertain radically different views on the basic question of what history is and what one does when one writes it. Protected by tradition against such rude and unsettling questions, left free to do what their inclinations, conscious or otherwise, call them to, historians remain content to teach their courses and write their books, hardly bothered that their generic title refers not at all to their function but to the institutional fiction which gathers them under a single umbrella.

Now, however, the umbrella has become rather tattered and the methodological innocence of most practicing historians somewhat less sheltered. The sequence has a considerable history but one can generalize upon it by reference to three books published under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council. Two of them are already famous: Bulletin 54, *Theory and Practice in Historical Study* (1946) and Bulletin 64, *The Social Sciences in Historical Study* (1954). Now we have *Generalization in the Writing of History*, published, however, not as an SSRC Bulletin but by the University of Chicago Press. Looking back over the three, one can detect a certain necessary sequence among them.

Bulletin 54 was published long after the shift in assumptions about history it wished to defend had taken place. The major assumption it wished to shatter once and for all was that the historian was someone who collected "facts" and simply put them down in their chronological sequence. Truth was, of course, honored but assumed to be an inevitable by-blow. In opposition, Bulletin 54 set down as one of the basic "propositions" about written history that it "is a selection of facts [and a footnote here refers one back to a discussion of what a 'fact' is] made . . . under the influence of some scheme of reference, interest, or emphasis—avowed or unavowed—in the thought of the author." The notion that the past reveals its own meaning without the intrusion of the intelligence of the historian, if ever such a notion was held in quite so bald and naive a fashion, was to be firmly put aside. It was, although there is still some muttering in some seminar rooms. But immediately a new problem presented itself, one which involved the historian as well as his subject. If the minimal order of chronological sequence was not in itself sufficient, what was?

The profession turned to other fields and asked what they might learn from insights taken over from the social sciences, from sociology, psychology and anthropology. The consequence was Bulletin 64. The usefulness of borrowed generalizations raised the critical matter, one suspects, of the nature of generalization itself. The historian might, if open to experience, enrich his historical imagination by reference to other disciplines, but the question then obtruded itself, as Louis Gottschalk puts it in his "Foreword" to *Generalization in the Writing of History*, "What kind of imagination is valid?" The straitened condition of the self-conscious historian is suggested in Mr. Gottschalk's answer to his own question: "The validation of any interpretation that the theoretical historian may advance requires that his imaginative filling-in of the gaps in his data at least conform to all the known facts so that if it does not present definitive truth it should at any rate constitute the least inconvenient form of tentative error." Pride relapses into the frailty out of which it came; a modest convenience replaces the godlike pose of surveying the past for what it really was.

Such becoming modesty may, however, lead us out of charity not to notice that historians have not, in their theorizing, come so terribly far. The root problem in making a generalization about the past is not how to fill in the gaps in the data but how to throw into order the embarrassing amount of data we already have. Yet, the value of *Generalization in the Writing of History*, simply because it represents the probing of some of the better minds in the historical profession, should be considerable because it should force historians to confront a situation which, in the words of David Potter in his essay in the volume, "might seem quite extraordinary—indeed, almost incredible—if we were not so accustomed to it," that is, the gap between practice and theory. Historians, as Mr. Potter goes on to describe them, "constantly work with separate items of data" and the "consideration of relationships is the chief part of their work. Yet the literature of their method and the procedures of their training give so little attention to the systematic analysis of such relationships that a majority of those trained in history have never confronted the general question of the nature of causation or of motivation or of group identity. This may seem singular, but what is really singular is that many who are being trained are not even aware that they have not confronted these questions, and many of the men who train them are not aware of it either." Even when softened by "majority" and "many," the bill is a true one, although one suspects that a jury of peers may be unimpressed by it; at least, when the committee responsible for Bulletin 54. sent its list of "Propositions" to seventy, presumably important, historians;

half of them failed to respond at all and only fifteen were not in fundamental disagreement.

As is the sentence of the general editor, Mr. Gottschalk, *Generalization in the Writing of History* is a modest and tentative book. It does not presume to set down a series of stated propositions about its subject, as did Bulletin 54. Nor does it venture further than the *American College Dictionary* in defining what a generalization is. The committee responsible for the entire book did have a philosopher-consultant, Professor Hans Meyerhoff, and a note from him on page vi suggests why it might have been dangerous to reach beyond a desk dictionary. Imputing the view to "some members" of the philosophical profession, Mr. Meyerhoff calmly subverts the whole enterprise by saying "there are *no* characteristically or specifically historical generalization . . . all generalizations employed by the historian are derived (or borrowed) from other, non-historical sources . . . there is, strictly speaking, no unique problem in history: the problem of 'generalizations in history' would coincide with the problem of 'generalizations in general.'" Yet the nominalists among us who like to define history as the description of the unique event had best not leap too fast; Mr. Meyerhoff also points out that "descriptive (as distinguished from explanatory) concepts are characteristic of many scientific disciplines." The weakness of *Generalization in the Writing of History* is that it never engages the most general level of its own topic, the challenge in Mr. Meyerhoff's sentences.

As it is, the book is divided into three major parts. The first presents remarks by historians who have encountered the problem of generalization in their own work in particular fields of history; this first part is internally subdivided into a field remote in time (Chester G. Starr on Greek History), remote in space (Arthur F. Wright on Chinese History) and, finally, modern history (Robert R. Palmer on Democratic Revolutions). Two essays, one by Walter P. Metzger on models for the study of national character and the other by Thomas C. Cochran on the concept of social role, are included in Part I in the table of contents but seem to belong more properly to Part II which consists of speculation on the generic problem: Louis Gottschalk on "Categories of Historiographical Generalization," Roy F. Nichols on "The Genealogy of Historical Generalizations," William O. Aydellote with "Notes on the Problem" and David M. Potter on "Explicit Data and Implicit Assumptions in Historical Study." There is a summary by the general editor and, then, a third part, a bibliography of writings on historiography and the philosophy of History, by Martin Klein which brings the bibliography of Bulletin 54 up to date.

Students of American Studies will find the essays by Mr. Metzger and Mr. Cochran most immediately interesting but the two essays by Mr. Palmer and Mr. Potter, at first glance seemingly far apart, best bracket the problem facing the historical profession, whatever one's special interest may be. Mr. Palmer, commenting in an attractively wry, pragmatic manner on his own fine work, *The Age of Democratic Revolution*, uses at one point the concept of "culture" but immediately points out that it and similar concepts which derive from the social sciences do not appear in his book because history, he feels, "should be written in the ordinary language." Mr. Palmer's ideal is for the historian to be as intelligent as possible, which means that he should "make use of concepts drawn from social science or any other useful source," but to keep borrowed concepts implicit in his narrative of the particular, even so large a particular as the revolutionary era, 1760-1800. Such a modest proposal still involves the profession in Mr. Potter's ultimate concern in his essay, how it might best educate those entering it to an awareness of the general problem which always lurks in the particular, unless the profession is willing to leave it to chance that men like Mr. Palmer happen to enter it. Mr. Potter recognizes that by "qualities of personal sagacity" historians have managed to deal well with questions of causation, motivation and social organization despite "the anomalous fact . . . that the chief problem which historians recognized in their method was the validation of data, while the chief problem which they actually encountered in their daily work was the interpretation of data."

Mr. Palmer's own writing supports the sanity of his ideal. One need only compare his book with Hannah Arendt's abstract speculations, *On Revolution*. Words like "democratic" and "revolution" involve rather grand generalizations but Mr. Palmer is careful to give them a local habitation and a name while Hannah Arendt's rational and ideal cast of mind, by taking "revolution" to its most general significance, leaves one in the uncomfortable position of not being able to be for some revolutions and against others. Some commentators on the writing of history take a curious comfort in the observation that historians are able to write better than they think but, as his own essay, despite its diffident tone, shows, Mr. Palmer was able to write better because he did think. One suspects the same is the case in the best of our historical writing.

Consider, for example, Bernard Bailyn's brief and brilliant essay, *Education in the Forming of American Society*. Commissioned by the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg to write a coherent account of the scholarship which now exists and to recommend work which yet needs to be done in the early history of American education, Mr. Bailyn discovered that "the number of books and articles . . . is

astonishingly large. . . . And yet, for all of this, the role of education in American history is obscure. We have almost no historical leverage on the problems of American education. The facts, or at least a great quantity of them, are there, but they lie inert; they form no significant pattern." Mr. Bailyn discovered, in other words, the subject matter of *Generalization in the Writing of History*. The particular lever which Mr. Bailyn took hold of hypothetically to budge the heavy weight of inert facts was to look at education "not only as formal pedagogy but as the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations," to look at education as implicated in the cultural transformation involved in the changes in social conditions and experience of the American people. Such a perspective makes room in Mr. Bailyn's "bibliographical essay" for reference to Talcott Parsons, Margaret Mead and Erik Erikson, names which do not normally throng the pages of American history. One suspects that it was Mr. Bailyn's awareness of sociology and anthropology and psychiatry in the first place which enabled him to rescue the history of education from professional pedagogues and put it back in the realm of general history where it might speak to general human interests.

Despite ritualistic addresses by Presidents of the American Historical Association and despite books like those generated by the Social Science Research Council, American historians have not shown themselves exactly eager to venture much beyond inherited and large unexamined convictions about the nature of their craft. How much may be gained by a farther reach, wished for by Mr. Bailyn, is demonstrable in Emory Battis' book on Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in Massachusetts Bay, *Saints and Sectaries*. The particular and general cohabit happily in Mr. Battis' structure as he moves inward by way of psychology toward the individual personality of Anne Hutchinson and outward by way of sociology toward a profile of the group which supported her. Doing so, he not only draws upon other disciplines, he raises, as an historian, new problems for them. The conventional view in the sociology of religion has been that the sectarian impulse is most congenial to the dispossessed and disadvantaged of society. But in colonial Boston, the followers of Anne Hutchinson prove to be artisans and merchants on the make, restive under the sumptuary legislation of John Winthrop's paternalistic polity.

Whether one works from a fresh general hypothesis down to the known events, as in Mr. Bailyn's case, or through the particular event to larger dimensions of significance, as in Mr. Battis' case, one can proceed only with some sure sense of what it means to generalize in the writing of history. John Higham in his introduction to a collection of essays on recent American historical writing, *Reconstruction of American History*, pointed out that the profession today is not dominated by single names

and single schools, like Turner and the frontier interpretation, or Beard and the economic interpretation. We live in an age wary of single-minded generalizations. Which is as it should be. But without some ideal of coherence, as modestly tentative as we wish to make it seem, without some notion of where we think we may be going, we will be much like Alice in Wonderland: "Cheshire-puss," Alice began rather timidly, "would you please tell me which way I ought to go from here?" "That depends a good deal on where you want to get to," said the cat. "I don't much care where—" began Alice. "Then it doesn't matter which way you go," said the cat.

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DEMING BROWN, *Soviet Attitudes Toward American Writing*. 338 pp. Princeton University Press, 1962. \$6.00.

THIS is an important book for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the significance of the topic: it is important for us to know how well our literature has been allowed to represent us and how that portion of it which is known in Russia has been interpreted by Russian critics.

Mr. Brown covers both the extent to which U.S. literature has been published in the USSR and the nature of its reception. More has been printed than one might suspect, though the selection has largely been determined by the political climate and the current state of the Party line. The twenties, before a fixed policy on culture had been developed, and the late fifties to a lesser extent are periods of relatively diversified publication; in between, though there have been significant variations, the picture is generally pretty black. In summarizing the direction of Soviet criticism, Mr. Brown faces a formidable task, for a study of a corpus of criticism which is, as he says, almost completely predictable in any given stage of Party doctrine might be very dull. But there is drama here, and the author is a good enough story-teller to make *Soviet Attitudes* very readable, appropriately more casual in style in its later chapters when the pattern is already clear.

Waiting expectantly for the appearance of American writers who fulfil the demands of "social realism" (protest, but positive protest, with at least one heroic character who sees the Coming of the Dawn), Russian critics have pinned their hopes on figures like Dos Passos, Upton Sinclair, Dreiser and Fast. Their disappointment rests partially on the continued intellectual development of some of these writers and the artistic limitations of others—for they have largely been unable to see that to force an artist to superimpose upon the face of reality the mask of Marxist prediction must produce flatness whenever face and mask are different. They have

envied the richness of our best writers while forbidding richness because they insist that things are really very simple, and sometimes, as Mr. Brown explains in a splendid chapter on Dos Passos, they have fought their own battles for literary freedom over the body of an American writer.

Another good chapter, on the reasons for the continued popularity of minor-leaguers like London and O. Henry, concludes that the Russians simply have a need for craftsmanlike popular fiction, and that their critics will bend a long way to find reasons to encourage its publication and to account for their own evident enjoyment of it. In the light of Dwight MacDonald's remark that much of what passes for high art in the USSR is in fact on the level of American pop or mass art, I see an easier explanation: if the most approved Soviet artists are for the most part not really artists in our sense of the word, their critics are not really critics, either; much of their stuff on the U.S. reads like articles on Germany in our popular magazines during the war. I think they make an exception for O. Henry (who is certainly not interested in class struggle) because they like to read him; he's just their speed. Other non-Party-line authors are too demanding.

This does not mean that there is nothing good in Russian criticism. The very inflexibility of the world-view gives their critic a kind of consistency, and when the better critic is allowed to speak out, he can say bright things. Remove the propaganda, and the comments on Hemingway, for instance, are on target. At times the Soviet estimate of forces at work in the U.S. in a given period is accurate and even revealing (Mr. Brown's own summaries of movements and tendencies, by the way, are excellent—one can give this book to people who are not specialists in literature without fear that they will fail to recognize errors in emphasis or interpretation of our literature: there are none). And if the Russian intervention in U.S. literary affairs in the 1930s seems benighted, it is perhaps no more so and no less interesting than the American Puritans' attempt to give counsel to the Cromwellians. If the considerable potential of a few good critical minds is often shorted out by abrupt shifts in the Line, or grounded by contact with dogma, it at least demonstrates that there is plenty of juice in the circuit. More people may know more about us than we think, and since it is a part of our political faith that if we were understood in depth, the way our best art portrays us, we would be feared less and trusted more, this volume gives reason for some hope that we are not losing as much ground to "The Soviet Cultural Offensive" (to use the title of a recent book on the subject) as we may fear.

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MORGAN Y. HIMELSTEIN, *Drama Was a Weapon, The Left-Wing Theatre in New York, 1929-1941*. Foreword by John Gassner. 300 pp. Rutgers University Press, 1963. \$6.00. Illus.

By examining the plays of social significance produced in New York in the 1930s and the groups which produced them, Himelstein gives a picture of one aspect of American theater of that decade. His thesis, which he successfully demonstrates, is that leftist drama—in terms of number of plays produced and length of runs—was never popular drama, and that the Communists, far from controlling the American theater as some recent myths have it, failed to lure even the sympathetic playwrights and producers into following the party line through its aesthetic and political turnings. Except during the popular-front days, right after 1935, when the capitalistic diagnosis of social ills was acceptable without the specific revolutionary cure, the Communist critics (contradictory reviews indicate that even among them the line was not always solidly adhered to) found few plays they could praise and none they could praise unreservedly. Valuable as Himelstein's study is—particularly in sorting out the short-lived, amateur and semi-professional organizations which were Communist Party creations—it is too narrow to give more than a partial view of even its own subject. Although the author recognizes the pretensions of Communist critics ("Our seal of approval and our roar of censure shall mark the fate of the future American drama," declared the first issue of *New Theatre*), his desire to show that the plays he discusses were unacceptable to the Communists makes him use as his chief research source the reviews in *Daily Worker*, *New Masses*, *New Theatre* and other party or fellow-traveling publications. To get a clearer picture of how the left-wing theater was received critically, we would need to know what was said by reviewers on the liberal-leftist weeklies, on the popular magazines, on the daily papers. There is narrowness, too, in Himelstein's definition of what constitutes a play of social significance; plays like Kaufman and Hart's *You Can't Take It With You* and William Saroyan's *My Heart's in the Highlands*, plainly depression plays, are not considered at all. That the author should limit himself to be able to control his material is understandable, but there is a suggestion that many of the plays that gave a particular flavor to the decade are passed over because the Party press never considered them worth talking about. Despite these limitations, *Drama Was a Weapon* is a carefully documented book, stronger on information than on interpretation, useful to anyone interested in American drama or the 1930s.

GERALD WEALES, *University of Pennsylvania*

GLORIA GRIFFEN CLINE, *Exploring the Great Basin*. 254 pp., plates, maps. University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. \$4.95.

THE Great Basin includes portions of Utah, Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon, California and most of Nevada. Its distinctiveness as a region is found in the fact that its waters have no outlet to the sea. And yet it was in this area that the Mexicans, the British and the Americans searched for a mythical river, the San Buenaventura, which was to provide a water passage to the Pacific Ocean.

But men explored the Great Basin for other reasons, too. Some were looking for streams hospitable to fur bearing animals that could be trapped and their skins shipped overland to the east. Others explored simply because the Great Basin was there and it challenged the searchers to discover what lay beyond its vast perimeters around which westward moving peoples had moved.

It was not until the completion of Fremont's second expedition, in 1843, some seventy years after the discovery of the Great Basin by white men, that the vast region was mapped and precisely described. Fremont was then very quick to realize the significance of the Columbia River and its vast basin for it was now clear that it was the only really substantial water outlet to the Pacific Ocean in what is now the United States.

The story of the Great Basin and the men who contended with its difficult terrain and its unfriendly climate is told in this excellent study by Gloria Griffen Cline, who was fortunate enough to secure access to unpublished letters and diaries in the Hudson Bay Company's archives. Cline writes well; the presentation is well-organized; there is an excellent bibliography and an index that will prove extremely useful to scholars and laymen alike. The thirty-ninth volume in the American Exploration and Travel Series, *Exploring the Great Basin* is a distinguished addition to a distinguished list.

C. WILSON RECORD (on leave from Sacramento State College.)
Research Director, Ford-Oakland Project, Oakland, California

JAMES H. TIMBERLAKE, *Prohibition and the Progressive Movement 1900-1920*. 238 pp. Harvard University Press, 1963. \$5.25.

TIMBERLAKE interprets national prohibition as an integral part of the Progressive Movement promoted by both urban and rural, middle class Protestants. He therefore rejects the extreme wet view that prohibition represented the triumph of rural zealots due largely to World War I dislocation and hysteria. His six chapters, buttressed with illuminating sta-

tistics, treat the religious, scientific and social, economic, and political arguments, as well as the Anti-Saloon League and the political achievement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The religious argument could be related more closely to the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. His eugenic discussion suffers from an inadequate explanation of Saleeby's racial poison theory and the omission of prominent American experimenters and popularizers. We need a fuller discussion of prohibition drives during the 1850s and 1880s, plus the position of certain outstanding progressives and reformers. The explanation of prohibition's triumph seems to underrate the agitation prior to 1900; Mrs. Catt, Dr. Wiley and Lafollette are not mentioned. A footnote acknowledges that "temperance" has a bewildering range of meanings throughout the work, and the treatment of "personal consumption" is misleading.

Timerlake, nonetheless, has successfully challenged the view that prohibition was a conservative, ill-considered measure. His major thesis is well substantiated.

BARTLETT C. JONES, *Sam Houston State Teachers College*



John Gorham Palfrey and the New England Conscience

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Editor

The seventh volume concludes the first period of Franklin's public service in Pennsylvania, and takes him to England to begin his "second career," that of colonial agent. Included in this volume is "The Way to Wealth," his most widely reprinted single composition, which was written on the voyage to England. \$10.00

THE CRUISE OF THE PORTSMOUTH, 1845-1847

by Joseph T. Downey; Edited by Howard R. Lamar

There are many good accounts of the California conquest written by officers of the Army and Navy, but here for the first time is a lower-deck view of that stirring epoch of American history by the witty and irrepressible yeoman of the Portsmouth. Downey's journal presents a lively and uninhibited account of the seizure of San Francisco, where he went ashore as Washington Bartlett's clerk, and Stockton's overland march from San Diego to recapture Los Angeles, with the battles of La Mesa and San Gabriel. Yale Western Americana Series. Cloth \$6.00; paper \$1.75.

THE AMERICAN FEDERAL EXECUTIVE

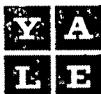
by W. Lloyd Warner, Paul P. Van Riper, Norman H.
Martin, Orvis F. Collins

This important study projects the composite image of the elites of the civil, foreign, and military services—their socioeconomic and regional backgrounds, their education, marriages, and careers. \$7.50 (paperbound edition, without the appendix on methodology and the tabular material, available in January, \$1.95.)

FENOLLOSA: THE FAR EAST AND AMERICAN CULTURE

by Lawrence W. Chisolm

This is the first full-length study of Ernest Fenollosa, who conducted a campaign in the 1890s to awaken the American public to an appreciation of Far Eastern art. Through his followers and his major work, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, his theories came to dominate art education in America. \$10.00



YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, New Haven and London

American Calendar

Fall

1963



MINN.-DAKOTAS. Meeting May 11 at the Center for Continuation Study of the University of Minnesota, ASA of Minnesota and the Dakotas offered an interdisciplinary program drawing on strong regional resources. The theme of the program, "Education in the Formation of a Community: The Minnesota Iron Range," was suggested by a faculty-student seminar carried on at the university as part of a Ford Foundation study of education as a force in American life. In the morning session three papers were given by faculty members of the seminar: "The Role of Education in Towns on the Minnesota Iron Range: History of the Project," by Timothy Smith; "Labor and the Immigrant in the Range Communities," by Hyman Berman; "Voluntary Agencies and Associations on the Range," by Clarke Chambers—all members of the Minnesota faculty—followed by a discussion of "Schools on the Range, 1910-28," by William Montague, a regent of the university

who has had extensive experience in law and education on the Range. In the afternoon session the graduate students took over, with papers on "Night Schools and the Immigrant," by Robert Hansink; "Libraries as Community Institutions," by Judith Espelien; and "Cultural Life in a New Mining Town," by Father John W. Evans—followed by a talk on "Education in the Assimilation of Range Immigrants," by James Steel, a Duluth mining engineer who is writing a history of the area. The program was arranged by outgoing chapter officers; Mary C. Turpie, University of Minnesota, presided.

JOINT SESSIONS. Two chapters have recently sponsored joint meetings with other regional groups. At the University of Denver, May 11, Rocky Mountain ASA sponsored a two-paper section of the Rocky Mountain Social Science Association meeting. Marshall E. Jones, University of Wyoming, spoke on "The Conditions of Creativity in

American Culture," with Curtis MacDonald, Colorado Woman's College, the discussant. Robert E. Roeder, University of Denver, spoke on "The Rise of the Bureaucrat in American Life," with Norman Furniss, Colorado State University, the discussant. Michael McGiffert, University of Denver, was chairman. . . . San Francisco State College was host, August 27, to a meeting of ASA of Northern California with the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. John William Ward, Princeton, and David Levin, Stanford—both Fellows at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences—discussed the topic "History and Fiction."

C H A P T E R O F F I C E R S. Newly elected to office at recent chapter meetings are the following presidents and secretaries. Kentucky-Tennessee: Earl Rovit, University of Louisville, president. Minnesota-Dakotas: David Noble, University of Minnesota, president; Paul Murphy, University of Minnesota, secretary-treasurer. Northern California: Mrs. Elizabeth Bock, 3917-A California St., San Francisco, secretary-treasurer. Rocky Mountain: Curtis C. MacDonald, Colorado Woman's College, president; Lt. Col. Jesse C. Gatlin, U. S. Air Force Academy, secretary-treasurer. Southeastern: Charlton W. Tebeau, University of Miami, president. Southern California: Robert P. Falk, University of California, Los Angeles,

president; Dennis F. Strong, University of California, Riverside, secretary-treasurer.

WAYNE CONFERENCE. An invitational conference for approximately 30 foreign Fulbright scholars of senior rank will be held late in April on the campus of Wayne State University. A planning committee chaired by Russel B. Nye, Michigan State University, aims to provide a program of papers and discussion to explore the dimensions of American Studies as expressed through literary history, political and social theory, economics, the history of ideas and similar conceptual approaches. Sponsored by the Committee on International Exchange of Persons, ASA of Michigan, Ohio-Indiana ASA and the American Studies Program of Wayne State, the conference is financed by a Department of State grant. Edward Lurie, Wayne State, is conference chairman and director for the host institution; inquiries may be addressed to him.

ASRC/INDIA. Proposed by the participants of the first Workshop for Teachers of American Literature and American History in 1962 and further implemented by those of the second Workshop during the past summer, the American Studies Research Center for Indian scholars has become a reality. Such a center is especially needed in so vast a country, where interest in American

Studies has accelerated at an unprecedented speed. Under the management of a board of directors of which Olive I. Reddick is chairman, and B. D. Laroia treasurer, the center will occupy temporary quarters in the library of Osmania University at Hyderabad; a separate building is expected to follow. . . . Meanwhile, because currency regulations impede the purchase of books in hard-currency countries, the center seeks gifts of books and runs of periodicals. American literature and history are the areas of immediate concentration, but materials relating to the broad spectrum of American Studies are equally welcome. Shipments can be arranged without cost to the giver. Interested doners are asked to get in touch with ASRC's executive secretary, Joy Michael, 12 Hailey Road, New Delhi 1, or with the ASA national office.

HIGH SCHOOL. During the past summer the American Studies project sponsored by Amherst College and the Wemyss Foundation has produced materials for two-week units in secondary school social studies. Topics treated are: Reconstruction, Transcontinental Railroad, Abolitionists and Slavery, Federalists, World War I, Theodore Roosevelt, Puritan Mind, Protestant Ethic; The American School, The Great Red Scare and McCarthyism, British View of American Revolution, China and United States Foreign Policy, Science and

the Discovery of America, Supreme Court, Manifest Destiny, Negro and American Life. The project is directed by Van R. Halsey of the College and Marshall W. Fishwick of the Foundation.

GAFFELBITER. Complimentary copies of the American literature number of *The Literary Criterion* (Winter 1962) which prints papers read at the first Workshop for Indian Professors, held at Mussoorie in June of 1962, will be sent to ASA members who request them of the editor, C. D. Narasimhaiah, University of Mysore, Mysore, India. . . . An annual announcement describing fellowships and grants awarded to individuals, both pre- and post-doctoral, may be had by addressing the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Ave., New York 17. . . . Applications for fellowships of the Newberry Library must be submitted before December 31. A senior resident research fellowship is offered with a stipend of \$8,000; a junior one (to write a dissertation) at \$2,000, plus \$500 for each dependent. Projects must be those which require the library's resources. In addition, an unspecified number of three-month grants-in-aid, paying \$300 a month, are offered beginning Jan. 1. For information write the Librarian, The Newberry Library, Chicago 10. . . . The Eastern National Park and Monument Association has announced grants-in-aid to encourage research on the National Park Sys-

tem in the eastern U.S., stipends depending upon the nature of the research. Address inquiries to Edward M. Riley, Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia. . . . *The North American Review* was resurrected in March, and its editor has invited contributions lacking footnotes, bibliographies, pedantry, jargon and literary criticism. He announces his partiality for humor and the English language. Address him at Mount Vernon, Iowa. . . . Appropriate major articles, brief critical notes and satire itself are welcomed by the editor of a new *Satire Newsletter*, George A. Test, at State University College, Oneonta, New York. . . . Managing Editor Ken Akiyoma would like to have American contributions on American literature for *The East-West Review* published by the English Department, Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan. . . . Two recent reports of interest which may be had from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, are *A Beacon of Hope: The Exchange-of-Persons Program*, prepared by the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Education and Cultural Affairs, and *American Studies Abroad: Progress and Difficulties in Selected Countries*, prepared by Walter Johnson, a member of the Commission. . . . Available from the Modern Language Association is a valuable pamphlet on *The Aims and Methods of Scholarship in Modern Languages and Literatures* with sections on Linguistics by William G. Moulton, Textual Criticism by Fredson Bowers, Literary History by Robert E. Spiller and Literary Criticism by Northrop Frye. . . . The 1964 Conference on Early American History will be held April 3-4, sponsored by Clark University and the American Antiquarian Society. Details can be had from the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 220, Williamsburg, Virginia. . . . The Second Nordic Conference of American Studies is planned for June 21-26, at the University of Oslo. . . . The British Association for American Studies, in cooperation with the American Historical Association and the Historical Association of England and Wales, is carrying out a study of bias against the United States in British school textbooks. . . . The Corning Glass Works Foundation offers free loan of a 28-minute film made at the second Corning Conference sponsored last year by ACLS and the Foundation. The ninety stars who exchange opinions on "The Individual in the Modern World" include Alfred Kazin, Roger Blough, John Dos Passos, David Rockefeller, Muriel Rukeyser, Julian Huxley and many others. Further information from the Foundation at 717 Fifth Ave., New York 22.

C. B.



American Quarterly

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NUMBER 4

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ALAN HEIMERT *Moby-Dick* and American
Political Symbolism

JOHN D. SEELYE The American Tramp: A Version
of the Picaresque

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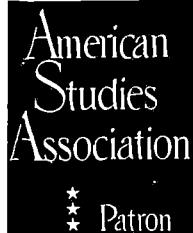
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American Quarterly

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CARL N. DEGLER

Vassar College

The Sociologist as Historian: Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*

IT SEEMS TO BE EITHER THE FATE OR THE OPPORTUNITY OF HISTORIANS TO be checking on how others use history. For it is the non-historians who write the broad interpretations of the American past. In the 1940s it was philosophers like Herbert Schneider and Ralph Barton Perry who ranged over the whole of American history and told us what it meant. More recently, in the 1950s, the sociologists have taken their turn. The most notable of several works by sociologists¹ is *The Lonely Crowd*, by David Riesman and others.² It is true, of course, that the primary object of that book is to analyze the nature of modern American society, not to reconstruct our past. Yet in the course of the work, if only as a bench

¹ At one time in working on this paper I included a study of two other sociological works that have helped to delineate modern conceptions of the American past, namely, W. H. Whyte Jr., *The Organization Man* (Garden City, N. Y., 1956) and C. Wright Mills, *White Collar, The American Middle Classes* (New York, 1956). But a close examination of these two works revealed that though they assumed a view of the nineteenth-century American past that was similar in many respects to that of Riesman, their explicit description was small and therefore not really worth inclusion on a level with the very full and explicit discussion to be found in *The Lonely Crowd*. Hence I have concentrated here only upon that book. Furthermore, *The Lonely Crowd* is so much more subtle and sensitive in its depiction of the nineteenth century that any critique of that superior work can also serve as a criticism of the less complete view of the nineteenth century to be found in the works of Whyte and Mills.

² David Riesman, Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd* (New York, 1953). Riesman is the principal author and I have attributed to him alone, for the sake of simplicity, any ideas I have cited from the book. Hereafter cited as *LC*.

Throughout this paper I have used the paperback edition, even though it is abridged, simply because it was the form in which most readers would see the book. Inasmuch as the abridgment was done by the authors and the amount cut out is less than 70 pages and those largely concerned with methodological matters, there is not much difference between the popular and the scholarly versions. I have collated the two and only once did I find anything in the original edition which caused me to qualify, and then only slightly, a conclusion I had drawn from the paperback edition. The paperback edition, in reality, is a second edition rather than a simple abridgment since it contains some restatements of ideas, rearrangements of materials and, occasionally, new material.

mark from which to triangulate, as it were, the social dimensions of our own time, Riesman has set forth, or assumed, a rather definite picture of the society of the nineteenth century.

Because the book has become widely known—it is now available in at least two paperback editions—its presentation of the American past invites examination. After all, for the many Americans who have read it, Riesman's conception is the past. For that reason alone it is worth asking whether his conception has historical validity. Furthermore, since one of Riesman's conclusions is that the American character has changed between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, an examination of the validity of his view of the nineteenth century has an important bearing upon the nature of the national character. At the outset, though, it should be understood that this examination is not concerned with the book's primary interest in the nature of twentieth-century Americans; it deals only with the society of the nineteenth century as depicted in *The Lonely Crowd*.

As is well known, *The Lonely Crowd* describes a new type of social personality emerging in America and in the rest of the modern industrialized world. This is the other-directed man. In the nineteenth century, the argument goes, the ruling social character of people was inner-direction. The book deals with "the way in which one kind of social character, which dominated America in the nineteenth century is gradually replaced by a social character of quite a different sort."³ To be perfectly accurate, and despite this quotation, it should be said that the inner-directed person, as Riesman conceives of him, is not strictly a historically rooted figure, limited to the nineteenth century. Inner-directed people exist today and there were other-directed personalities in the nineteenth century. But as the foregoing quotation and other material in the early pages of the book make clear, Riesman sees Americans of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries differing to the degree they are dominated by inner- or other-direction. Hence, for all intents and purposes, and despite the admitted and deliberate looseness with which Riesman applies his categories, he sees a change through time in the American character. The inner-directed personality dominated the nineteenth century and the other-directed has increasingly dominated the twentieth.

One other general statement needs to be made before we turn to an examination of Riesman's conception of nineteenth-century American society. Despite the breadth of Riesman's canvas, he writes about and confines his assertions to the American middle class. The culture of the working class is ignored and, even though he is dealing with a nineteenth-

century society that was largely agricultural, he limits his attention almost entirely to urban life. Such a restriction raises the question of whether his description of nineteenth-century life is representative. But that is another question; the analysis here is addressed to those aspects of the nineteenth century he has elected to deal with.

Since Riesman at no one place in his book sets forth his conception of the society of the nineteenth century, his view has to be pieced together from scattered references throughout the book. At times, especially in discussing Riesman's conception of nineteenth-century politics, it will be possible to offer, concomitantly, some criticisms of his interpretation. In any case, once his image of the nineteenth century has been delineated, then it will be examined for its congruency with the historian's conception of that period.

Riesman's view of the past is on a grand scale. During the era of the Renaissance and Reformation, he writes, there was a transition from the tradition-directed man to the inner-directed. The former is a person guided and channeled in his activities and thought by his society; simply because things have always been done in a given way they should still be performed that way. Tradition-directed man has played little part in America because the colonies were settled only after the emergence of the inner-directed man. This second type of social personality is typically self-reliant, self-confident, clear about his goals and objects in life. Seventeenth-century Puritans are the classic examples of inner-directed persons: outwardly energetic, tough-minded, self-determined, yet inwardly concerned with moral renovation. "They tend to feel, throughout life that their characters are something to be worked on."⁴ Because they derive the justification for their actions from within themselves (hence the term inner-directed), "loneliness and even persecution are not thought of as the worst of fates. Parents, sometimes even teachers may have crushing moral authority, but the peer-group has less moral weight, glamorous or menacing though it may be."⁵ Translated into more familiar words, the inner-directed personality is individualistic and self-reliant.

In *The Lonely Crowd* the decisive, ruthless, brusque, self-confident robber baron is taken as typical of the nineteenth century. If an inner-directed person "founded a firm, this was his lengthened shadow."⁶ In those days, Riesman writes, "it is fair to say that the human mood of the work force was not yet felt to be a major problem." Instead employers concerned themselves with getting out the goods and not with the people who worked or consumed the goods. In short, as a society, the inner-directed were more concerned with production than consumption, more

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁶ *LC*, p. 165.

with things than with people. "It was the product itself, . . . not the use made of it by the consumer that commanded attention. Despite what Marx called 'the fetishism of commodities,' the inner-directed man could concern himself with the product without himself being a good consumer; he did not need to look at himself through the customer's eyes."⁷ In substance, the economy of the nineteenth century was "quite loose-jointed and impersonal and perhaps seemed even more impersonal than it actually was."⁸

It was the involvement with things, instead of people, which underlay the pervasive impersonality of the nineteenth century. That century was symbolized, Riesman contends, by the bank account, while the modern business world is summed up in the expense account.⁹ The glad hand has taken the place of the old devotion to craftsmanship and the product. Instead of the corps of public relations advisors, labor counselors and advertising men that modern business requires in dealing with people, "business firms until World War I," Riesman explains, "needed only three kinds of professional advice: legal, auditing, and engineering." And significantly, all three, he adds, were impersonal services.¹⁰

The inner-directed person of the nineteenth century was "job-minded" and clear about his goals.¹¹ The old Latin motto of the nineteenth century: "*Ad Astra Per Aspera*" has become, in our day, a "Milky Way" of multiple and changing goals.¹² Simply because his standards were internal, failure for the inner-directed man was possible without feelings of total inadequacy. Edison's example of trying again and again (presumably for the best substance for a light bulb filament) is the archetype of the inner-directed man.¹³

Work was hard, important and different from play. As Riesman puts it: "The inner-directed businessman was not expected to have fun; indeed, it was proper for him to be gloomy and even grim."¹⁴ Thus literature and other forms of entertainment were escape from work and problems; the other-directed man, however, cannot escape and so he uses popular culture for group adjustment.¹⁵

Since Riesman attaches great importance to upbringing in fixing social character, the life of the child in the age of inner-direction is discussed at some length. He sums up the differences in child-rearing practices in the three types of society by saying that in the tradition-directed home the child "propitiates" its parents; in the inner-directed age, he "fights or succumbs to them," and in the other-directed era, he "manipulates

⁷ *LC*, p. 186.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

them and is in turn manipulated.”¹⁶ Like the man, the inner-directed child is “job-minded, even if the job itself is not clear in his mind.” Today, “the future occupation of all moppets is to be skilled consumers.”¹⁷ The demand made of inner-directed children was that they work, study, pray and save.¹⁸ “Even boys from comfortable homes were expected until recently to hit the sunrise trail with paper routes or other economically profitable and ‘character-building’ chores.”¹⁹ The large size of the family in the era of inner-direction resulted in the older children harmlessly hazing the young ones and thus psychically toughening them.²⁰ But a large family did not mean that group activity was paramount in the life of the child. Instead, the inner-directed child was more likely to go off and read a book, for, as Riesman says, “in contrast with the lone reader of the era of inner-direction, we have the group of kids today, lying on the floor reading and trading comics and preferences among comics, or listening to ‘The Lone Ranger.’”²¹

The school of the nineteenth century reflected the stern character of the home environment. The instructional emphasis was on intellectual activities and there was little emotional involvement for teacher or pupil. “The teacher is supposed to see that the children learn a curriculum, not that they enjoy it or learn group cooperation.”²² As befits a society bent upon production, the whole emphasis is on accomplishment and not on “internal group relations,” or morale.²³

Undoubtedly to anyone with a spark of inner-direction in his personality the nineteenth century as depicted in *The Lonely Crowd* is almost too good to be true. Riesman, to be sure, explicitly denies that he is making comparisons between paradise and paradise lost.²⁴ Nevertheless there is a golden glow suffusing the past, which is absent when the present is discussed; the trenchant realism with which the present is limned rarely penetrates the portrait of the past. Sometimes the past is almost shamelessly romanticized as in this passage: “As recently as 1920 an American boy of the middle class was not too worried about the problem of committing himself to a career. . . . He could dream of long-term goals because the mere problem of career entry and survival was not

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72-73.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁴ Riesman is careful to point out that one must not unthinkingly value the inner-directed man over the other-directed simply on the grounds of his seeming independence. For, as he points out, the inner-directed man is “no less a conformist to others than the other-directed person, but the voices to which he listens are more distant, of an older generation, their cues internalized in his childhood.” *LC*, p. 48. In any case, it is clear that a fourth type, the autonomous person, is the ideal toward which Riesman looks.

acute; that he might for long be out of a job did not occur to him."²⁵

There was an integration and a meaning to life in those days absent in our own. Men were not under constant public scrutiny then as they are today and consequently they could be more themselves. "The inner-directed person reading a book alone, is less aware of the others looking on; moreover he has time to return at his own pace from being transported by his reading—to return and put on whatever mask he cares to."²⁶ Even sexual experience was more soundly grounded in the nineteenth century. Today, comments Riesman, sex is of engrossing interest to an other-directed person largely in order to afford him "reassurance that he is alive. The inner-directed person driven by his internal gyroscope and oriented toward the production problems of his outer world, did not need this evidence."²⁷

It is in fitting the politics of the nineteenth century into his scheme that Riesman most romanticizes the past and in the process exaggerates its difference from the present.²⁸ In delineating the political outlook of the inner-directed, Riesman draws a picture of the nineteenth century that is at best misleading and, at worst, inaccurate. According to him the political apathy so characteristic of our day was wholly absent in the nineteenth century. "Cynicism toward politics as a whole (as against cynicism about democracy or bossism or other specific political form or usage) was virtually unknown. Indeed, a feeling prevailed in many circles that the millennium was near."²⁹ This picture, which has certain relevance for the age of Jackson, is hard to reconcile with the description of political life between the years 1865 and 1896 that emerged from the autobiography of Henry Adams, Ostrogorski's *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* and Woodrow Wilson's *Congressional Government*.

Almost by definition in Riesman's analysis, William McKinley, because he was in office at the end of the nineteenth century, must be made out to be among the last of the inner-directed political leaders. As a consequence, in making the decision to take the nation into war in 1898, McKinley is contrasted with Franklin Roosevelt, who, in the age of other-

²⁵ *LC*, p. 140.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

²⁸ This is not to say that he has nothing important to contribute, for he has. His observation, for example, that the other-directed man is typically an "inside-dopester" in political behavior is an apt and accurate characterization of the contemporary pseudorealists who, in political discussions knows all the angles and is ever ready to divulge some story of hidden motives behind political behavior or to attribute Machiavellian slyness to straightforward acts of human sympathy. Similarly, Riesman's attribution of the name "moralizer" to the inner-directed strikes a note of rightness in the mind of anyone who has read the speeches of someone like William Jennings Bryan. See *LC*, pp. 200-17. But there is a vast difference between having insight into political types and characterizing an age as being dominated by one of them.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

direction, was in no position to make the decision himself, as McKinley had been, but was forced to wait upon the action of the enemy.³⁰ That McKinley's decision for war should be considered an example of inner-direction strikes the historian as strange. After all, wasn't it Theodore Roosevelt who said McKinley possessed no more backbone than a chocolate eclair? That description hardly comports with our image of the inner-directed man. And even in the particular instance of the decision to declare war McKinley does not emerge as a man of self-confidence and will. It is true that McKinley was in a position to make a decision between peace and war in a way that Franklin Roosevelt was not, but that was simply the result of different historical circumstances in the two instances. The manner of the decision had nothing to do with the approach to politics of two different character structures, as Riesman contends. It would seem more to the point that McKinley, for all his alleged inner-direction, acceded to the demands for war from his party and the public, despite his own wishes to preserve peace.³¹ In short, in this instance McKinley acted like a man with an other-directed personality.

The style of Franklin Roosevelt's domestic leadership is also said to conform to that of the other-directed character structure. Today, Riesman argues, "what is called political leadership consists, as we could see in Roosevelt's case, in the tolerant ability to manipulate coalitions."³² That may be true, but the implication that such manipulation is a twentieth-century phenomenon is certainly false. American politics has always involved the creation and manipulation of coalitions, from Jefferson's with Aaron Burr, through Jackson's and Lincoln's down to John Kennedy's. Coalitions and their manipulation have been a function of our geographical extent and of the local character of our party structure rather than an innovation introduced by a change in the character structure of Americans.

One more observation on Riesman's analysis of nineteenth-century politics. "The bullet that killed McKinley," he writes, "marked the end of the days of explicit class leadership."³³ Presumably he means that business interests dominated politics in the forty years prior to McKinley's death, which may well be true, but the implication that leadership was carried on in the name of class is certainly not true. One has only to recall the changes which were rung upon James G. Blaine's presence at the millionaire's dinner at Delmonico's in 1884 to see how dangerous it was for a politician to seem to ally himself openly with the wealthy classes.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

³¹ Margaret Leech, *In the Days of McKinley* (New York, 1959), pp. 184-85.

³² *LC*, p. 244.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

The ordinary citizen during these years, Riesman goes on, grounded his politics in self-interest and did not, as the other-directed man would, consult his "preferences and likings" in the voting booth.³⁴ Here, too, he seems to be wandering from the historical facts. If there is one thing we have learned about the Jacksonian period, for example, it is that the enthusiastic popular support of Jackson is largely inexplicable except in the language of charisma and mystique.³⁵ Moreover, as Richard Hofstadter has pointed out,³⁶ it was not until the utopian nostrums of Populism were defeated in 1896 that the farmer turned to a realistic appraisal of his own needs and came out for frankly self-interested devices like price supports and parity. And while we are on the subject of self-interest in politics, it is worth observing that probably no era has been more notable in this regard than the years since 1932, with appeals to labor, farmers, Negroes, senior citizens. And the reason is that our political parties, after all, for most of our history, not just in the nineteenth century, rather than being based on a few grand, differentiating principles, have been composed of diverse interest groups, frankly held in common allegiance by concrete appeals to self-interest. Was there really any more self-interest in the waving of the bloody shirt by the Republicans during the two decades after the Civil War than in the waving of the tattered shirt by the Democrats in the twenty years since the Great Depression? In substance, then, in attempting to highlight the other-directedness of our modern political practice, Riesman has felt compelled to see the practices of the nineteenth century in a relatively dimmer light. To the historian, though, the broad features of our political practice seem, at least since the days of the democratic upheaval associated with the name of Andrew Jackson, remarkably similar and persistent.

As the foregoing remarks imply, my dissatisfaction with the image of the nineteenth century portrayed in the pages of *The Lonely Crowd* is not simply its lack of realism. It extends to Riesman's assertion that there is a clear difference in social characteristics between the nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries. The two periods simply are not that sharply differentiated. As is evident from the discussion on politics, the social characteristics of our time are often found to be present in the nineteenth century. The question therefore arises whether the origins of other-direction do not really go back much farther in our history than Riesman has been willing to recognize. I hesitate to put myself in the position of

³⁴ *Loc. cit.*

³⁵ John William Ward, *Andrew Jackson, Symbol For an Age* (New York, 1955) is largely devoted to showing this aspect of Jackson; see also, Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion* (Stanford, 1957), chap. 1.

³⁶ Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York, 1955), chap. 3.

emulating those medievalists who have been pulling the Renaissance back into the Dark Ages, century by century, but, in effect, that is what I am suggesting. Let us look into other areas of nineteenth-century life for further evidence that other-directed began before the twentieth century.

Anyone who is familiar with Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* must, when he first examines Riesman's book, ask himself, "What is the difference between the other-directed man of the twentieth century and the majority-dominated man of the nineteenth of whom Tocqueville was so fearful?" As we read in Riesman's pages the persuasive descriptions of our own other-directed world, the observations of Tocqueville keep nagging at the periphery of our minds. We are tempted to ask, "Is not this other-directed man an old story in America?"

Riesman, to be sure, recognizes that Tocqueville may have seen the type first. He believes, however, that Tocqueville was describing not an other-directed man, but an inner-directed one who was being controlled by outside forces. In Jackson's time, he writes, the need for seeking the opinions of one's peers had not yet been internalized by society and parents.³⁷ Indeed, in two different places Riesman takes the evidence of Tocqueville and turns it to the support of his own thesis, observing that Jacksonian America was a kind of training ground, a beginning, as it were, for the later development of other-directed man.³⁸ The question immediately arises, how does Riesman know? From the printed word it is hard to tell whether these people of Tocqueville's time were "merely practising" or whether their attitudes were "embedded in their character."³⁹ Furthermore, the type was so common that Tocqueville was only the most perceptive of the travelers who reported it. But even if we

³⁷ *LC*, pp. 35, 40.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 254, 293. After referring to Tocqueville's comments, Riesman writes on p. 254: "very likely what was mere practice in his day has become embedded in character in ours."

³⁹ In the original edition, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven, 1950), p. 20, in a footnote which does not appear in the abridged edition, Riesman seems to discount the testimony of Tocqueville. He writes: "I have tried to discover, by reading the eyewitness social observers of the early nineteenth century in America, whether Tocqueville 'saw' or 'foresaw' it, to what extent he was influenced—as visiting firemen of today also are—by American snobs who take their image of Europe as the norm in describing their own countrymen. And to what extent, in establishing America's polarity with Europe, he tendentiously noticed those things that were different rather than those that were the same. From conversation with Phillips Bradley and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and from G. W. Pierson, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* . . . I got the impression that all these qualifications must be put on Tocqueville's picture of America in the 1830's." It is not clear whether the deletion of this footnote, when others were retained, results from an alteration in his thought or from a simple desire to save space. In any event, this passage suggests that Riesman recognized the problem which Tocqueville's report presented.

leave this question aside, Riesman's casual disposal of Tocqueville's majority-dominated man is not quite convincing. If the men of Jacksonian America were in training for other-direction, as he suggests, what happened to them in the subsequent age of the robber barons, which, we have been assured, was the heyday of the inner-directed man?

One possible answer, as has been suggested, is that in describing other-direction, Riesman is actually picturing the American character for most of its history; that the other-directed personality has dominated since at least Tocqueville's day and that it continued to do so even in that age of so-called rugged individualism—the second half of the nineteenth century. Lord Bryce, it is true, in his *American Commonwealth* denies that the fears of Tocqueville had been realized in the 1880s,⁴⁰ but elsewhere in his book he describes the American in a manner that gets very close to Riesman's conception of other-direction.⁴¹ Furthermore, if we look at the number of traits that Riesman picks out as peculiar to the nineteenth century, inner-directed society, we see that, for almost all of them, large qualifications from the historical evidence have to be made.

Solidity of work and attention to production were certainly elements of the Old America, but the land speculator, the wildcat banker, the projector in general were as much a part of the American business scene as the better-remembered stodgy banker and the tight-fisted entrepreneur who sweated his laborers because he cared mainly for production. Was the primary form of entertainment in the nineteenth century really solitary reading? Were not the tears that flowed so profusely when Little Eva was lifted to heaven in performances of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" as much the result of a sentimental peer culture as are analogous reactions in our own time? Nor is the manipulation of children by parents and of husbands by wives novel or more acceptable today than it was in the nineteenth century. Tom Sawyer was beloved for his skill at getting a fence painted by manipulation and the point of James M. Barrie's play

⁴⁰ James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (London, 1888), II, 312-13.

⁴¹ Majority rule, Bryce pointed out, weakens the sense of individualism. A man "cannot long hold that he is right and the multitude wrong. An American submits more readily than an Englishman would do, ay, even to what an Englishman would think an injury to his private rights. . . . It may seem a trivial illustration to observe that when a railway train is late, or a waggon drawn up opposite a warehouse door stops the horse-car for five minutes, the passengers take the delay far more coolly and uncomplainingly than Englishmen would do. . . . It is all in the course of nature. What is an individual that he should make a fuss because he loses a few minutes, or is taxed too highly." *Ibid.*, II, 304. When he asked a conductor on an elevated railroad how he was able to enforce the rule against smoking when all other trains permitted smoking, the conductor replied: "I always say when anyone seems disposed to insist, 'Sir, I am sure that if you are a gentleman you will not wish to bring me into difficulty' and then they always leave off." *Ibid.*, II, 607n. See also his conclusions on the lack of individualism in the "inner life of men" in America, *Ibid.*, II, 678-79.

"What Every Woman Knows" was clearly that men are generally manipulated by their women. To say, as Riesman does,⁴² that the inner-directed person of the nineteenth century "pursued clear acquisition and consumption goals with a fierce individualism," is to ignore the suffocating popularity of Currier and Ives prints and Rogers statuary groups of that day. Furthermore, as Russell Lynes has shown, the mediocrity of taste so common in the nineteenth century was often deliberately cultivated as well as pervasive.⁴³ And what, one must ask, was the mission of the celebrated Sir Joseph Duveen but the education of "individualistic" robber barons to appreciate the "right" things in art?

Although Riesman's description of the child in the age of inner-direction, aside from its somewhat unrealistic tone, comports with that generally held by many today, it squares not at all with the picture drawn by historians of the American family. The research which has been done in this field, it is true, is slight indeed. It is now almost half a century since Arthur Calhoun produced his three-volume *Social History of the American Family*, and, though for its time it was a remarkable piece of work, it is now clearly unsatisfactory, both in its naive approach to social forces and in its inept synthesis of the materials. Calhoun's chapter on "The Career of the Child"⁴⁴ has almost no point of contact with the view of the inner-directed child presented by Riesman. Freedom of the child from parental control is the theme of Calhoun's chapter, and that freedom began before the Civil War. Almost all of his numerous excerpts from sources speak of the lack of discipline in the American family of the period and of the great attention and consideration given children by adults. This lack of discipline in the family is evident in Hugo Münsterberg's *American Traits*,⁴⁵ published at the turn of the century. His chapter on education in America seems to belie the picture of strictness of discipline and attention to the curriculum that Riesman spreads on his pages. Indeed, Münsterberg's chapter reads like Arthur Bestor discussing modern progressive education. The family is urged by Münsterberg to be stern enough to support the discipline of the school. And, as in our own time, the parents are strongly cautioned against complaining to the teacher that the amount of homework is excessive—a clear indication that parents were doing just that. At best such examples are no more than suggestive. One of the obvious tasks of social historians for the future would be a study of the American family in the age of

⁴² *LC*, p. 100.

⁴³ Russell Lynes, *The Tastemakers* (New York, 1955), pp. 16-17.

⁴⁴ Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family* (Cleveland, 1917-19), III, chap. 7.

⁴⁵ Hugo Münsterberg, *American Traits from the Point of View of a German* (Boston and New York, 1902), chap. 2.

alleged inner-direction. At the moment, though, my suspicion is that the similarity of practices in the nineteenth century with those today in our so-called other-directed society would be startling and quite disturbing to those who discern a sharp social distinction between the two periods.

One of the distinctive marks of the other-directed society, Riesman asserts, is the self-restraint placed on the exercise of power.⁴⁶ By implication, then, the nineteenth century was the age when power was frankly and freely used. But was it? Certainly from the private correspondence of business leaders of the time we know that some men, in a position to do so, often refused to use their power. In his book *Railroad Leaders*, Thomas Cochran gives a striking example. In the 1850s, long before there were threats of government regulation, railroad presidents settled damage suits outside of court for more than was necessary merely to keep public good will⁴⁷—just as a corporation might do today when other-direction and concern for consumers supposedly rule. Moreover, as Edward Kirkland has suggested, the much discussed robber barons were not as thick-skinned and steady of nerve as our conventional history makes them out to be.⁴⁸

Perhaps the most significant insight that Riesman has brought to a comparison of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is that the former was concerned with production and the latter is largely oriented toward the consumer. In large part, that conception of the nineteenth century has been fostered by historians themselves, who, in their texts, have emphasized, in discussions of the economy, steel mill construction, railroad building and the like. Too often, though, they have ignored the enormous expansion of consumer industries in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century.

One piece of evidence for thinking that the late nineteenth-century economy was concerned with consumption is the boom in advertising. As David Potter has pointed out,⁴⁹ advertising is the classic institution of the consumer society. Advertising in newspapers alone tripled between 1867 and 1880 and then doubled by 1890. In 1900, almost \$96 million was being spent on advertising in newspapers, an increase of over 1,000

⁴⁶ *LC*, pp. 246 ff.

⁴⁷ Thomas C. Cochran, *Railroad Leaders, 1845-1890* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 157-58. W. H. Vanderbilt, it is true, said in a fit of pique, in 1882, "the public be damned," but a few years earlier he had written privately to a business associate, "we must be conservative and keep the public with us." At another time, according to Professor Cochran, he "recommended a minor change in policy because 'we don't want to get the public excited!'" *Ibid.*, p. 157.

⁴⁸ Edward Chase Kirkland, *Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860-1900* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1956), pp. 8-10.

⁴⁹ David M. Potter, *People of Plenty* (Chicago, 1954), chap. 8.

per cent since 1867.⁵⁰ Many firms by the 1890s were already devoting substantial proportions of their revenues to advertising. Monarch bicycle, then in the midst of the advertising-created bicycle craze, spent between 4 and 5 per cent of its income on advertising; in the dry goods industry, 2.5 to 5 per cent was a common figure. Packaged cereals were the creation of advertising in the 1880s; thus it is not surprising that a reported 28 per cent of sales revenues went into advertising.⁵¹ One contemporary authority on advertising in the period estimated that in 1898 something like half a billion dollars was spent on advertising in the United States each year.⁵² Of a gross national product of about \$17.3 billion, advertising thus constituted 2.8 per cent; in 1956, advertising expenditures were \$9.9 billion in a GNP of \$419 billion, or 2.4 per cent—a smaller proportion, it will be noted, than the figure for the late 1890s. The continuity between that period and our own is brought home by two examples of advertising. One was a complaint against advertising published in 1900: "Many are the instances in which the demand for new goods or for a particular brand of old goods has been built up from nothing by continuous advertising. The advertiser cultivates wants."⁵³ The other was a caption under an advertisement for porcelain-lined bathtubs in 1890. It read: "Ask your wife if she would like to bathe in a china dish, like her canary does."⁵⁴ When the percentages of GNP and lapses in grammar then and now are so similar, the differences between the periods cannot be as great as we have supposed.

The importance of advertising is one indication that attention to production was not the overriding consideration Riesman would lead us to believe; another is the history of consumer industries at the end of the nineteenth century. As Alfred Chandler Jr. has shown, the growth of a great firm like the American Tobacco Company under J. B. Duke was dependent upon close attention to the consumer. Tobacco production by the 1880s was far outrunning demand and only the reorganization of marketing procedures and large-scale advertising made possible the expansion of the business. Armour and Swift with their imaginative attention to distribution created a market for frozen beef where none existed before; William Clark, to name only one more of a number that could be cited, did the same for Singer Sewing Machine.⁵⁵ The emphasis on

⁵⁰ Frank Presbrey, *The History and Development of Advertising* (Garden City, N. Y., 1929), p. 591.

⁵¹ Sidney A. Sherman, "Advertising in the United States," *Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association*, n. s. VII (December 1900), 154.

⁵² *Loc. cit.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁵⁴ Presbrey, *History of Advertising*, p. 426.

⁵⁵ Alfred D. Chandler Jr., "The Beginnings of 'Big Business' in American Industry," *Business History Review*, XXXIII (Spring 1959), 4-14.

the consumer is further evident in the famous slogans and trademarks of the day, some of which are still potent and familiar and all of which were vital in the development of their respective enterprises: "99 44/100 Per Cent Pure," "Children Cry For It," "The Beer That Made Milwaukee Famous," "Uneeda Biscuit" and above all, Eastman's "Kodak," and the slogan, "You Press the Button and We Do the Rest."⁵⁶

The question which this essay sought to answer was simply: "Is the picture of the nineteenth century which Riesman presents historically valid?" To that question, the answer must be "no." At the very least, Riesman confuses several tendencies of the nineteenth century. Thus the commitment to political activity of the Jacksonian era is projected without warrant through the rest of the century while the individualistic "the public be damned" stereotype of the robber baron of the 1880s is, equally without warrant, taken as typical of the American character in the previous seventy-five years. Furthermore, the historical evidence just does not sustain the kind of sharp division between the political, social and economic practices of the society of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; instead there is a marked continuity.

That conclusion, though, raises some further questions. That there are marked similarities between the social character of the two centuries suggests that perhaps the kind of categories that Riesman advances—inner-direction and other-direction—may be totally inadequate for purposes of historical analysis and should therefore be discarded. Riesman himself, by saying that the two character structures co-exist in both periods, has encouraged us, in a sense, to reach such a conclusion. Indeed, that admission has caused some historians to argue that his thesis, therefore, is not a historical thesis at all. But from the way that Riesman actually employs these terms in his book—he consistently, for example, attaches one of them to evidence drawn from the nineteenth century and the other to evidence from the twentieth—it is clear that he is dealing with change. And change is certainly one of the primary concerns of all historians. But, it might be objected, even if the historical character of Riesman's approach is conceded, can the historian validly use such broad categories to describe a nation that is made up of many different regions, classes and ethnic groups? Here, too, I think Riesman's approach must be judged worthwhile for the historian. The reason for thinking so, without going into any detail, is the same as that which justifies the conception of national character. Not all students of American society, to be sure;

⁵⁶ James Playsted Wood, *The Story of Advertising* (New York, 1948), pp. 263-64.

accept that conception, but there certainly are a sufficient number who do to make it meaningful and worth exploring.⁵⁷

If one accepts the concept of national character but rejects Riesman's assertion of a significant difference between the social character of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, what conclusion is one to draw? As has been suggested, the soundest conclusion seems to be that what Riesman has called the central feature of the modern American character—other-direction—is, in fact, the dominant element in our national character through most of our history. There may be some accentuation of certain aspects of it in our own time, but what Tocqueville designated in the 1830s as "*democratie*" is essentially what Riesman means by other-direction. Rather than a changing American character, the evidence suggests a remarkably stable one, at least since the early years of the nineteenth century.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Walter P. Metzger, "Generalizations about National Character. An Analytical Essay" in Louis Gottschalk (ed.), *Generalization in the Writing of History* (Chicago, 1963) and David M. Potter, *People of Plenty* (Chicago, 1954), Pt. I. In effect, also, Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The American Style* (New York, 1958) is a collection of papers assuming the existence of national character, though there it is called "style." See also Seymour Martin Lipset and Leo Lowenthal (eds.), *Culture and Social Character* (Glencoe, Ill., 1961) for an examination by sociologists and others of this question with particular reference to the work of Riesman.



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Moby-Dick and American Political Symbolism

IN THE PROCESS OF CANONIZING HERMAN MELVILLE AS A MAJOR AMERICAN writer, critics have generally failed to touch on the specific political context of his works. Yet *Moby-Dick* was produced in the very months of one of America's profoundest political crises: the controversy surrounding the "Compromise of 1850." Recently Charles H. Foster re-examined *Moby-Dick* in terms of one aspect of this crisis. To Foster, Melville's recorded responses to the Fugitive Slave Law suggest that *Moby-Dick* unfolded, and may be read on one level, as "a fable of democratic protest."¹ But horror over slavery was but one ingredient—albeit the most familiar to students of literature—in an excitement which, in 1850, comprehended the nation's entire political life.

The crisis of 1850 marked the dramatic culmination of a complex series of political developments that had arrested national attention for nearly a decade. Melville himself had been deeply involved in debate over many of the vexing questions of the 1840s. As an associate of literary-political "Young America," he had joined in controversy over expansion, "imperialist" war and the character and future of the Democratic Party. When Melville addressed himself to American politics in the "Vivenza" section of *Mardi*, he showed himself unwilling to consider any single issue—even that of slavery—apart from the many others that impinged on the national consciousness. His contemporaries were likewise reluctant to consider the controversy over slavery as an isolated matter. The Compromise of 1850 itself was an artful (some said artificial) effort to preserve intellectual, as well as political, unity in a time of nearly revolutionary change.

America's ultimate concerns in this crucial epoch were expressed in a seemingly inexhaustible literature of politics—speeches, orations, sermons and editorials, nearly all published and circulated in incredible num-

¹ Charles H. Foster, "Something in Emblems: A Reinterpretation of *Moby-Dick*," *New England Quarterly*, XXXIV (March 1961), 35.

bers.² This material embodied not only political ideas, but an elaborate ritual and symbolism, much of which Melville drew upon in penning the satire of *Mardi*. It was against such a broad and intricate backdrop of political thought, speech and action—the full pattern, and not isolated threads—that *Moby-Dick* was composed in the explosive months of 1850.

When in the 1840s the citizen of the United States pictured his nation's development and situation, he imagined the Republic as a ship, its history as a voyage. Often, too, he compared his country to that paradigm of his great-grandfathers, the children of Israel. It was to the nautical-political image that Theodore Parker, among others, turned for a sense of continuity amid changing circumstances:

they stood to the right hand or the left, they sailed with much canvas or little, and swift or slow, as the winds and waves compelled: nay, sometimes the national ship "heaves to," and lies with her "head to the wind," regardless of her destination; but when the storm is blown resumes her course.

Parker was able to show that Israel's "course was laid toward a certain point," but in 1848 he could not so easily identify the "political destination" of America.³ To many other Americans, during the gathering storm of the Mexican War, the image of Canaan was equally unclear; for most the sweet fields beyond the flood were the peaceful land from which the nation had recklessly embarked.

To critics of America's political course, the Ship of State seemed to have rushed from all havens astern in 1845. The issue of Texas annexation presented itself to Whigs as a question of "whether our old ship of state shall be launched upon an unknown sea—shall sail upon an unknown voyage." Then the ship's "captain" ran the vessel "into the whirlpool of the Mexican War," and it was feared the Ship would go down "Deeper than plummet ever sounded," carrying with it the last best hopes of the oppressed of mankind.⁴ By 1848 thoughtful citizens wondered if the analogy of ship and government, which had seemed to hold since the founding of the Federal Union (and indeed since the days of Roger Williams), remained tenable. In the peroration of *White-Jacket* Melville

² This literature is more abundantly cited in the author's "Melville and the American Tragedy" (Bowdoin Prize Essay, 1957, Harvard University Archives), of which the present essay is a revised version.

³ Theodore Parker, "The Political Destination of America and the Signs of the Times," in *Collected Works* (London, 1863), IV, 81.

⁴ *Congressional Globe, Appendix*, 28th Congress, 2nd Session, 373; 29th Congress, 2nd Session, 242; 30th Congress, 1st Session, 820. (Hereafter the form CG-A [or CG, if the citation is to the *Globe* itself], 28-2, will be used.)

asked whether the crew and passengers of a commonwealth should be left so completely at the captain's mercy.

As expansionism brought the nation to bitter sectional division, the Ship of State was threatened by ever higher oratorical waves. Shortly before the election of 1848 it seemed that Clayton's compromise would save the Union just when, according to Senator Henry Foote:

The sky was still black over our heads; the red lightning was already flashing in our faces; the wild waves of a tempestuous ocean were raging around us, and the ship of State seemed about to be dashed to pieces amidst the breakers with which she was visibly almost in contact.⁵

This compromise failed, and by early 1849 the Ship seemed about "to be swept over by a tempest which will dash it into fragments."⁶ In the Thirty-first Congress, alarmed statesmen described the State of the Union solely in terms of impending shipwreck. To this uniformity a New York Democrat, opposed to the compromise legislation introduced by Henry Clay, testified in a parody of Unionist rhetoric:

Byron's description in *Don Juan* of the horrors of the storm and the shipwreck is tame in comparison to their prophetic visions and appalling descriptions of the approaching and impending calamities. Already they see the breakers ahead, the rocks beneath the billows, mountain high, bearing us onward to inevitable ruin, not only the Constitution and the Republic, but the cause of human freedom throughout the world.⁷

On March 7, 1850, Daniel Webster, scanning the view from the masthead, fixed "the precise position of the precious vessel." Thereafter no Unionist, in Congress or among the general public, wondered if the Ship were actually poised on a "fearful chasm." Rather the champions of compromise sought only to paint in somberest colors a catastrophe all anticipated but hoped to avert. "The Ship of State," one warned, "approaches the awful maelstrom of disunion. She already feels and answers to its circling currents. . . . Yes, we approach the whirlpool—the sails are rending, the masts are shivering."⁸ Before the eyes of everyone, it seemed, was a clear picture of the Ship, in its moments of final agony, plunging beneath the waves.

So often did orators elaborate the metaphor that one might piece together from their descriptions complete specifications for this seagoing Union. An inventory of components was conveniently provided by Long-

⁵ *CG-A*, 30-1, 110, 941; *CG*, 30-2, 278.

⁶ *CG-A*, 30-2, 157, 223.

⁷ *CG-A*, 31-1, 644.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 189, 448.

fellow in "The Building of the Ship," which appeared in 1850. So often were Americans abjured by the "blood and tears" that went into the construction of Longfellow's "UNION" to "cheer on this noble ship," so often did orators recite the last stanza in its entirety, that Longfellow's poem became, as one sympathizer put it, "the common anthem" of Unionists. By the autumn of 1850 it could be sung with jubilation by a majority of Americans. The Compromise now secured, the Ship of State, and its crew of thirty—the number of states in the Republic—seemed "at last sailing in a calm sea." The Ship weathered the storm, fond Unionists believed, with "THE FLAG OF THE UNION NAILED TO HER MASTS." This was, of course, seemingly the same "holy flag" which Oliver Wendell Holmes had once, in lines hardly less quoted than Longfellow's, nailed to the mast of the doomed *Constitution*. By early 1851 that too had emerged intact from the lightning and the gale.⁹

For some Americans the compromise-salvaged Ship of State cut too Whiggish a jib. Throughout 1850 they were more concerned for the fate of the "old Democratic ship"—a vessel which differed little in outward appearance from the *Union* because, since 1815 and especially since the Age of Jackson, the cause of the Democratic Party had seemed one with that of the *Union*. The *Democracy* carried a "fiercer" crew—Jacksonians dedicated to political liberty, social equality and emotional nationalism—and it did not fly the tattered ensign of Holmes' crypto-Federalism. Indeed after the European Revolutions of 1848 the Democratic ship often unfurled, not the Stars and Stripes alone, but a crimson banner flaunting "Young America's" sympathies with Kossuth and even the Paris Commune.¹⁰

In the *Pequod* Melville created a ship strikingly similar to the vessels which rode the oratorical seas of 1850. It sails under a red flag, and its crew—in all its "democratic dignity"—comprises a "deputation from all the isles of the earth." But the *Pequod* is clearly reminiscent of Longfellow's *Union*; it is put together of "all contrasting things" from the three sections of the United States: "oak and maple, and pine wood; iron, and pitch, and hemp." And the *Pequod* is manned (as we are reminded at each crucial moment in its career) by *thirty* isolatoes—all, Melville remarks, "federated along one keel."

⁹ CG-A, 31-1, 701; CG, 31-1, 183; William P. Lunt, *The Union of the Human Race. A Lecture Delivered . . . February 7, 1850* (Boston, 1850), pp. 29-30; John Fowler Jr., *An Oration Delivered . . . July 4th, A. D. 1850* (Jamaica L.I., 1850), p. 16; John C. Lord, "The Higher Law" in Its Application to the Fugitive Slave Bill. *A Sermon . . . Delivered . . . on Thanksgiving Day* (Buffalo, 1851), p. 32.

¹⁰ CG-A, 29-1, 890; "Remarks by Ogden Hoffman," in *The Proceedings of the Union Meeting, Held at Castle Garden, October 30, 1850* (New York, 1850), p. 33.

The *Pequod's* mates, moreover, are "every one of them Americans; a Nantucketer, a Vineyarder, a Cape man." But of the three only one seems truly a New Englander or even a Northerner in terms either of the sectional iconography of the day or of Melville's own. Starbuck, who hails from the "prudent isle" of Nantucket and is ever-loyal to the commercial code of that island's "calculating people," is recognizably a Yankee. But good-humored Stubb seems a representative of that "essentially Western" spirit which Melville would attribute to the "convivial" frontiersman, Ethan Allen. Stubb's speech is not in the Cape Cod idiom; it is studded with references to "broad-footed farmers" and images and chickens and milldams. For Stubb, harpooning a whale is "July's immortal Fourth," on which he yearns for "old Orleans whiskey, or old Ohio, or unspeakable Monongahela"—not the rum associated with the genuine Yankee. The "Vineyarder," the "very pugnacious" Flask, seems likewise closely related to that "fiery and intractable race" which Melville discovered in the south of Vivenza. Flask, who speaks of his "Martha's Vinyard plantation," reacts to whales in terms of the southern *code duello*:

He seemed to think that the great Leviathans had personally and hereditarily affronted him; and therefore it was a sort of point of honor with him, to destroy them whenever encountered.

The harpooneers, finally, who so "generously" supply "the muscles" for the "native American" mates, are representatives of the three races on which each of the American sections, it might be said, had built its prosperity in the early nineteenth century. Stubb's squire is an Indian; Starbuck's comes from the Pacific islands. And Flask, perched precariously on Daggoo's shoulders, seems, like the southern economy itself, sustained only by the strength of the "imperial negro."

Ships and sailors were by no means the only images visible on the composite political canvas of 1850. Not unsurprisingly, considering America's intellectual and literary heritage, the mural was also filled with Scriptural incidents and characters. Not merely clergymen, but Whig congressmen and disturbed northern Democrats as well, had turned to the Old Testament when wielding their anti-imperialist jeremiads. "It is recorded every where, along the pathway of the world, in letters of glowing fire," cried an Albany orator: "The handwriting is on the wall. 'Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin!'—is bursting upon the sight wherever nations or individuals are cherishing selfish aggrandisement above the everlasting right." ¹¹

¹¹ Thomas E. Thomas, *Covenant Breaking, and Its Consequences . . . Two Discourses, Preached in Hamilton, Ohio . . .* (Rossville, Ohio, 1847), pp. 5-7, 72; Henry F. Harrington, *The Moral Influence of the American Government: An Oration*

Out of the Old Testament too came an archetypal figure useful when portraying the dangers of Manifest Destiny. As one Congressman explained while criticizing Polk's expansionism, proof that "the sin of covetousness, and the curses consequent upon its indulgence, apply to nations as well as to individuals," could be found in the fact that "Ahab, King of Samaria" had been "made to repent in sackcloth" for his "usurpation of another's rights."¹² In 1845 David Lee Child published a celebrated tract entitled *The Taking of Naboth's Vineyard, or History of the Texas Conspiracy*. Each of Polk's successive calls to "prosperity and glory" was invariably criticized as a "coveting of Naboth's Vineyard."¹³ So common was the likening of American invasion of other nations' rights to Ahab's aggressions that by 1848 James Russell Lowell, attacking the Mexican War in the *Biglow Papers*, saw no need to amplify when he alluded in his notes to "neighbor Naboths."¹⁴ In the same year Theodore Parker gave as the Old Testament "Scripture Lesson" for his famous sermon on the Mexican War (in which he referred to the siege of Tabasco as such "wanton butchery" that "none but a Pequod Indian could excuse it") the chronicle of Ahab's career in I Kings 21: 1-19.¹⁵ When Parker invoked the prophecy of Elijah that Ahab's dogs would one day lick his blood, he knew, better than Child three years earlier, that the "accident" President, James Knox Polk, was no true Ahab. Even during the Texas crisis, the "master-spirit of annexation" was, for thoughtful minds, none other than John C. Calhoun. After Thomas Hart Benton was heard to bellow that "Inexorable HISTORY, with her pen of iron and tablets of brass" would write that Calhoun alone was "the author of the present war between the United States and Mexico," there was no longer any question as to whom the many improvers of the Ahab legend had in mind.¹⁶

Melville first addressed himself to the problem of American imperialism in *Mardi*, where he devoted the better part of two chapters to the issue of Manifest Destiny. He echoes the oratorical allusions to Naboth's domain by describing the Caribbean lands, for which the Vivenzans "longed and lusted," as "gardens." Ahab himself is brought to mind in the proclamation read after the "inflammatory" stump speeches. Here Mel-

Delivered at Albany, N. Y., July 4, 1846 . . . (Albany, 1846), p. 8; Burdett Hart, *The Mexico War. A Discourse Delivered at the Congregational Church in Fair Haven . . .* (New Haven, 1847), pp. 15-16; CG-A, 29-1, 110; CG-A, 30-1, 110, 302-3, 976, 1201.

¹² CG-A, 30-1, 397.

¹³ CG-A, 28-2, 360, 404.

¹⁴ *The Writings of James Russell Lowell* (10 vols.; Boston, 1890), VIII (Poems, II), 63.

¹⁵ *A Sermon of the Mexican War: Preached . . . June 25th, 1848* (Boston, 1848), pp. 1, 54. (The "Scripture Lesson" is not printed in Parker's collected works.)

¹⁶ CG, 29-2, 496.

ville, speaking through a figure clearly intended as the young Democratic leader John Van Buren, cautions the militant expansionists: "cheer not on the yelping pack too furiously. Hunters have been torn by their hounds." In treating of the possibility of "crimson republics . . . speeding to their culminations," Melville chooses a parallel from ancient Rome to remind Americans of the perilous course of empire:

In chronicles of old, you read, sovereign-kings! that an eagle from the clouds presaged royalty to the fugitive Taquinoo. . . .

In nations, sovereign-kings! there is a transmigration of souls; in you, is a marvelous destiny. The eagle of Romaro revives in your own mountain bird, and once more is plumed for her flight. Her screams are answered by the vauntful cry of a hawk; his red comb yet reeking with slaughter. And one East, one West, those bold birds may fly, till they lock pinions in the mid-most beyond.

But, soaring in the sky over the nations that shall gather their broods under their wings, that bloody hawk may hereafter be taken for an eagle.

Melville's imaginary scroll is torn to shreds by the impatient mob—just as, in fact, a multitude of northern Democrats fulfilled the premonitions of those who warned, in 1847, that "A democracy without humanity is a herd of wolves."¹⁷ Whatever Melville's final judgments on the "fiery" Barnburners portrayed in *Mardi*, he obviously continued to question the imperialist ambitions of American Democracy. For when he came in *Moby-Dick* to write of "all the revolving panoramas of empire on earth," Melville gave Ahab as an omen not Tarquin's imperial eagle, revived in the symbol of American liberty, but the other bloody bird, the conquering hawk.

The pro-expansionists whom Melville satirized found no single image adequate to the whole of their imperial aspirations. But the Whig Journal, the *Knickerbocker*, suggested that the perfect embodiment of Manifest Destiny was "the Great American Sea-Serpent." Implying that Democratic spokesmen had in fact employed the symbol, the *Knickerbocker* caused its spread-eagle orator to proclaim:

The Rocky Mountains are not more peculiarly our national property than the Sea-Serpent. Niagara Falls are not; the Mississippi river is not; Mammoth Cave is not.¹⁸

¹⁷ Theodore Sedgwick, *The American Citizen: . . . A Discourse Delivered at Union College, July 1847* (New York, 1847), p. 21.

¹⁸ "A Tribute to the American Sea-Serpent," *The Knickerbocker*, XXXIX (June 1852), 558. The oration was ostensibly delivered in November 1851—the month of *Moby-Dick*'s American publication.

The "sea-serpent," which some claimed to have "sighted" in New England waters in 1812, had curiously enough timed its "reappearance" in the 1840s to coincide with a resurgence of Northern concern over expansionism. The "Serpent" was to have been the subject of Melville's articles for *Yankee Doodle* in 1848; but Duyckinck ordered instead a lampoon of Zachary Taylor's dispatches.¹⁹ But the beast continued as a topic of conversation in Melville's New York literary circle,²⁰ perhaps because in 1849 Eugene Batchelder, a self-conceived Boston wit, published his *Romance of the Sea-Serpent*. His verses connected the chase of the "serpent" with the advance of Americans into Mexico and the Californian golden empire. But like Melville, for whom in *Moby-Dick* Texas was a "Fast-Fish" and Mexico a "Loose-Fish" but the White Whale himself something more, so too did Batchelder ascribe transcendent stature to the Serpent. To Batchelder this emblem of American empire seemed the very Leviathan of the Old Testament.²¹

For critics and partisans alike, "Manifest Destiny" conjured up only the grandest of images. As the *Knickerbocker's* "orator" explained, the "shaggy buffalo" of the prairie, the "slumbering alligator" of the Everglades, and the "grizzly bear" of the Rockies was each impressive in its way, but only "the Great American Sea-Serpent raises his blazing crest high above all, majestic, unapproachable, and sublime!"²² Here precisely was the Whig indictment of the apostles of Manifest Destiny: they were causing America to forsake its household gods in a senseless quest for the sublime. Democratic pilots were maneuvering the national Ship from the course it had long pursued in safety, "well laden with rich and valuable cargoes." The Democracy was encouraging an "itinerant desire" in American breasts, making a people discontent with "familiar objects of devotion," and luring them from "the domestic altar" into worship of "strange idols" not unlike "the Baalim" of an earlier age.²³ The Democratic prospect of empire was grand and vast, but the Whigs cherished their less-troubled bookkeeper's vision of national prosperity.

In deriding imperial ambitions the Whig literati hoped to exorcise sublimity with the same device they had long used "to contain the violence of Jacksonian America."²⁴ But the more astute Whig politicians knew that the appeal of the sublime—like that of Andrew Jackson him-

¹⁹ Perry Miller, *The Raven and the Whale* (New York, 1956), pp. 212-13.

²⁰ Cornelius Mathews, "Several Days in Berkshire," *Literary World*, August 24, 1850, in Jay Leyda, *The Melville Log* (2 vols.; New York, 1951), I, 384.

²¹ [Eugene Batchelder], *A Romance of the Sea-Serpent . . .* (Cambridge, 1849), pp. 47, 88-91, Appendix.

²² "A Tribute to the American Sea-Serpent," *The Knickerbocker*, XXXIX, 558.

²³ CG-A, 28-2, 273, 55.

²⁴ Kenneth S. Lynn, *Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor* (Boston, 1959), p. 60.

self—could not be burlesqued into insignificance. John Bell, for one, observed that Mexico fired the American imagination because there "nature exhibits herself in her most sublime and terrific, as well as in her more lovely and enchanting aspects." And such natural sublimity, Bell wisely perceived, was but the shadow of the greater "attractions" of empire itself—with its appeal to the American "passion for the grand, the vast, and the marvellous."²⁵ Such thoughtful observers of American character did not deride the sublime; rather they reminded an aggressive Democracy that the imperial sublime, like the natural, has two faces. What seems enticingly sublime when viewed from afar, Alexander Stephens warned, might prove sublimely awful when finally confronted:

The mountain in the distance, clothed in its "Azure hue," looks all smooth and even; but experience as well as poetry tells us, it is the distance that gives "enchantment to the view." Surveyed at its base, in the gloomy shade of its august frown, . . . its surface is far from appearing even and smooth. Already we see its rocks—the high impending cliffs—the deep ravines—the frightful chasms. . . .²⁶

Or, as any of a host of orators might have said, the very thing that allured the Ship of State out of its accustomed ways might in the end prove the instrument of its destruction.

That Melville associated the quest of the "sublime" White Whale with imperial aspirations is most strongly suggested by the central three "gams" of *Moby-Dick*. The German captain of the *Jungfrau* "evinced his complete ignorance of the White Whale," and that of the *Bouton-de-Rose* claims never to have heard of *Moby-Dick*. (But the Frenchman is gulled of one "Fast-Fish," as his nation of Louisiana, by the fast-talking Stubb.) The commander of the *Samuel Enderby* has met the White Whale, but once bested, will not make another effort to capture him. The American Whigs' contentment in the secure course of non-empire, moreover, is reflected in the gam with the *Bachelor*, whose captain simply refuses to allow that *Moby-Dick* exists. He stuffs his hands into his pockets "in self-complacent testimony to his entire satisfaction," and he and his crew enjoy a surfeit of plenty. Aboard the *Pequod*, the prudent Starbuck, drearily lecturing Ahab of the "owners," would chart a similarly politic course. But here, of course, the White Whale—his "quietude but the vesture of tornadoes"—works his infallible and fatal fascination.

Pro-expansionists viewed the fulfillment of America's Manifest Destiny as involving more than quest and capture. Like Alanno of Hio-Hio in *Mardi*, they hailed the occupation of Oregon—and even the annexation of

²⁵ CG-A, 30-1, 199.

²⁶ CG-A, 28-2, 310.

Texas and war with Mexico—as parts of a “deadly encounter” with England. In 1812 back-country Republicans had thrown the strength of the new nation and of an insurgent Democracy against the foremost maritime power of the world, the “Sea-beast Leviathan,” a “bloody and perfidious Albion.” Still in the 1840s expansion was advocated as revenge on the British Empire and, indeed, as a means of raising a new American empire on its ruins. Even as orators dilated on a dramatic struggle with the British lion, echoes of the traditional rhetoric continued to be heard: “the American eagle,” proclaimed one of John Allen’s adherents in gleeful anticipation of renewed hostilities with England, “will strike his talons into his nostrils, and you will see his blood spout as though a whale had been harpooned.”²⁷ By their very language the spokesmen of Manifest Destiny evinced as early as 1845 a hunger that could be satisfied fully only in war. So palpable were their desires that Channing, according to one of the Stockbridge Sedgwicks, felt impelled, shortly before his death, to insist “*We must not give this people a taste for blood!*”²⁸

The sanguinary passions of the 1840s found their fitting symbol in the “hickory pole” that served the militant Democracy as its standard in what Melville (writing to Polk) called the “memorable general election” of 1844.²⁹ Such a pole, a spaling or twig of the hickory tree, bark and all, was supposed to signify the line of true descent from “Old Hickory” Jackson to “Young Hickory” Polk. Carried by Democratic stalwarts in parades, and hoisted aloft at party barbecues, it served the legions of Democracy as both *labarum* and weapon. In Congressional debates, “the point of a hickory pole” assisted the American eagle in oratorical bedevilment of the British Leviathan.³⁰ The device appears to have been invented in a speech delivered by Gansevoort Melville, “Young America” orator and Herman’s brother, before a meeting of New York City Democrats called to ratify the results of the Baltimore Convention:

As for James K. Polk, the next President of the United States, we, the unterrified democracy of New York, will rebaptize him; we will give him a name such as Andrew Jackson won in the baptism of fire and blood at New Orleans; we will re-christen him. Hereafter he shall be known by the name we now give him—it is Young Hickory. (Here the cheering was deafening, and continued for some moments. A voice—“you’re a good twig of Old Hickory too”—laughter, and renewed cheering.) We have had one old hickory tree. . . . And now, to take its place, is springing up at its very side a tall and noble sapling. . . . It will yet

²⁷ *Annals of Congress*, 13th Congress, 2nd Session, 1620; *CG-A*, 29-1, 211.

²⁸ Quoted, Sedgwick, *American Citizen*, p. 21.

²⁹ Letter of June 6, 1846, in Leyda, *Melville Log*, I, 217.

³⁰ *CG-A*, 29-1, 322.

be cradled and rocked in the storm. Storm and tempest will alike beat against it in vain.³¹

In *Moby-Dick*, after the tempering of the barb by fire and blood, after its diabolic baptism (to select only the more obvious similarities), Ahab carefully chooses for his sceptre—not a shaft of white ash, of which the *Pequod*'s other harpoons were made—but one of “hickory, with the bark still investing it.” And as a triumphant Ahab strode across the deck, Herman Melville relates, there could be heard, thumping along beside him, “the sound of the hickory pole”—emblem of the crew's dark dedication to Ahab's satanic cause.

No sooner had Americans fulfilled their dream of empire than did the question of slavery, raised by the acquisition of new territory, move relentlessly toward the center of political controversy. By 1850, as Webster declared on the seventh of March, “imprisoned winds” of ideology had been “let loose” to “throw the whole ocean” into a “commotion” that endangered the Union's very survival. Appalled by the “rude surges of political excitement” that washed the Ship of State, Unionists worked to still the troubled waters.³² But Theodore Parker, for one, rebuked the architects of compromise for their attempt to enchain the moral elements:

You may gather all the dried grass and all the straw in both continents; you may braid it into ropes to bind down the sea; while it is calm, you may laugh, and say, ‘Lo, I have chained the ocean!’ and howl down the law of Him who holds the universe as a rosebud in His hand—its very ocean but a drop of dew. ‘How the waters suppress their agitation,’ you may say. But when the winds blow their trumpets, the sea rises in its strength, snaps asunder the binds that had confined his mighty limbs, and the world is littered with the idle hay!³³

Echoes not only of Parker, but of Phillips, Garrison, and other opponents of the Fugitive Slave Law, in the “lofty rhetoric” of Father Mapple have suggested to Charles H. Foster that *Moby-Dick* carries a brief in behalf of the “higher law.” Foster reads Mapple's sermon as Melville's judgment on his father-in-law, Judge Shaw, who delivered the first opinion returning a fugitive from the free soil of Massachusetts, and, in-

³¹ Quoted, *CG-A*, 28-1, 662.

³² *CG-A*, 31-1, 476; *Fowler, Oration, July 4th, 1850*, p. 16; Lord, “*The Higher Law*,” p. 32.

³³ “*The State of the Nation, Considered in a Sermon for Thanksgiving Day*,” in *Collected Works*, IV, 262.

evitably, as a condemnation of Webster.³⁴ It may well be that *Moby-Dick* does reflect Melville's "sense of social crisis consequent upon the remanding of Thomas Sims." But it is difficult to follow Foster in his arguments that Ahab is a caricature of Webster and Mapple's sermon a judgment on Ahab.³⁵

True it is that Webster did feel something of the woe promised by Father Mapple to "him who seeks to pour oil upon the waters when God has brewed them into a gale." (And Parker, we may surmise, experienced that "inward delight," which comes, in Mapple's words, to him "who gives no quarter in the truth, and kills, burns, and destroys all sin though he pluck it out from under the robes of Senators and Judges.") Yet it is far from easy to see the historical Webster shadowed forth in the pridefully rebellious Ahab of Melville's romance. Webster—at least in the decades after his participation in the secession-prone Rockingham Convention—had said or done little to challenge an establishment for which, in 1850, he stood as advocate. Seen in the light of political fact and iconography, the career of Ahab would seem to parallel, not the compromising tolerance of Daniel Webster, but a defiance attributed; in the year Melville wrote *Moby-Dick*, only to the outright advocates of slavery. Expansionism itself had been viewed as a launching of the national ship without "anchor, compass or chart," but it was the proslavery argument, as developed in the 1840s by an unyielding Calhoun, that struck Northerners as the ultimate dashing of the nation's heavenly quadrant—a substitution of prideful man's personal "compass" for the "unerring guide" given him by God.³⁶ The neutral, even devious Webster who inspired Whittier's "Ichabod" seems an unlikely model for an Ahab who in "fatal pride" blasphemously *inverts* the *Pequod's* compass.

Much of Mapple's rhetoric, moreover, seems inapplicable to Ahab, who is prepared to breast the elements and even defy them; he is not disposed to calm the elements but like Lear bids the hurricanes crack. That Mapple seems to echo Parker does not make of Ahab's career "an antislavery fable,"³⁷ for Mapple does not speak of the *Pequod's* captain: surely Melville's Ahab is no cowardly, slouching Jonah. He does not ignore his God but quarrels with Him; in action, Ahab gives no more quarter than Mapple's estimable Hebrew prophets. The sermon, if it have any clear object whatever, seems rather addressed to prudent men like Starbuck—

³⁴ Foster, *New England Quarterly*, XXXIV, 17-18.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 25-26.

³⁶ CG-A, 29-2, 242; William H. Marsh, *God's Law Supreme. A Sermon . . . Delivered at Village Corners, Woodstock, Conn., . . . Nov. 28, 1850* (Worcester, 1850), p. 21.

³⁷ Foster, *New England Quarterly*, XXXIV, 21.

and, presumably, to such souls as Ishmael, so sensitive to the ironies and ambiguities of human conduct as to question any easy moral absolute.

Democrats like Melville had been sensible of the moral dilemmas of American politics well before 1850. Already in 1847, when the crusade to "extend the area of freedom" proved to be also a filibuster to enlarge the domain of slavery, troubled Northerners asked if Manifest Destiny were not simply a scheme for augmenting the South's inordinate political power. According to one New England minister, the relationship between the North and a South that nearly monopolized the Presidency could be discussed in terms of the Israelite "Alliance of Jehosophat and Ahab." The latter, according to such an interpretation, was a ruler to whose "southern plantations" the Yankee Jehosophat went "in search of a president for the United States." Coming "to the extensive and splendid mansion of an American Ahab," Jehosophat asked him to reign over both peoples.³⁸ Such an analysis was, of course, attractive chiefly to Whigs, who complained that for fifty years the Federal Government had been controlled jointly by the planters of the South and, to use Jefferson's phrase, their "natural allies," the northern Democracy.

It was to such a Jeffersonian alliance that John C. Calhoun appealed when he marched back into the Democratic Party in 1837 "under the old Republican flag of 1798." In the early 1840s many northern Democrats looked to Calhoun for leadership, especially after he sought to rally "the great popular party" by raising a banner on which was "inscribed: FREE TRADE, LOW DUTIES; NO DEBT; SEPARATION FROM BANKS; ECONOMY; RETRENCHMENT; AND STRICT ADHERENCE TO THE CONSTITUTION."³⁹ Such an economic appeal seemed to Theodore Parker a "golden eagle" set before northern eyes to dazzle them and obscure the real purposes of southern Democrats. Whig politicians charged simplistically that the Democratic Party was riding to power by luring the nation into Mexico and California with the "cry of Gold," but Parker accused Calhoun of a far more subtle strategy. The northern manufactured man, Parker insisted, would resist neither the South nor slavery so long as his "most popular Idol is Mammon, the God of Gold," and his Trinity "a Trinity of Coin!"⁴⁰ Many northern Democrats grew restive when Calhoun, as Tyler's Secretary of State, dedicated himself to the extension of slavery. Where but a few years earlier Calhoun had been hailed as a champion of economic justice, by 1848 he was under suspicion of having long designed "cooly

³⁸ Joseph C. Lovejoy, *The Alliance of Jehosophat and Ahab. A Sermon Preached . . . April 4, 1844, at Cambridgeport* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 3, 7.

³⁹ *Register of Debates in Congress*, 25th Congress, 1st Session, 66; CG-A, 27-2, 775.

⁴⁰ Parker, "A Sermon of the Mexican War," *Works*, IV, 75; CG-A, 30-1, 199; CG-A, 30-2, 147; Parker, "A Sermon of War," *Works*, IV, 5.

and deliberately to break up the Union" in order to serve the South's peculiar institutions.⁴¹ But conservative Democrats insisted that the master of Fort Hill had no such intentions. Like the *Pequod*'s owners, for whom Ahab's skill and success as a captain more than outweighed his eccentric notions, such "Hunkers" continued to uphold southern leadership. But many a radical awakened in the late 1840s to the fact that Calhoun's Jeffersonian banner—like the "golden eagle" of Parker's rhetoric—had deluded a Democracy that should have been unwilling to follow Calhoun had his true designs been revealed at the outset.

Resentment and regret informed the changing northern image of Calhoun. The outlines of the new portrait were provided by Parker's scathing characterization of the God-defying, pro-slavery American:

That young giant, strong and mocking, . . . ill-bred and scoffing, shouts amain: . . . my hand has forged the Negro's chain. I am strong; who dare assail me? I will drink his blood, for I have made my covenant of lies, and leagued with hell for my support. There is no right, no truth; Christianity is false, and God 'a name.' His left hand rends those sacred scrolls, casting his Bibles underneath his feet, and in his right he brandishes a negro-driver's whip, crying again—'Say, who is God, and what is Right!'⁴²

But no self-respecting Democrat could comfortably place such blasphemy in the mouth of "Young America." For the latter such godlessness found its object only below the Mason-Dixon line. "Is it not a melancholy sight," asked a former editor of the *Democratic Review*, "to behold . . . Mr. Calhoun . . . warring against the laws of God's holy and impartial government, and bracing himself to wrestle with the resistless elements of that progressive humanity which the religion of Christ has quickened into a vigorous life."⁴³ In Melville's *Mardi* appears the slave-whip-wielding Nulli, shouting his "insensate creed" that slavery is "right and righteous! Maramma champions it!—I swear it." Nulli, as William Gilmore Simms readily discerned, was quite obviously John C. Calhoun.

By 1850 many northerners believed that the entire South, as well as Calhoun, was worshiping a false God. It was easy for Theodore Parker, after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, to point to a Biblical precedent for what he considered an attempt to make all Americans do homage to the southern anti-God. "If I am rightly informed," Parker related, "King Ahab made a law that all the Hebrews should serve Baal." To the South and to southern sympathizers alike Parker invoked the counsel of Elijah:

⁴¹ CG-A, 28-2, 119.

⁴² "A Sermon of War," *Works*, IV, 30-31.

⁴³ O. C. Gardiner, *The Great Issue: or, the Three Presidential Candidates . . .* (New York, 1848), p. 40.

"If the Lord be God, follow Him; but if Baal, then follow him."⁴⁴ The North never directly faced the question inherent in their idea of a Baal-worshiping South, the issue of accountability in a Manichean universe. It avoided the issue in several ways, one of which was to lament the incorporation of slavery into American society even before the Federal Union was launched. "I think that no ship of state was ever freighted with a more veritable Jonah," wrote Lowell in the *Biglow Papers*, "than is this same domestic institution of ours." Some Yankees, among them Horace Mann, seemingly derived satisfaction from blaming not only the Founding Fathers, but New England's own slave-trading ancestors, for this "one foul demoniac feature" in America's otherwise divine history.⁴⁵

Another northern mental feat was the retention, simultaneously and unquestioningly, of two contrasting Negro images. The idol of slavery before which southerners prostrated themselves and in 1850 demanded all Americans "bow down" was represented, in many northern minds, by an evil spirit as hideous and demoniac as in insurrectionary San Domingo: "a thing of deformity and dread, the blackness of darkness stamped on its face."⁴⁶ The other image, of course, was that of the persecuted slave himself—a dancing and fiddle-playing darky with a soul as Christian as that of any member of Lyman Beecher's Litchfield congregation.

Melville was to suggest, in *Benito Cereno*, that citizens of Massachusetts would do well to revise their naïve and incongruous notions of the Negro and of slavery. Already, in *Moby-Dick*, Melville seems to have had such matters before his mind's eye. Aboard the *Pequod* is the stowaway Fedallah, "such a creature as civilized domestic people in the temperate zones only see in their dreams." Each of the mates reacts sharply to the appearance on deck of Fedallah and his aides. "Smuggled on board, somehow, before the ship sailed," says the virtuous Yankee, Starbuck; "A sad business, Mr. Stubb!" The jovial Stubb replies "they are only five more hands come to help us—never mind where—and more the merrier!" Flask is, of course, cheered. These responses—whether insouciance or outright welcome—seem echoes of the traditional attitude of Democrats toward the useful overrepresentation given the slave states by the Constitution. But Melville himself poses, in the form of the Ahab-Fedallah relationship, the more troublesome question confronting the political observer of 1850: whether the "evil spirit" of slavery somehow drove the South, "alike heartless and soulless, . . . onward on its course, . . . regardless of all else,"⁴⁷ or whether, as Melville put it, "all rib and keel was solid Ahab."

⁴⁴ "The Chief Sins of the People," *Works*, VII, 274-76.

⁴⁵ Lowell, *Writings*, VIII, 191; CG-A, 30-1, 838.

⁴⁶ CG-A, 31-1, 641.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Another of the *Pequod's* passengers is Pip, the "Alabama Boy" whose plight is made more pathetic by his being somehow originally from Connecticut. His presence mocks the *Pequod's* entire venture, for Pip's words are a tragic parody of a fugitive-slave handbill: "One hundred pounds of clay reward for Pip; five feet high—looks cowardly—quickest known by that." He is told by the unconcerned Stubb never to jump again, since "A whale would sell for thirty times what you would, Pip, in Alabama." To which remark Melville appends a general observation: "though man loved his fellow, yet man is a money-making animal." In 1850 not only the Kentuckian Henry Clay, but many "money-making" Northerners were ready to blink the immorality of slavery and deny freedom to the fugitive. Quite rightly, therefore, Foster likens the abandonment of Pip to the Sims decision. But again he does not show how such an interpretation can be made consistent with his thesis that Ahab is Shaw-Webster.⁴⁸ For in *Moby-Dick*, Pip is succored by Ahab, who far from agreeing with those "oblivious of suffering man," issues a ringing indictment of northern hypocrisy and indifference to the Negro's welfare: "Ye did beget this luckless child, and have abandoned him, ye creative libertines!" Ahab's cry—"There can be no hearts above the snow-line"—introduces no Websterian apologia, surely, but rather an elevated version of the defense of southern charity that Melville in *Mardi* had put in the mouth of Calhoun.

Melville's attitude toward slavery need not, of course, be gleaned from the pages of his romances. He clearly detested the institution, but—as the *Battle-Pieces* attest—his outrage did not lead him into easy approval of political abolitionism. Melville was always suspicious of black-and-white judgments, or simplistic solutions. In 1865 he reminded the North "that benevolent desires, after passing a certain point, can not undertake their own fulfillment without incurring the risk of evils beyond those sought to be remedied." Similar advice was offered in 1850 by those who refused to acknowledge that the choice lay only between the likes of Parker and their opposite numbers in the South. To moderates both seemed extremists who would "seize hold of some single idea, some abstract truth, and, separating it from all its natural connections, attempt to substitute it for an entire system of governmental policy." Analysts also had a name for both abolitionists and advocates of slavery: "If honest, they are monomaniacs." Often the two were lumped together as "men of 'one idea,'" but generally a distinction between southern "monomaniacs" and northern "fanatics" was maintained. Rep. Clarke of New York, for instance, verbally painted a panel (to join the others in the Capitol Rotunda) in which he depicted "those who plotted the dismemberment of

⁴⁸ Foster, *New England Quarterly*, XXXIV, 24.

this great Republic." There Clarke saw the likenesses of "monomaniacs who, in hot pursuit of one solitary idea, rush furiously over a communion table," along with those of "fanatics who stigmatize our glorious Constitution as 'a covenant with death, and league with hell.'" ⁴⁹

To those who despaired as the hopes and fears of evangelical Protestantism intruded into politics in the late 1840s, abolitionism seemed a secular Millerism. Northern ministers interpreted both the vomito that overcame the American troops in Mexico and the cholera epidemic of 1849 as portentous and retributive pourings-out of the Apocalyptic vials. Even Horace Bushnell insisted that "the pestilence which walketh in darkness and mystery is for that reason the special hand of the Lord." The moral energies of this anti-slavery "revival" were diverted into support of the Whig Party, which initially welcomed the aid of such political novices. But in 1848 evangelical abolitionists choked on the Whig nomination of a slave-holder and Mexican War general. Two years later they interpreted Taylor's death as retribution on the nation, the Party and even on the un-Christian general himself. By the year of the Compromise many "Conscience Whigs" had forsaken all association with the South, and a few younger prophets were advocating a separate and holier northern confederacy. For their policy of moral secession they found a precedent in the Old Testament separation of Israel and Judah. When Israel repudiated the "arbitrary sway" of Rehoboam, such extremists recalled, and divided itself "forever from the House of David," God indicated his approval by giving them "Jeroboam for a King." ⁵⁰

In *Moby-Dick* the "mutinous" *Jeroboam* comes into view, controlled by one Gabriel, who wears the "long-skirted, cabalistically-cut coat" of the New England minister. Gabriel at first "assumed a common-sense exterior, and offered himself as a green-hand candidate" for the voyage; but,

⁴⁹ *CG-A*, 31-1, 448, 565; [Frances Bowen]. "The Action of Congress on the California and Territorial Question," *North American Review*, LXXI (July 1850), 247.

⁵⁰ Alexander Bryan Johnson, "The Vices of Political Minorities," in *CG*, 30-1, 145-46; *CG-A*, 31-1, 1518; William R. Alger, *Inferences from the Pestilence . . . A Discourse Preached . . . August 3, 1849* (Hartford, 1849), p. 9; Horace Bushnell, *The Moral Uses of Great Pestilences: A Discourse, Delivered . . . August 3, 1849* (Hartford, 1849), p. 18; John Calvin Adams, *General Taylor and the Wilmot Proviso* (n.p., 1848); Charles Stearns, *Facts in the Life of Gen. Taylor; the Cuba Blood-Hound Importer, the Extensive Slave-Holder, and the Hero of the Mexican War!* (Boston, 1848); *The Anti-Slavery Papers of James Russell Lowell* (2 vols.; Boston, 1902), I, 93 ff; John M. Krebs, *A Discourse: on the Death of Zachary Taylor . . .* (New York, 1850), pp. 19-20; C. M. Butler, *Our Union—God's Gift. A Discourse Delivered . . . November 28, 1850* (Washington, D. C., 1850), p. 21; Henry A. Boardman, *The American Union: A Discourse Delivered on Thursday, December 12, 1850 . . .* (6th ed.; Philadelphia, 1851), pp. 5-6; Lord, "The Higher Law," p. 17; Horace Thomas Love, *Slavery in Its Relation to God. A Review of Rev. Dr. Lord's Thanksgiving Sermon . . .* (Buffalo, 1851), *passim*.

once underway, his eyes shone with a "deep, settled, fanatic delirium." Gabriel threatens destruction to the crew with his pestilential vials; he credits himself with having predicted the allegedly retributive death of Macey. So great is Gabriel's influence over the crew that the captain of the *Jeroboam* refuses to come into "direct contact" with the *Pequod*. It is only at a distance, and subject to "interruptions," that any communication whatever is "sustained between the two parties." Melville closes this tale with the observation that "the measureless self-deception of the fanatic" is exceeded only by "his measureless power of deceiving and bedevilling so many others." His general conclusion of "the history of fanatics"—"Such things may seem incredible; but, however wondrous, they are true"—implies that, for Melville, the situation aboard the *Jeroboam* is no idle curiosity, but a real danger. Certainly Gabriel's sway is not presented as preferable to the policy of the *Pequod*. No more in 1850 than in 1860, we may safely surmise, was Melville comfortable in the presence of weird enthusiasts.

Melville's report of the "youngish" fanatic Gabriel is, after all, only an interlude in the epic voyage of the *Pequod*. It is in the career of the "monomaniac old man," Ahab, that Melville compacts his crucial questionings. In Melville's day the "disease" of "monomania" was most often diagnosed in terms of its social consequences. Like the fanatic, Webster observed, the monomaniac, locked in "too warm an embracement of one truth," might mount it "as a warhorse" and "drive furiously on, and upon, and over all other duties." At first the source of monomania was thought to be stupidity or blindness, but subsequent analysts turned to the "laws of mental perspective." These, according to the *Democratic Review*, were "as universal as those which regulate the physical sight."⁵¹

what wonder is it that the earnest partisan should see his great idea swelled—by the very closeness of his contemplation—to most colossal importance? For . . . an exaggerated image is the result of too intent or exclusive a survey. . . .

By 1850 many Southerners seemed monomaniac in their dedication to the "one idea" of slavery, but the symptoms were most obvious in the one American who had always been accused of being too much addicted to "abstract" theorizing, "fit only for speculative minds and the closet," John C. Calhoun. Calhoun had not denied the charge, but relished it, and declared his departure from the prevailing intellectual standards of the age by insisting that "politics and legislation" are "as much a sci-

⁵¹ CG, 31-1, 477; "Freedom of Opinion," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, XXII (April 1848), 316.

ence as astronomy and chemistry." Confirmed as he was in the study of what Benton derided as "political metaphysics," even Southerners sympathetic to Calhoun understood why others would "hold him a monomaniac" without equal among the nation's public men.⁵²

If Calhoun was, as Benton complained, suffering from mental disease, then Benton himself could be also blamed for having spread the contagion within the South. Political paranoia, one might say, had been endemic within the Democratic Party since the days when Jackson had posed as slayer of what still, in 1850, was remembered as "that hydra-headed moneyed monster," the Second National Bank. "The bank," Jackson had announced, "is trying to kill me, *but I will kill it!*" And for twenty years the Democracy, Benton in the lead, "hunted" an opposition program to which it imputed inscrutable potency and beastly malice. Such a "sport," warned a Whig Senator in 1837, threatened "desolation to the country through which the chase sweeps," but an unchastened and unterrified Democracy would boast in 1848 that it had "twice slain a national bank, and often put a hook into the nose of *that Leviathan, internal improvements.*" Occasionally, as in the contest over the Sub-treasury, the Whigs could gloat that Democratic harpooners "had met with a huge leviathan of the deep, one flourish of whose tail had tossed up their little boat into the heavens." But it was not the Whigs who fastened this nightmare image on the American political mind. That was rather the achievement of such Democrats as Levi Woodbury, who issued periodic reminders of the dread terrors of a bank, "coiling, like a huge sea-serpent, its leviathan folds" about the American public.⁵³

When in the 1840s the Democrats of the South became obsessed with anticipations of suffocation and strangulation, Leviathan for them was not a special economic interest but the power of the Union itself. Understandably, Southerners found it increasingly difficult to conceptualize their fears in a concrete beastly image. It was to a sense of unnameable terror that Sen. Shields of Illinois referred in 1850 as he explained why some men would "rush blindly, or rather, with their eyes open, on certain and inevitable destruction." There are no "real dangers," he informed

⁵² CG-A, 29-1, 890; *Register of Debates*, 22nd Congress, 1st Session, 537-38; *Thomas Hart Benton, Speech . . . to the People of Missouri, . . . May 26, 1849* (Jefferson City, 1849), p. 31; CG-A, 28-2, 119.

⁵³ CG-A, 31-1, 321; *The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren*, ed. John C. Fitzpatrick, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1918* (Washington, 1920), p. 625; *Register of Debates*, 23-1, 954; CG-A, 30-1, 91, 864; CG-A, 29-1, 334; *Writings of Levi Woodbury LL.D.* (3 vols.; Boston 1852), I, 571; Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (Stanford, Calif., 1957), p. 91.

the South; "it is prospective dangers—dangers that loom and lower in the distant future—that frighten and alarm." Undeniably Southerners were "apprehensive of something—an undefined something—the precise what they knew not; and therefore, valiantly commence fighting the 'shadow' of some 'coming event.'" A moody South, fearful of "aggressions" though none had yet materialized, was thought by the late 1840s to be overcome with a plague worse than "the disease of hypochondria." A writer in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, seeking to account for his section's malaise, described the symptoms of the "man of one idea" in 1848:

He is possessed with an inveterate monomania, which presents to his diseased mind all objects under one image. He is haunted by a spectre, whose shadowy form darkens and discolors all his perceptions, and this phantom he pursues with the reckless speed of a wild huntsman, trampling on every obstacle to his headlong course.⁵⁴

Here then was a diagnosis of southern monomania; their "one idea" was both creature and creator of the monstrous apparition that heaped and tasked the mind of the South.

As with each of the unreasons that has periodically seized the American political mind, the southern fear of Leviathan was not wholly fantastic. The South was justifiably disturbed by what Calhoun defined as the "increasing power" of the Federal government, and of "the Northern section over all of it." Twice Calhoun had personally felt the oppressive weight of the Union—first in the form of the Force Bill and again after the Panic of 1837 when pressure from the "money power" nearly overwhelmed the Democracy. In 1850 a South haunted by the increasing population of the North might have fought the shadows of coming events in any case. But it was a battle-scarred Calhoun who had taught his section to be apprehensive. In the entire South, so far as Emerson could tell, there was "but one man," and the rest were but "repeaters of his mind."

Of all Americans, Calhoun impressed his contemporaries as being the most "pained with fearful apprehension, doubt, distrust, dismay." His anxieties, Calhoun insisted, were not irrational, but the result of "scientific" study. In the "anonymous" campaign biography of 1843 he praised himself for possessing "the highest and rarest faculty of a statesman," an analytical method that gave him "an insight into futurity far beyond the usual range of human vision." This, Calhoun explained, "is

⁵⁴ CG, 30-1, 1647; CG-A, 30-1, 140, 329; J. B. Dabney, "An Essay, on the Causes of the Remarkable Increase of Great Men in This Country . . .," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XIV (April 1848), 220.

the faculty of considering circumstances in their combinations, and of determining their relative power in propelling events." In the late 1840s Calhoun methodically studied—like Melville's Ahab tracing the courses of sperm whales—the combinations of political events,—or "junctures," as Calhoun preferred to style them. In 1850 he decided that the crucial "juncture" had been reached; believing that "to temporize, is but to increase the evil," Calhoun issued a final defiant challenge to the Union.⁵⁵

It is of course impossible to know precisely how the Union's outrageous strength presented itself to Calhoun's mind as he prepared his last address. Just as Ahab, as the end of his quest neared, took "speechless refuge, as it were, among the marble senate of the dead," so too did Calhoun, consumed with fatal illness, compose in solitude the speech he would be too weak to read on the fourth of March. But by directing his most savage rhetorical lances against sentimentalized versions of the Constitution, the Union and the Founding Fathers, Calhoun gives the impression that he took the agent, at least, of the North's power to be no abolitionist, but rather Daniel Webster. When, on the third day, Webster rose to answer him, Calhoun knew he had rightly gauged his nemesis.

For two decades, and certainly since his first brow-to-brow confrontation with Calhoun during the Nullification Crisis, Webster had been celebrated as the nonpareil embodiment of the "national idea." He was never to write the volume of Constitutional commentary that Unionists eagerly awaited. Nevertheless, Webster's reputation as Defender of the Union was secure—sustained as it was by historical orations that made Webster seem as American as "the rocks of our hills," the very "impersonation" of the strength and unity of the Republic. Emerson believed the American people looked on Webster "as the representative of the American Continent." On the seventh of March, 1850, Webster strove to live up to his public image by posing, in his exordium, as one whose comprehension was "as broad as the country for which we act." He closed his appeal by explicating the figure on the buckler of Achilles as foretelling a United States washed by the "two great seas of the world." To many, this peroration seemed the epitome and culmination of Webster's career.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ CG, 31-1, 542; James E. Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (2 vols.; Cambridge, 1887), Appendix F, II, 751; CG-A, 29-2, 211; CG-A, 29-1, 430; [John C. Calhoun], *Life of John C. Calhoun . . .* (New York, 1843), pp. 69-70; CG, 31-1, 622.

⁵⁶ Rufus W. Griswold, *The Prose Writers of America . . .* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 21; Rufus Choate, in *The Law Reporter*, XV (December 1852), pp. 465-66; Emerson, "The Fugitive Slave Law," in *Miscellanies (The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Centenary Ed., Boston [1832])*, XI, 221; Bowen, "The Action of Congress," *North American Review*, LXXI, 265-66; CG, 31-1, 476, 483; "John Randolph," *New York Quarterly*, II (July 1853), 221.

Yet ironically, Webster in 1850 stood before the world the personification of a continental empire that a venturesome Democracy had captured for America.

In the complex contemporary image of Webster, two qualities dominated: "colossal power" and equally massive intellect. It was said of him, as "of the Pyramids, that one can only appreciate their full size, when standing at the base." Webster was likened, in his monumental majesty, to the rock cliffs of the New England shore and to his own "granite hills of New Hampshire," especially Monadnock. Unassailable though Webster seemed, it was the actual exercise of his "vast strength" that inspired in Frances Bowen a "feeling of sublimity." Webster's strength seemed to E. P. Whipple "half-leaning on his own right arm," and Horace Binney Wallace (in an essay which was at once a Unionist document and a Whig literary manifesto) declared that Webster's mind, even when "enraged, is never disturbed." Though his gnarled muscles "attest the utmost strain, his countenance remains placid, serene, and undisturbed." As an orator Webster employed few rhetorical flourishes; his most remarkable effects were achieved wordlessly—as when, in 1843, saluting the Bunker Hill Monument, rising above him in "silent, but awful utterance," Webster paused, stood himself in stony silence, and drew "long and loud applause." Nor did he engage in "violent contortions, or unnatural efforts"; in debate Webster seemed always "collected, calm, and perfectly at ease." Unless, that is, he felt personally challenged, in which case his words poured forth in a thunderous torrent, his gestures became "perpetual and violent," and his whole manner "that of a different man," oppressive and overpowering. His latent capacities known, Webster moved through the Senate with "the stately air of irresistible power." His repose—not "of inanition or irresolution," but "of magnificent energy"—was an emblem of the Republic itself, its power seldom used but ever in reserve.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ "Daniel Webster's Real Glory," in *The Life and Writings of George Washington Doane* (4 vols.; New York, 1861), IV, 464; Edward Everett, "The Death of Daniel Webster," *Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions*, (4 vols.; Boston, 1889), III, 159; Bowen, "The Works of Daniel Webster," *North American Review*, LXXV (July 1852), 92; Whipple, "Daniel Webster as an Author," *North American Review*, LIX (July 1844), 58; Wallace, "The Prose Writers of America," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI (April 1850), 235; Samuel M. Smucker, *The Life, Speeches, and Memorials of Daniel Webster . . .* (Boston, 1859), p. 472; "The Works of Daniel Webster," *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, VI (July 1852), 368; "The Completion of the Bunker Hill Monument," *The Works of Daniel Webster* (4th ed., 6 vols., Boston, 1853), I, 86; Edward Everett, in *Works of Webster*, I, 82; E. L. Magoon, *Living Orators in America* (New York, 1849), p. 57. John Ware, *Memoir of the Life of Henry Ware Jr.* (2 vols., Boston, 1846), I, 144.

⁵⁸ Whipple, "Daniel Webster as an Author," *North American Review*, LIX, 58; Timothy Walker, "Remarks at a political meeting of the citizens of Hamilton County,"

Webster's strength was thought by admirers to spring from "a mass of intellectual power" unmatched in his day and nation. Indeed part of the explanation of why Webster seemed so "titanic, Colossal, Continental" is that his was "the calm, majestic power of great Thought." To many Americans, particularly those anxious about their apparently atomizing society, only an intellect so "vast, gigantic, or, if there be a stronger word, Titanic," appeared equal to the task of comprehending the nation's totality and thereby holding it together. To an age convinced that a "being of pure intellect would be the personification of a republic," only Webster seemed to have attained "the *intellectual* sublime."⁵⁸ Not by words alone, however, did Webster come to be known as "the intellectual Colossus of the New World." For his "genius" was most clearly betokened for his phrenologically-inclined contemporaries by a "brow that strikes the beholder with awe from its majestic development." Eulogists of Webster all managed to refer to the "colossal grandeur of his head," to his "jovielike brow." A Faneuil Hall audience was reminded in 1852 that Webster's "brow was to common brows what the great dome of St. Peter's is to the small cupolas at its side." Looking back a few years after Webster's death, a commentator saw in him "an ideal of Olympian Jove; and beetling over all, the capacious dome of that vast brow, which has become a national ideal of personal grandeur."⁵⁹

Thus equipped, exclaimed the *American Review*, Webster "trod the earth like a God." To other adulators Webster looked as "Moses might when emerging from the smoke of Sinai, his face all radiant with the breath of divinity." Yet for each American who saw Webster as an immaculate image of the Deity, or who, with William H. Seward, likened him to Mont Blanc, there were others, less impressed, perhaps, by his white, "domelike" brow than by his "hair, black as the raven's wing," who called Webster "Black Dan." Even some who revered the Senator wondered if Webster was all intellect and nothing more. Long before his death he had lost whatever power he once had to "excite the multitude," who, the Whig elite complained, considered Webster "cold and passionless."⁶⁰

in *The Western Law Journal*, X (Cincinnati, 1852), 96; Abednego Stephens, *Address to the Alumni Society of Nashville University . . .* (Nashville, 1838), p. 10; R. H. Richardson, *National Bereavements. A Discourse, Delivered . . . Nov. 25, 1852* (Chicago, 1852), p. 14; Wallace, "Prose Writers," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVI, 235.

⁵⁹ Smucker, *Life of Webster*, p. 9; Bowen, "Works of Webster," *North American Review*, LXXV, 92; "Daniel Webster," *American Whig Review*, XVI (December 1852), 502; "Works of American Statesmen," *Putnam's*, I (June 1853), 653; Edward G. Parker, *The Golden Age of American Oratory* (Boston, 1857), p. 51; Smucker, *Life of Webster*, p. 537.

⁶⁰ *American Whig Review*, XVI (December 1852), 501-2; Joel Parker, *Daniel Webster as a Jurist . . .* (Cambridge, 1853), p. 60; Smucker, *Life of Webster*, pp. 453-54, 86, 472.

Unlike Clay and Calhoun, the "God-like Daniel" was never seriously entertained as a candidate for the Presidency—perhaps for reasons implied when Melville, writing to Hawthorne in 1851, proclaimed all products of the Age of Reason to be suspect in the more vital Nineteenth Century:

I had rather be a fool with a heart, than Jupiter Olympus with his head. The reason the mass of men fear God, and *at bottom dislike* Him, is because they rather distrust his heart, and fancy him all brain like a watch.⁶¹

When depicting Webster in the Vivenzan satire, Melville dwells on Saturnina's brow, comparing it to "St. Peter's grand dome." Babbalanja says of Saturnina, "thou wert made in the image of thy Maker!" But the philosopher goes on to observe that "We must measure brains, not heads, my lord; else, the sperm-whale, with his tun of an occiput, would transcend us all." Melville himself, recalling perhaps that the historical Saturninus was a traitor, strongly implies his distrust of the mountainous-browed Webster: "woe betide the devoted valleys below." In 1850 Melville noted a passage in the preface to Davenant's *Gondibert* (the conclusion of which he inserted in the "Extracts" which open *Moby-Dick*) affirming that men err in thinking statesmen of whatever qualities to be "as immense as Whales."⁶² Still, he juxtaposes in *Moby-Dick* two images from his earlier caricature of Webster: "Of erections, how few are domed like St. Peter's! of creatures, how few vast as the whale." The sperm whale, Melville further observes, "must not a little resemble" the "New England rocks on the sea-coast." His Monadnock-humped Leviathan, a being of reposed but titanic power, bears a head whose front "aspect is sublime." In *Moby-Dick*'s brow his "high and mighty god-like dignity" is "so immensely amplified, that gazing on it, in that full front view, you feel the Deity and the dread powers more forcibly than in beholding any other object in living nature." And *Moby-Dick*, finally, is a "genius"—but one who transcends, in his intellectual repose, even Webster in his quietest solemnity. The Whale has not only "never written a book," but he has never "spoken a speech." His "great genius" is "declared in his pyramidal silence." Melville knew that Daniel Webster was less than sublime, but true grandeur nonetheless appeared to Melville as a magnified and transcendent Webster. Like Hawthorne in "The Great Stone Face," Melville, when portraying godlike sublimity, conceived it as an "etherialized" antitype of New England's greatest orator.⁶³

⁶¹ *The Letters of Herman Melville*, eds. Merrell R. Davis and William H. Gilman (New Haven, 1960), p. 129. ⁶² Leya, *Melville Log*, I, 360.

⁶³ "The Great Stone Face," *The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Riverside Ed.; 12 vols.; Boston, 1888), III, 430.

The Ishmael of *Moby-Dick*, it should be noted, was appalled by the Whale's "spiritual whiteness"—not by the malignant power that aroused "Ahab's quenchless feud." Possibly Webster himself called up a similar "peculiar apparition" to Melville's soul, but it was not the Senator's moral ambivalence, we may be sure, that troubled John C. Calhoun when he in 1850 confronted the Union's "Great Embodiment." For Calhoun, though not such a genius as Webster, was nevertheless also a genius according to the definitions of his age. To many Americans, then as now, Calhoun's careful analyses seemed, by comparison to Webster's ponderous arguments, "the purer thought." On the floor of the Senate Webster appeared to "crush" most opponents under a massive fist, but Calhoun's incisive mind worked as a "very Damascus blade," keen and finely tempered. While Webster overwhelmed like "serried infantry," an embattled Calhoun hurled "darts." Calhoun's thoughts, observed his fellow-Senator from South Carolina, "leaped from his mind, like arrows from a well-drawn bow."⁶⁴

However commentators might metaphorically arm Calhoun, his mind was never fully understood in his day, and especially not by Northerners. Yankees admired Calhoun's "Spartan model" and his "severe regime," but they could not understand why a Southerner, of all people, should be so "rigidly intellectual" and show so little "imagination or fancy." Like Melville's Ahab, Calhoun seemed to lack the "low, enjoying power" and to experience "moments of softness" only when with or thinking of his family. Such an emotionless "intellectual constitution" could be explained, it appeared, only by Calhoun's education at Yale. (Calhoun too, had "been in colleges, as well as 'mong the cannibals.') Well might Calhoun's mind be blamed on Timothy Dwight, or compared to that of Jonathan Edwards; for Calhoun seemed in his time the last avatar of numbing eighteenth-century "Calvinistic logic." Like Ahab—whose ideal man had "no heart at all" and "about a quarter of an acre of fine brains"—Calhoun was dedicated to the proposition that "invincible mind" made "man the lord of the world."⁶⁵

When observers thought that Calhoun's ideas emerged "like heat and

⁶⁴ Smucker, *Life of Webster*, pp. 86, 472; Judge Hathaway, "Proceedings in the Court of Common Pleas on the Death of Daniel Webster," *The Law Reporter*, XV (December 1852), 531; John S. Jenkins, *The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun* (Auburn, New York, 1850), p. 378; Senator Butler, quoted in Thomas Hart Benton, *Thirty Years' View . . .* (2 vols.; New York, 1856), II, 748.

⁶⁵ "Works of American Statesmen," *Putnam's*, I, 648; Griswold, *Prose Writers*, p. 173; Magoon, *Living Orators*, p. 227; James Parton, "John C. Calhoun," *North American Review*, CI (October 1865), 386; "Speech . . . delivered in the House of Representatives, June 24th, 1812," *The Works of John C. Calhoun* (6 vols.; New York, 1854-57), II, 30.

resistance in glowing steel," they dimly sensed what Calhoun was doing—forcing his intellect through and against recalcitrant and hostile nature. Webster strove to embrace and express Nature; Calhoun defied it. His mind worked to discipline and repress an inner agitation which he never wholly concealed, but his epistemology was the corollary primarily of the struggle of "liberty as against power," of individual against the mass, and, inevitably, of the South against the Union.⁶⁶ Herein lay much of Calhoun's appeal. Northerners baffled by his mind, or offended by Calhoun's political ideas, could still appreciate the spectacle of a "great man struggling with adversity." Orestes Brownson, recalling Calhoun's posture when in 1832 the "whole force of the government" and the "whole force of the opposition" had been arrayed against him, believed that "the moral attitude of the man, at that moment, was sublime, almost beyond a parallel in history." To Unionists in 1850 Calhoun "seemed to realize the full idea of a conspirator," and yet even worshipers of Webster confessed to being carried away by Calhoun's "moral sublimity."⁶⁷

Contemporary descriptions of Calhoun present a figure who was physically at once repulsive and fascinating. Harriet Martineau dubbed him, in an often quoted phrase, "the cast-iron man, who looks as if he had never been born, and could never be extinguished." Henry Clay captured the essence of Calhoun's later public image when he caricatured him as "Tall, careworn, with furrowed brow, haggard, and intensely gazing." Of Calhoun's brow, which never received the attention lavished on Webster's, it was most often noted that it "seemed deeply gullied by intense thought" and concentration. Notable, too, was Calhoun's wasted appearance in his last years: his "skeletonlike" hands, his "emaciated" body, his long gray hair. To one observer, Calhoun's cheeks seemed "denuded of flesh"; to another his skin appeared to lie "sallow and loose on the bold frame of his face."⁶⁸ But most impressive of all were Calhoun's eyes, "so dazzling, black and piercing that few can stand their gaze." "I believe," exclaimed Sarah Mytton Maury, "they give out light in the dark."⁶⁹ An 1850 biographer testified that Calhoun's eyes survived all the ravages of age and illness:

⁶⁶ Calhoun, *Life of Calhoun*, p. 70; Magoon, *Living Orators*, pp. 226-28.

⁶⁷ Charles W. March, *Reminiscences of Congress* (New York, 1850), pp. 225-26; "Life and Speeches of John C. Calhoun," *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, I (January 1844), 125.

⁶⁸ Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (3 vols.; London, 1838), I, 243; CG, 27-1, 344; March, *Reminiscences*, p. 225; Griswold, *Prose Writers*, p. 173; S. M. Maury, *The Statesmen of America in 1846* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 181; N. P. Willis, *Hurry-Graphs; or, Sketches of Scenery, Celebrities, and Society . . .* (Detroit, 1853), pp. 180-81.

⁶⁹ Griswold, *Prose Writers*, p. 173; Maury, *Statesmen*, p. 181.

His countenance, when at rest, indicated abstraction or a preoccupied air, and a stranger on approaching him could scarcely avoid an emotion of fear; yet he could not utter a word before the fire of genius blazed from his eye. . . . Until he had passed the grand climacteric, he wore his hair short. . . ., but toward the close of his life he suffered it to grow long, and to fall in heavy masses over his temples. But his eyes were his most striking features: they were dark blue, large and brilliant; in repose glowing with a steady light, in action fairly emitting flashes of fire.⁷⁰

This image reflected precisely those characteristics Calhoun listed among his qualifications for the Presidency: never-failing energy, never-winking eye, and, most significant of all to him and to the American people, "indomitable will."⁷¹

Melville's sketch of Calhoun in *Mardi* shows that he shared much of this image: "a cadaverous, ghost-like man; with a low ridge of forehead; hair, steel-gray; and wondrous eyes." When Melville came, two years later, to imagine the captain of the *Pequod*, he created him very much in the image of the unforgettable Calhoun, whom "no one was ever likely to confound. . . with any second person."⁷² A "grey"-haired Ahab, whose eyes, of course, flashed fire, first appears in a "singular posture"—"looking straight out," abstracted and moodily stricken:

He looked like a man cut away from the stake, when the fire has overrunningly wasted all the limbs without consuming them. His whole high, broad form, seemed made of solid bronze, and shaped in an unalterable mould, like Cellini's cast Perseus.

Gazing on Ahab, Ishmael quickly divines his character: "There was an infinity of firmest fortitude, a determinate, unsurrenderable wilfulness, in the fixed and fearless, forward dedication of that glance."

So unsurrenderable was the will of John C. Calhoun that he seemed to defy mortality itself in his efforts to defeat the Compromise of 1850. During the last days of Calhoun's life, his very physical appearance dramatized his mind's effort to master nature:

I witnessed with astonishment the influence of his mighty mind over his weak physical structure. . . . [His] mind moved on, and as if insensible of the decay of bodily strength, put forth without stint his unequalled powers of thought and analysis, until nature well-nigh sunk under the imposition. His intellect preserved its vigor, while the

⁷⁰ Jenkins, *Life of Calhoun*, p. 446.

⁷¹ Calhoun, *Life of Calhoun*, p. 69.

⁷² Parke Godwin, "Calhoun," in *Homes of American Statesmen* . . . (Hartford, 1855), p. 398.

body was sinking to decay. The menstruum retained all its powers of solution, while the frail crucible which contained it was crumbling to atoms.⁷³

According to all observers, there was poignance in the spectacle of this "great mind," knowing death and even defeat were near, struggling "to overcome the infirmities of a sinking body: IT WAS THE EXHIBITION OF A WOUNDED EAGLE WITH HIS EYES TURNED TO THE HEAVENS IN WHICH HE HAD SOARED, BUT INTO WHICH HIS WINGS COULD NEVER CARRY HIM AGAIN." ⁷⁴ In *Moby-Dick*, on the final day of the chase, the same dramatic struggle is perceived in Ahab:

Tied up and twisted; gnarled and knotted with wrinkles; haggardly firm and unyielding; his eyes glowing like coals, that still glow in the ashes of ruin; untottering Ahab stood forth in the clearness of the morn; lifted his splintered helmet of a brow to the fair girl's forehead of heaven.

In the willful Ahab Melville made explicit what many of his contemporaries had only sensed when they responded to the indomitable Calhoun. N. P. Willis thought he saw in Calhoun's "eyes, bright as coals," evidence of "thought, in electric leaps from one idea to another." Others, equally fascinated with Calhoun's glowing eyes, saw—they knew not quite what, but they seemed to have guessed—a defiance that was something more than mere "unyielding" wilfulness:

When fully aroused, he became stern and erect in his bearing, his voice rang loud and shrill, and his eyes glistened like coals of fire.⁷⁵

The most profound commentary on Calhoun, in a sense, emerged when Melville expanded his description of Nulli's eyes—"bright, nimble, as the twin Corposant balls, playing about the ends of ships' royal yards in gales"—into the fiery confrontation in Chapter CXIX ("The Candles") of *Moby-Dick*. Though few others saw it at the time, Calhoun was almost the very image of that "force of will, of purpose, of perseverance," which, as Ezra Stiles Gannett confessed, commands respect "on precisely the same ground on which we are compelled to admire the resolution and impious audacity of Milton's Satan." During Calhoun's lifetime, Milton's descriptions of Satan were on occasion applied to Calhoun. Years after his death, when the image had sufficiently hardened to find its way into the history

⁷³ CG, 31-1, 622.

⁷⁴ As quoted in Richard Rush, *A Short Notice of the Death and Character of Mr. Calhoun* (Philadelphia, 1850), p. 7.

⁷⁵ Willis, *Hurry-Graphs*, p. 181; Jenkins, *Life of Calhoun*, p. 451.

books as a "cause" of the Civil War, the ex-Barnburner, Oliver Dyer, recalled his impressions of Calhoun:

He seemed to be a perfect image of the devil. Had I come across his likeness in a copy of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, I should have at once accepted it as a picture of Satan, and as a masterpiece, of some great artist who had a peculiar genius for Satanic portraiture.

Yet even in remembrance Dyer confessed a youthful admiration for Calhoun, who, while he lived, had a nearly irresistible appeal to the very Americans who branded him a hideous rebel.⁷⁶

Though in the 1840s Barnburners lamented that the northern Democracy had too long been "dazzled by the mere light" of Calhoun's "genius," it was not his intellect alone that gave Calhoun political ascendancy. (As Melville observes in *Moby-Dick*, "be a man's intellectual superiority what it will, it can never assume the practical, available supremacy over other men, without the aid of some sort of external arts and entrenchments.") Nor did Calhoun's political acumen (or deviousness) wholly account for the success of "the seraphic (some said satanic) philosopher" who in 1845 assumed effective control of the Democratic administration.⁷⁷

"There is a mesmerism of the will which works more powerfully on men than virtue or intellect," explained Joseph G. Baldwin in his analysis of *American Party Leaders*: "We doubt if Milton's Satan would not be a more popular man, if he took the human form, than Fenelon."⁷⁸ Melville drove to a similar conclusion in explaining why the *Pequod's* crew was "one and all with Ahab." Whoever willfully defies authority, Melville seems to suggest, will, when he stands in open rebellion, find response in the democratic soul.

Of the *Pequod's* crew, but one member is sufficiently detached to perceive the ambiguities inherent in the "ungodly, god-like" Ahab's feud with a Whale of "ghastly whiteness." Though Ishmael is temporarily deprived of his free will, he is permitted (in part by his ability to sense the comic overtones in the high tragedy of Ahab's career) to resume his role as observer of events. He eventually escapes the *Pequod's* destruction and alone lives to tell its story. From Ishmael's position on the "margin of the scene" may be gathered hints of Melville's own perspective on the political struggles of 1850. Ishmael's rescue was itself clearly previsioned in the oratorical themes of the Compromise year. "I am looking out for

⁷⁶ Gannett, "The Mexican War," *Christian Examiner*, XLIV (January 1848), 135; Griswold, *Prose Writers*, p. 173; Dyer, *Great Senators of the United States Forty Years Ago . . .* (New York, c1889), p. 148.

⁷⁷ Gardiner, *Great Issue*, p. 38; CG-A, 28-2, 120.

⁷⁸ J. G. Baldwin, *Party Leaders . . .* (New York, 1855), p. 295.

no fragment upon which to float away from the wreck," intoned Webster in his exordium on March 7, "but for the good of the whole." In this image, endlessly repeated and imaginatively embroidered by speakers of many persuasions, were embodied the nation's fears of beholding the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union.⁷⁹ But the shipwreck in *Moby-Dick*, followed as it is by Ishmael's salvation, emerges as a symbol of hope to the faithful disciples of democracy.

The average political American, distraught as he was by visions of a Union about to be dismembered, looked longingly to the nation's past. Not for the first time in the Compromise year, but then with seemingly final desperation, those who pleaded the "good of the whole" Union invoked the memory of America's Founding Fathers. The last incarnation of the patriarchal age had been John Quincy Adams; when in 1848 his lips were "closed in death," it seemed the nation was forever separated from "the gifted spirits of former times" and would no longer hear the "glorious truths" of the Fathers. The abrupt silencing of "Old Man Eloquent" led many to recall Scott's lines on Pitt: "The trumpet's silver sound is still. The warder silent on the hill."⁸⁰ The rhetoric inspired by Adams' death seems echoed in the *Pequod's* first gam—that with the hoary, heaven-destined *Albatross* and its aged, silent crew. As the captain was "in the act of putting his trumpet to his mouth," Melville relates somehow fell from his hand." Then the *Albatross* and the *Pequod*—one generation passing away as another comes on—draw farther apart. It is only when their wakes are fully crossed that Ahab, crying "Up Helm," dispatches the *Pequod* on its fatal voyage.

Though the lines that tied the Republic personally to an earlier generation had been rudely snapped, the neo-Federalists of 1850 found other means of binding themselves to the Founding Fathers. Washington still spoke as "first drafts" of his Farewell were discovered, purchased by Congress, and republished for circulation among the populace. Bills were introduced to rush completion of the Washington Monument and to restore Mount Vernon. Then, climactically, on January 29, Henry Clay, at the conclusion of his speech introducing the Compromise Resolutions, drew an object from his pocket and flourished it before the astounded Senators and the galleries:

⁷⁹ CG, 31-1, 476; CG-A, 31-1, 382.

⁸⁰ CG, 30-1, 385; George W. Hosmer, *A Discourse on the Life and Character of John Quincy Adams Delivered . . . January 27, 1848* (Buffalo, 1848), p. 3; Theodore Parker, *A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of John Quincy Adams: Delivered . . . March 5, 1848* (Boston, 1848), p. 66; Timothy Walker, *An Oration on the Life and Character of John Quincy Adams; Delivered . . . the Twenty-second Day of March, 1848* (Cincinnati, 1848), p. 16; W. H. Seward, *Life and Public Services of John Quincy Adams . . .* (Auburn, N. Y., 1849), p. 329.

And what, Mr. President, do you suppose it is? It is a fragment of the coffin of Washington—a fragment of that coffin in which now repose in silence, in sleep, and speechless, all the earthly remains of the venerated Father of his Country. Was it portentous that it should have been thus presented to me? Was it a sad presage of what might happen to that fabric which Washington's virtue, patriotism, and valor established? No, sir, no. It was a warning voice, coming from the grave to the Congress now in session to beware, to pause, to reflect; before they, lend themselves to any purposes which shall destroy that Union which was cemented by his exertions and example.⁸¹

Clay's histrionic gesture and imagery call to mind Queequeg's coffin—which might have warned Ahab but was a sad presage of the *Pequod's* fate.

Ishmael, who, buoyed by the coffin, floats away from the wreck, had seen Queequeg as "George Washington cannibalistically developed." Such a Washington expressed the convictions of the Democracy, who had long struggled to divest the Revolutionary general of the civilized veneer laid on him by Whig eulogists. Robert Rantoul, for one, insisted that a realistic portrait of Washington would repeat "the character of Jackson."⁸² In *Israel Potter*, where Melville desecrated the Bunker Hill Monument in order to protest the Whigs' sentimental and genteel perversions of the American past, he also cast his admiring gaze, not on the diplomatic and polished Franklin, but on that "barbarian in broadcloth," John Paul Jones. And thus in *Moby-Dick* Ishmael, by attaching himself to an uncivilized Queequeg, proclaims his ties to the primitive and "natural" democracy which Melville celebrates in his rousing hymn to the "great democratic God" who raised Andrew Jackson higher than a kingly throne.

Party lines are drawn in the very first chapter of *Moby-Dick*, where the "Whaling Voyage of One Ishmael" is juxtaposed with a "Grand Contested Election for the Presidency of the United States." The conjunction quickly takes on added significance as Ishmael steps up, aboard the *Pequod*, to a "strange sort of tent, or rather wigwam," tufted like the head of a sachem. This peculiar structure resembles nothing so much as the famous symbol of Tammany, and Ishmael is quickly located within the Democratic Party by his derisive reference to Bildad as "an incorrigible old hunk." The term could have meant in 1850—particularly to one of Melville's background—only the conservative Democrats, the "Hunkers"

⁸¹ CG, 31-1, 246.

⁸² Robert Rantoul Jr., "Oration at Scituate" (July 4, 1838), in *Memoirs, Speeches and Writings . . .* (Boston, 1854), p. 274.

to whom profit was more important than principle.⁸³ If this episode is, as one suspects, Melville's invitation to approach *Moby-Dick* as something of a political "fable," then Ishmael's point of view has been clearly identified with the "Barnburners," or "Free-Soilers," as their opposition to the extension of slavery eventually led them to be called.

By 1848 the Barnburners had emerged as something of a third party. As such, they seemed to deserve an epithet long employed in criticizing deviants from the traditional system. John Randolph with his *tertium quid*, or Tyler after Harrison's death, was "a sort of Ishmael, whose hand was against every man, and every man's hand against him." In 1850 members of the old parties were applying the term indiscriminately to abolitionists, Barnburners and Conscience Whigs. "Let these fanatical Ishmaels be accursed," screamed a Hunker exposé of all who challenged the two-party structure.⁸⁴ At least one leader of Free-Soil Democracy had accepted the designation: John P. Hale of Vermont, otherwise most famous for his crusade to abolish flogging in the navy. When Hale led the revolt of Congressional Democrats on the question of the Wilmot Proviso, he confessed it pained him "to occupy the place of an Ishmaelite." But he understood that this was the appropriate name for a man in his curious position.⁸⁵

Free-Soil Democracy had its origin in the Baltimore Convention of 1844, where the South, rejecting Van Buren, strove to tighten its grip on the Party by adopting the two-thirds rule. The consequent Barnburner revolt seemed—especially as the insurgency presented itself as a movement by younger Democrats against their experienced elders—as a "mutiny" by "fresh water lads."⁸⁶ This crisis is strikingly paralleled in the *Town-Ho* section of *Moby-Dick*. The abortive mutiny of ten crewmen out of thirty, the early defection of seven of Steelkilt's associates, the ultimate capitulation of the others and the successful commandeering of another ship, follow closely the sequence of historical events from 1844, through the state-by-state bolts from the Party, to the Utica Convention of 1848 and the formation of the Free-Soil Party at Buffalo. Moreover, the geographical center of the new party was the very canal and lake region from which Steelkilt and his supporters came. The radical Free-Soil sentiment of New York and upper Ohio seems echoed in the "agrarian freebooting impressions" ascribed to the *Town-Ho*'s mutinous mate. The tyrannical Rad-

⁸³ *A Dictionary of Americanisms on Historical Principles*, ed. Mitford M. Mathews (Chicago, 1956), p. 850.

⁸⁴ A. H. Everett, "Life of Henry Clay," *North American Review*, XXX (October 1831), 367; CG-A, 28-2, 362; S.L.C., "Isaac and Ishmael," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XVIII (January 1851), 23-24; Anon., *Abolitionism Unveiled! Hypocrisy Unmasked! and Knavery Scourged!* . . . (New York, 1850), p. 8.

⁸⁵ CG-A, 30-1, 56.

ney, finally, has southern characteristics. Introduced as a "Vineyarder," he is "quite as vengeful and full of social quarrel as the backwoods seaman, fresh from the latitudes of buck-horn handled Bowie-knives." The account of Steelkilt's long being "retained harmless and docile" by the "inflexible firmness" of Radney, "only tempered by that common decency of human recognition which is the meanest slave's right," could well stand as a paraphrase of the grievances with which David Wilmot introduced his Proviso. The Free-Soil revolt flourished on the refusal of northern Democrats like Wilmot to remain the "white slaves" of the South.⁸⁷

Such a history makes all the more fascinating the suggestion of various critics that Melville intended the *Town-Ho's* story to convey an alternative polity to that of the *Pequod*. Of course the exemplary mutiny in no way alters the fated course of the *Pequod*, but it is possible that the *Town-Ho's* tale was conceived originally by Melville as something other than a mere interlude. Perhaps he did not always imagine the *Pequod's* voyage as ending in disaster. It may be that in the hypothesized version of *Moby-Dick* the ultimate control of events was assigned to Bulkington. And this charismatic person, even as briefly glimpsed, strikingly resembles Thomas Hart Benton, the idol of radical Democrats and, in early 1850, the hope of those who would preserve the Union without sacrifice of Jacksonian principle.

Like Bulkington's, Benton's "neck and chest were of very large proportions," and his "powerful frame" seemed "capable of enduring fatigue, both mental and physical, under which few other men could bear up." It was said that when in debate Benton set his "dazzling" white teeth and undertook to "play Indian, no savage that ever infested the wilderness could cope with" the stolid and fearless Missouri Senator. The dark-complexioned, southern-accented Benton hailed from—not the "Alleghanian Ridge in Virginia"—but the nearby Carolina mountains. Exactly like Bulkington, however, Benton had "reminiscences that did not seem to give him much joy." (Throughout life he professed to be pained by his early duel with Andrew Jackson.) In *Moby-Dick* a brawny, fearless Bulkington is seen getting the *Pequod* underway as "solitary and alone" as Benton had been when he first set the Democracy "in motion" behind the expunging resolution. Just as Bulkington disappears from the helm, so too was Benton, the "Palinarus of the Democracy," unexpectedly dropped as the Party's pilot. Loyal to Van Buren in the Convention of 1844, Benton in 1848 became himself a man without a party. Hailed by the

⁸⁶ "Remarks by Ogden Hoffman," *loc. cit.*, p. 33; *Speech of John Minor Botts, at a Dinner at Powhatan Court-House, Va., June 15, 1850* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 14-15.

⁸⁷ CG-A, 29-2, 316.

Democratic Review as a "fearless thinker," he persisted in his intellectual and political independence. Benton refused to bow before a pro-slavery Missouri electorate and, in late 1850, lost the Senate seat he had held through five tempestuous terms.⁸⁸

In Melville's apotheosis, Bulkington is conjured to "take heart," knowing that his soul, too, had grimly and intrepidly resisted the winds conspiring to cast it "on the treacherous, slavish shore." But however spiritually triumphant, the "demigod" Bulkington is denied by Melville—for reasons we may only surmise—the authority that perhaps was once to be his in the critical moments of the *Pequod's* voyage. By Bulkington's departure Melville seems to imply that by the end of 1850 the alternatives of the Democracy were severely, even fatefully, limited. Though Steelkilt is reported still alive after Radney's death (as Van Buren survived Polk), the *Town-Ho's* tale ends on a note of elegy, not of prophecy. The *Pequod's* doom is foreshadowed by the sad burial aboard the *Delight*. (A sardonic echo of Father Mapple's fanatic pleasure in the "higher law"?) Aboard the *Delight* is seen a shroud similar in import to the "winding sheet" of the Republic invoked in 1850 by those who despaired for the Union.

Such foreboding was also voiced in the Compromise debates by references to the Biblical Rachel. To nineteenth-century Americans, Rachel was more than a sentimental mother; she epitomized the patriarchs of Israel who mourned for the downfall of their nation. As one Unionist cried in 1850, were Washington "permitted to speak, would he not, like the good old prophet, have cried out, 'O that my head were waters, and my eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for my people?'" So often were tears shed in anticipation of the "sad and heart-rending spectacle" of the "dissolution of Union," that when in August the Compromise seemed all but buried, Jefferson Davis could taunt its friends for their "eternal wailing. . . , like Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted because they were not."⁸⁹

The *Rachel* of *Moby-Dick* is associated with the legendary Washington, if only because its masts, in Melville's telling, seem like "tall cherry trees." But Melville's *Rachel* carries a chief mate who, when the whale-boats are endangered, instinctively adopts "the ordinary procedure of a whale-ship in such emergencies, that is, when placed between jeopardized but divided boats, always to pick up the majority first." The *Rachel's* captain,

⁸⁸ *Democratic Review*, I (October 1837), 86-89; Maury, *Statesmen of America*, pp. 59-60; Magoon, *Living Orators*, p. 337; Dyer, *Famous Senators*, pp. 196-97; Henry S. Foote, *Casket of Reminiscences* (Washington, 1874), pp. 332-335; Schlesinger, *Age of Jackson*, p. 487.

⁸⁹ CG-A, 31-1, 127, 715, 1551.

we are told, "for some unknown constitutional reason, had refrained from mentioning all this" in his interview with the *Pequod's* commander. Whatever Melville's cryptic purposes in relating this incident, one cannot fail to note that the most instinctive of majoritarians, Thomas Jefferson, had once served as mate to a Washington whose Constitution did not embody a majority principle.

At one point Jefferson himself had posed as a Rachel—in a letter written during the Missouri crisis and quoted in 1850 almost as frequently as Washington's Farewell. But Jefferson did not live to "weep over" the end of the nation's "self-government and happiness," for the "fire-bell" of 1820 had been stilled by a Compromise that seemed to Jefferson, as to Thomas Hart Benton, a victory of the nation's majority over special sectional interests.⁹⁰ As a self-appointed heir to Jefferson, Benton later campaigned for direct majority election of Presidents and insisted that any difficulty could be overcome if the "people's" voice, not that of states or sections, could be made to prevail. The golden rule of the nineteenth-century Democracy sustained the position taken by Benton and Stephen Douglas in 1850. Compromise was no sin as long as it represented the desires of a majority of the nation's people.

Even the passage of the Fugitive Bill did not represent an ultimate crisis for those true believers who held, with George Bancroft, "that submission is due to the popular will, in the confidence that the people, when in error, will amend their doings." This faith, vouchsafed neither to Calhoun nor Webster, nor even to the impatient Garrison and Parker, but delivered in 1850 only to hearty Jacksonians, Melville seems to have embodied in the *Rachel* of *Moby-Dick*. Deviously cruising, still searching after her children, the *Rachel* becomes, in the end, an emblem of Bancroft's confident appeal "to the more enlightened collective reason of tomorrow."⁹¹ The *Rachel*—as necessary to Ishmael's salvation as Queequeg's coffin—comes before us, finally, an avatar of the same undying democratic faith that Melville glorified in the apotheoses of Jackson, of Steelkilt and of Bulkington. The world into which Ishmael survives is, not, to be sure, so carefree and joyful as that of the Whiggish *Bachelor*; life aboard the *Rachel* is perforce "without comfort." But whatever its "constitutional" peculiarities, the *Rachel* points to a future that is not without charity and not, perhaps most importantly, without hope.

Whatever the ultimate meanings of *Moby-Dick*, its themes are not unre-

⁹⁰ Letter to John Holmes, April 22, 1820, in *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, eds. Adrienne Koch and William Peden (New York, 1944), p. 699.

⁹¹ Bancroft, "Oration, Delivered at the Commemoration, in Washington, of the Death of Andrew Jackson, . . ." *Literary and Historical Miscellanies* (New York, 1857), p. 470.

lated to the American political situation in the stormy Compromise year of 1850. Its narrative sequences, at least, follow closely a pattern conformable to the reigning symbolism of politics. This is not to say that *Moby-Dick* is decipherable as the very allegory that Melville carefully warns readers against attributing to his romance. It of course became much more as Melville's Ishmael departed from his role of narrator to press inquiries into metaphysical realms only glimpsed by Melville's contemporaries. A final determination of the relationship of Melville's completed product to the politics of the era is impossible—if only because for Melville himself there was no precise distinction between the "types" that shadowed forth the meaning of the universe and the images by which such a meaning could be communicated.

But our appreciation of *Moby-Dick* is considerably enhanced by the realization that, during its trying-out as well as during its composition, Melville was profoundly stirred by political developments. If remoter influences—Melville's literary sources, for instance—also had a share in his creative process, it is well to remember that, as Emerson knew, "the artist must employ the symbols in use in his day and nation to convey his enlarged sense to his fellow men." Such familiar symbols were provided only by the political drama that engrossed Americans in the mid-nineteenth century. Melville seized them, and of course reworked and amplified them, and in doing so seated much of Romanticism in judgment, not merely on Calhoun and Webster, but on all that these statesmen represented in and to the American mind. This Melville accomplished without doing violence to a symbolic universe he shared with his countrymen. Though his Ahab, for instance, was not simply an allegorized Calhoun, the central character of *Moby-Dick* did think, act and even look like the demonic, yet admirable, Senator who to many Americans seemed a reincarnation of the Ahab of old. The entire narrative structure of *Moby-Dick*, indeed, stands as testimony to the internal consistency of a political symbolism that for no American was devoid of some significance.

- One need not deny Melville's genius in order to conclude that the greatness of *Moby-Dick* derived at least in part from Melville's personal and intellectual engagement in the fortunes of the Democracy. Had he not been involved, and had he not been so sensitive to the hidden, even ultimate, meanings of the political drama, Melville would not have been able to perceive and predict with such uncanny accuracy the true political dynamic of his age. While some Americans spoke of Ships of State hovering over dreadful vortices, while others brandished hickory poles and still others stood enthralled by the dark sublimity of Calhoun or the moral grandeur of Webster, Melville managed to codify, as it were, the nation's

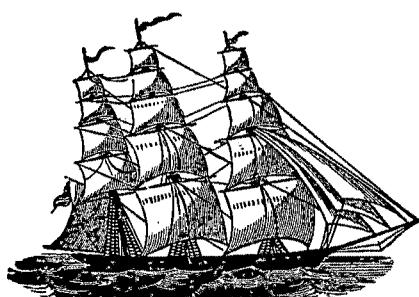
political rhetoric. By doing so he created in *Moby-Dick* a masterpiece that in its coherence, as in its universality, outranks not only as literature, but as political insight, the utterances that served Melville as his raw material.

Melville was not alone in his visceral democracy, nor was he in 1850 the only patriot who loved the Union. But few of his contemporaries—participants in the political wars or commentators—realized that the Compromise of 1850 represented, in essence, a victory for an economic entente, an outgrowth of the Industrial Revolution, which needed peace in order to preserve and enhance its status. Not that evidence for such a conclusion was lacking in 1850; for through the din of the debate over slavery could be heard the insistent partisans of American manufactures, neglecting no opportunity to promote such favorite programs as a protective tariff:

Mr. Speaker, I desire a change in the conduct of this Government. I would have everything about an American ship of American growth. . . . The naval architect should fashion his keel, and hull and spars, from American wood. . . . Her cordage and sheeting should be of American hemp. . . .⁹²

Calhoun was defeated in 1850, and the South brought to heel after 1860, by an industrial and financial complex which, in the act of destroying the slave-power, also nearly interred Jacksonian Democracy. And Ahab too was taken to his doom, not by the Whale alone, nor even by the sea that engulfed the *Pequod*, but—in fulfillment of the Parsee's enigmatic prophecies—by two symbols of the American System: a ship whose visible wood was American, and a bow-line of Kentucky hemp.

⁹² CG-A, 31-1, 195.



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The American Tramp: A Version of the Picaresque

FOR MANY AMERICANS, THE TRAMP IS EPITOMIZED BY EMMETT KELLY'S CARRIcature of the stumblebum who never succeeds except in trying, "cracking a peanut with a sledge hammer and looking heartbroken when nothing is left of it but fine powder,"¹ or in Charlie Chaplin's impudent vagabond, surmounting impossible odds with a flip of his coattails. But, like the Hollywood cowboy, this image does not much resemble its model. Real tramps, like the surly, scarred degenerate in Robert Penn Warren's "Blackberry Winter," or the loathsome hitchhiker in John Updike's *The Centaur*, may arouse our curiosity, revulsion or pity, but they seldom are a cause of laughter.

It is not difficult, however, to explain the connection between our distaste for the real tramp and our love for the comic version. According to DeWitt Parker, "the dual nature of man as at once a partisan of convention and of the impulses that it seeks to regulate, is nowhere better illustrated than in the comic."² Man, as a partisan of anti-conventional impulses, laughs at the antics of the clown tramp, but as a partisan of conventional attitudes, he hates and fears the real tramp. The clown is Dionysian, but the real tramp is merely a detraction from the Apollonian ideal. Moreover, for a society that puts its emphasis on material success, the real tramp is the naked stuff of failure—raw-skinned, snaggle-toothed, red-eyed, unshaven, dirty, ragged. "Gentlemen," begins his classic appeal, "I was not always as I am today," and the message is as much gauged to arouse our fears and uncertainties as our pity: "I was once successful and rich, *even as you.*" In the stories by Warren and Updike, for instance, the figure of a tramp is used as an index of failure, against which a father is measured in the eyes of his son.

¹ Emmett Kelly (with F. Beverly Kelley), *Clown* (New York, 1952), p. 125.

² *The Principles of Aesthetics*, 2nd. ed. (New York, 1946), p. 101.

Part of the appeal of the clown tramp is related to these fears of failure: we may laugh with him because he represents our unconscious desire for uninhibited activity, because he is a tension-breaker, but we laugh *at* him because we feel superior to his antics.³ After all, we know how to break a peanut. As a champion of misrule, Chaplin generally creates laughter of the admiring sort, while Kelly, the apotheosis of failure, usually draws out our feelings of superiority. Both, however, at times engage our pity, and pathos is the borderline between the comic and tragic emotions. Our sense of superiority also rests on tensions, on inner anxieties and fears, which are released by the tragic fall—or by the comic tumble. Laughter and pity, like terror and pity, is catharsis, made possible—as in tragedy—by distance: the clown is an abstraction, a caricature (the tragic hero is an ideal, a “king”), whose antics have only a symbolic relationship to the ordeals of a real tramp. They are calculated absurdities, whose unreality is made greater by the distance at which they are performed—on a stage, a screen, or in a circus ring. Anyone who has been approached by a circus clown, been “brought into the act,” has experienced the same fears that the tramp inspires: the close presence of misrule threatens our security, especially when it attempts to engage our participation.

Scapegoats must be kings or clowns—never one of us—and the tramp clown is plainly a scapegoat of failure. We enjoy him precisely because he is not “real,” but we laugh at him because he is a token of something which is very real indeed. Kelly’s enduring popularity, the many “revivals” of Chaplin’s films, and the appearance of new caricaturists of failure, such as Red Skelton, indicate that American society has a great need for comic scapegoats. Indeed, the comic tramp is so much a part of our popular culture that we accept him without a thought, much as we accept, without thinking, the presence of his real-life counterpart. But, as I shall attempt to demonstrate, the image held in the popular imagination is only one phase in a complex metamorphosis, an evolution which accompanied the emergence of modern America.

In recent years, taking his cue from Hart Crane, Jack Kerouac has created a new version of the tramp by assuming a worshipful attitude toward the “Hobo-trekkers that forever search/ An empire wilderness

³ “The pleasure in the comic is often closely akin to that which we feel in distinction of any kind. We feel ourselves superior to the object at which we laugh” (*Ibid.*, p. 95). Note, however, in relation to what follows, Freud’s comment on our attitude toward the caricaturist, who does not, through his acts, “make himself laughable or contemptible,” although he may be portraying laughable types; “indeed, under certain circumstances, [he] can even secure admiration” (*Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious*, trans. A. A. Brill [London, n.d.], p. 321).

of freight and rails."⁴ As the imagery used by both Crane and Kerouac suggests, they regard the tramp as the ghost of the frontiersman, and in that strange fact lies more irony than even Kerouac is perhaps aware of. For the tramp emerged from the same set of circumstances that led to the disappearance of the frontiersman, the prototype to which has been attributed the heroic characteristics denied the tramp. Eric Hoffer has tried to demonstrate that the tramp is a potential pioneer, that even now the rejects of society, when given a chance, will exert themselves beyond all expectation, approaching, if not attaining, the energetic purposefulness of the frontiersman.⁵ But it cannot be denied that the tramp, as tramp, whether or not he is a frontiersman *manqué*, has nothing of the heroic about him. Even Kerouac is unwilling to grant his saintly ghosts anything more than token respect: they are often half-mad wanderers, hopelessly lost in the "wilderness" of railroads and highways. Moreover, because his allusions are often references to comic strips and old movies, it is not surprising that Kerouac's tramps seem to possess many of the qualities associated with the creations of Kelly and Chaplin. They are not necessarily comical, but they are nonetheless sentimentalized, abstracted from reality. Kerouac plainly "sees" the tramp through the image established by the clown tramps: they are "little" men, "hiding in the weeds and hopping on in the shadows," elflike, enchanted, "dissolving in the darkness of the mournful Alleghanies."⁶ They may, because of their half-starved, ascetic appearance, resemble saints, but the gods they serve are best left unnamed.

It is important, I think, that none of Kerouac's heroes are tramps: despite his worshipful pose, Kerouac is a bohemian aristocrat, a Byron in blue jeans, and so are his heroes. Dean Moriarty, in *On the Road*, though son of a hobo—a "raggedy father"—is a "con-man" and a "saint," but no tramp. Dean's chief characteristic (beyond his hysterical incoherence) is a restless excitement often associated with automobiles, which he drives madly across the United States: "Suddenly I had a vision of Dean, a burning shuddering frightful Angel, palpitating toward me across the road, approaching like a cloud, with enormous speed, pursuing me

⁴ *The Bridge*, in *The Collected Poems of Hart Crane*, ed. with intro. by Waldo Frank (New York, 1946), p. 15. Cf. "He was just a semi-respectable walking hobo . . . who covered the entire Eastern Wilderness on foot." (*On the Road* [New York, 1957], p. 104).

⁵ "The Role of the Undesirables," *Harper's Magazine*, CCV (December 1952), 79-84. See, however, the argument of Bernard De Voto in *The Year of Decision: 1846*, Sentry Ed. (Boston, 1961), p. 506: "The notion that the free lands on the frontier served as a 'cushion' to our cyclical depressions is textbook economics. Only a small fraction of the dispossessed even 'went west' at any time—they simply could not afford to—and the fraction grew smaller as the frontier got farther from the industrial districts."

⁶ Kerouac, *The Dharma Bums* (New York, 1958), p. 6; *On the Road*, p. 105.

like the Shrouded Traveler on the plain, bearing down on me. I saw his huge face over the plains with the mad, bony purpose and the gleaming eyes; I saw his wings; I saw his old jalopy chariot with thousands of sparking flames shooting out from it; I saw the path it burned over the road; it even made its own road and went over the corn, through cities, destroying bridges, drying rivers. It came like wrath to the West." ⁷ Without being an actual tramp, Dean has the tramping urge, the wander-madness, "crossing and recrossing the country every year, south in the winter and north in the summer, and only because he had no place he could stay in without getting tired of it and because there was nowhere to go but everywhere, keep rolling under the stars, generally the Western stars." ⁸

Along with the tramp, Dean is, to use Lawrence Lipton's phrase, "disaffiliated." ⁹ He is a seeker, like Huckleberry Finn, and like Huck, Dean is the son of his father. In his vague restlessness there lurks the threat of eventual failure, as in Huck's bewilderment and distrust of "civilization" there lies hidden Pap's bitter, drunken resentment. By the end of the book, Dean has become a Chaplinesque figure of pathos, dressed in a ragged overcoat, walking off alone, "eyes on the street ahead, and bent to it again." The street becomes The Road, leading into the immensity of America, and when he thinks of the road, Kerouac's narrator thinks of "Dean Moriarty, I even think of Old Dean Moriarty the father we never found, I think of Dean Moriarty." ¹⁰

Old Dean, like Pap Finn, is the end product of the unrest which keeps their sons moving on, retracing the routes of the pioneers. For Huck, of course, the Territories are a source of hope, but as a voice cried out from the wilderness, nearly a hundred and fifty years ago, "Alas! for the moving generation of the day, when the tide of advancing backwoods-men shall have met the surge of the Pacific. They may then sit them down and weep for other worlds." ¹¹ Weep, they may have, but few Americans remain seated for long: the pioneer, the wandering cowboy, the tramp and the Sunday driver are all part of the same pattern. But American restlessness is also evidenced in hard work, productivity and inventiveness, characteristics shared between the businessman and the frontiersman but lacking in the tramp.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁹ "Disaffiliation and the Art of Poverty," *Chicago Review*, X (Spring 1956), 53-79. Lipton groups the "disaffiliated man" with bards, prophets, clowns, jesters and Holy Fools: "Disaffiliation and a dedicated independent poverty . . . is a way of life that is suitable not only for the artist but for all who 'wage contention with the time's decay'" (p. 78).

¹⁰ *On the Road*, pp. 309-10.

¹¹ Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826), p. 203.



The Tramp as Menace: Threat to the Home. From "The Tramp," *Harper's Weekly*, September 2, 1876.

It is here that the tramp breaks free from the pattern, for his purposeless wandering over the roads that were once the paths of Empire is a parody of the energies we attribute to the western pioneer. Turner's thesis still has an effect on the American's idea of himself and his heroes, and President Kennedy's "New Frontier" is patently gauged to turn the myth to political advantage, but the tramp is a mockery of all that Turner meant by "coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness," by a "practical, inventive turn of mind, quick to find expedients," by a "restless, nervous energy."¹² The tramp's "masterful grasp of material things" is generally accompanied by a quick, expedient

¹² *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), p. 31. Marshall Fishwick, in citing this quotation, declares that Turner was "the American historian who best understood the emerging American hero" (*American Heroes: Myth and Reality* [Washington, D. C., 1954], p. 232). Turner, of course, championed heroic capitalism, and envisioned heroes who embodied solid, bourgeois values. If Turner was right, if the dammed-up energies of postfrontier America produced the hustlers of the Gilded Age, they also produced an antithesis: "from the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires" ("People's Platform of 1892" [The Populist Party], in *National Party Platforms: 1840-1956*, compiled by Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson [Urbana, Ill., 1956], p. 90). I am indebted for this reference, as well as for others in this paper, to Warner Berthoff of Bryn Mawr College.

leap over a back fence. Like Huckleberry Finn, he more closely resembles Sut Lovingood than Natty Bumppo.

Kerouac has also updated the frontier myth, but his frontiersmen are not Harvard graduates. They are "ghosts," spirits reminding us of the failure of the present generation to fulfill the promise of the past; like the clown tramps, they hint that the great experiment of the nineteenth century was not wholly successful. It is a wry note, in this regard, that the generation (or coterie) of writers represented by Kerouac has loudly maintained its debt to Walt Whitman, whose "Song of the Open Road" is the manifesto of American bohemianism. And yet Whitman was grandly hopeful that the Democratic system would succeed where others had failed, that the "Road" would be a highway to greatness. Whitman's vision, of course, has been greatly qualified by the events of the past hundred years: symptomatic of the many social and economic changes between Whitman's "Song" and Ginsberg's *Howl* was the rise of the tramp, a species of picaro unknown to the poet of the 1850s.

It was not Whitman's "Song of the Open Road," but Jack London's *The Road* which, written a troubled half-century after Whitman's poem, established the tradition in which Kerouac has been writing—like Kerouac, London "beat" his way across the country in the company of tramps. Still, London's rugged hobo bears little resemblance to Kerouac's sentimental creations. London, moreover, was his own hero. He saw himself as a tramp among tramps, taking his handouts along with the others and sharing their joys: "I lay on my back with a newspaper under my head for a pillow. Above me the stars were winking and wheeling in squadrons back and forth as the train rounded the curves, and watching them I fell asleep. The day was done—one day of all my days. Tomorrow would be another day, and I was young."¹³ In London's time the tramp was not always a token of failure, and while Dean Moriarty, London's modern equivalent, can remain a hero only as long as he refuses to become a tramp, the other, casting himself as a tramp, could create for himself a heroic role. I would like, in the remainder of this essay, to discuss the conditions which made London's version of the tramp possible, conditions which also allowed for the anti-heroic role assumed by the creations of Chaplin, Kelly and Kerouac.

William Dean Howells wrote *The Vacation of the Kelwyns* in the last years of his life, but the setting for the novel is the idyllic New England farm country of the 1870s and 1880s. It is significant that Howells, in looking back at those halcyon days, chose to use the tramp as an atmospheric device; through a series of frightening rumors and threatening

¹³ *The Road* (New York, 1907), pp. 72-73.

appearances, the tramp becomes a shadow darkening the peaceful countryside. "As they were emerging from a wood-road into the highway, a tramp . . . seemed to rise from the ground like a human cloud. He was a gigantic negro, with a sullen, bestial face, which looked the wickeder because of his vast, naked feet. He had his boots and a very good new-looking handbag slung on a stick. He faltered a moment, glaring at them with bloodshot eyes, and then lurked away into the shadow of the woods"¹⁴ The scalp-like handbag suggests that by the 1880s the Tramp had replaced the Indian as a threat to American civilization. Those were the days of the "Tramp Menace," when roving bands of vagrants disturbed the peace of the countryside, inspiring fear and outrage wherever they appeared. "As we utter the word *Tramp*," declared Francis Wayland, Dean of the Yale Law School, "there arises straightaway before us the spectacle of a lazy, incorrigible, cowardly, utterly depraved savage."¹⁵ Savages, traditionally, are given short shrift in this country, and the menacing tramp eventually went the way of the wild Indian.

His passing, however—like that of the Indian—was not without a struggle: "Insolent and aggressive when he dares, fawning and obsequious when he thinks it more prudent to conciliate, but false, treacherous, ungrateful and malignant always, [the tramp] wanders aimlessly from city to city, from town to town, from hamlet to hamlet, wherever he goes, a positive nuisance and a possible criminal."¹⁶ The tramp's chosen path, though free, was not easy, especially when he found himself confronted with the uncharitable hand of the Protestant Ethic: "As a word of warning," cautioned an Illinois editor, "don't feed and harbor great, overgrown lubbers of tramps who are able to earn a good living but won't. . . . Satiety takes away his piety, and by the time his stomach is full, you can call in your neighbor if you want any wood sawed, or else wait for the next chap that comes along and wants a meal, and try your luck on him."¹⁷ In the struggle between the citizen and the tramp, the woodpile became an emblem of the Protestant Ethic: "Some shrewd men openly avowed their willingness to bet on the tramp; but it was several years before

¹⁴ *The Vacation of the Kelwyns: An Idyl of the Middle Eighteen-Seventies* (New York, 1920), p. 154. Other references to tramps appear on pp. 34, 37, 41, 103, 131, 148, 193, 196 and 232.

¹⁵ *A Paper on Tramps, Read at the Saratoga Meeting of The American Social Science Association, before the Conference of State Charities, September 6th, 1877* (New Haven, 1877), p. 10.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁷ *The Jacksonville (Illinois) Journal*, March 1, 1876. I am indebted to Dr. Walter Hendrickson, MacMurray College, Jacksonville, for his kindness in sending me materials from which this and subsequent quotations have been selected.

the sanguine public entirely abandoned a large faith in the wood-pile."¹⁸

It is easy to malign our ancestors for their blind intolerance of idleness, but if the testimony of editors and writers is any indication, the tramp of the 1870s and 1880s was indeed a burly bum, a sturdy successor to the frontiersman: "He was slightly above the medium Western height [sic], and health and strength were modeled all over his large physique. . . . His face, full of a serious and contemplative intelligence, fringed by short locks and a close-cut, heavy beard, all of the same handsome virility and dark, glossy, black-brown hue, might have been the front of a philosopher or a philanthropist but for a wistful sadness in his large, luminous hazel eyes and remarkable mien that betokened either settled melancholy or a constitutional distrust of optimism."¹⁹ As the contrast between this idealized portrait and the brutal savage presented by Howells and Wayland indicates, the image of the tramp during the closing years of the last century was particularly Protean. Those on the side of law and order tended to depict him as a lazy, criminal malcontent, while others were able to see that the tramp's condition was not all his fault. In Horatio Alger's *Tony the Tramp*, written in 1880, a young vagabond is reclaimed by society, and "The Tramp of Shiloh," a poem by Joaquin Miller which appeared the same year, tells the story of a tramp who is a wounded veteran of the Civil War.²⁰ This theme, of the "virtuous" tramp, is the basis for one of O. Henry's first tales, "Whistling Dick's Christmas Stocking," which tells, typically, of a confirmed tramp with a heart of gold.²¹

Variety, in this case, was the result of confusion: in the public uproar that greeted the Tramp Menace, there can be detected a note of bewilderment, not only over the best way to deal with the tramp, but over the immediate cause of his presence. For some four score and twenty odd years, Americans had boasted a beggar-free land, and foreign visitors were almost sure to marvel over this, as well as over the endlessly rocking chairs and iced water.²² In 1849, Herman Melville could write, with a national pride not untouched by irony, that in his native land "such a being as a beggar is almost unknown; and to be a born American citizen seems a guarantee against pauperism; and this, perhaps, springs from the virtue of a vote."²³

¹⁸ Thomas Manning Page, *Bohemian Life; or the Autobiography of a Tramp* (San Francisco, 1884), p. 149.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

²⁰ *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (January 3, 1880), p. 324.

²¹ Originally published in *McClure's Magazine*, XIV (December 1899), pp. 138-47.

²² Jane Louise Mesick, *The English Traveler in America, 1785-1835* (New York, 1922), p. 28. See also William Cobbett's *A Year's Residence in the United States of America*, 3rd ed. (1828), p. 225, and Anon., "Beggars and Begging in America," *Knight's Penny Magazine*, VI (1837), 322.

²³ *The Works of Herman Melville* (London, 1922), V, 259.



The Tramp as Hero: Huck Finn in a Boxcar. From "The Mode of Travel that Attracts Boys" in Josiah Flynt's *Tramping with Tramps*, 1899.

The Civil War changed all that: according to a police official, who voiced a majority opinion, Miller's tramping veteran was no mere fiction: "This tramp system is undoubtedly an outgrowth of the war; the bummers of our armies could not give up their habits of roving and marauding, and settle down to the honest and industrious duties of the citizen, as did most of our volunteer soldiers, but preferred a life of vagrancy."²⁴ As the color of the cloud evoked by Howells suggests, this band of veterans was augmented by the Negroes they had freed, vagabond blacks who headed North with little chance of employment.²⁵ The tide of immigration rose steadily during the postwar years, and the overflow certainly added to the number of jobless vagrants, but it was not until the depression which followed the Panic of 1873 that the Tramp became a distinct Menace.²⁶

It was, of course, the urban areas that were worst hit by the depression, but soon the unemployed headed out into the open country, still a land of plenty. As the caveats of such as Francis Wayland indicate, most Americans were generous to those who asked for help at their back doors—at first.

²⁴ *Report of the Chief Detective [of Massachusetts]: Public Document No. 37* (January 1878), p. 17. See also Allan Pinkerton, *Strikers, Communists, Tramps and Detectives* (New York, 1882), pp. 47-48.

²⁵ Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America: 1865-1878* (New York, 1927), p. 9.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 290-99. Of thirty tramps canvassed by Massachusetts detectives during a week in 1878, the majority were foreigners, mostly Irish, with a sprinkling of English, Germans, Swedes and French (*Report of the Chief Detective*, pp. 18-22). See also Pinkerton, p. 48.

But feeding the tramp was no solution to the problem, for it only encouraged him in his vagabondage, and his demands grew more bold, his depredations more insolent. "The honest, reluctant beggar of today, telling his sad story of undeserving suffering and enforced idleness, in a very few weeks matures into the professional tramp, coining his unblushing falsehoods as fast as he can talk, receiving alms without gratitude and ready to 'turn again and rend' the hand held out to help him—and all this, mainly, if not solely, because he has learned the fatal lesson that he can always find careless or credulous listeners, who are practically willing to aid and abet him in his efforts to live without labor."²⁷ This is the opinion of Wayland, but Jack London, who represents a radically different bias, had much the same thing to say: "From the knowledge that he has idled and is still alive, [the tramp] achieves a new outlook on life; and the more he experiences the unenviable lot of the poor worker, the more the blandishments of the 'road' take hold of him. And finally he flings his challenge in the face of society, imposes a valorous boycott on all work, and joins the far-wanderers of Hoboland, the gypsy folk of the latter day."²⁸ In other words, give a man a taste of idleness, and he'll be back for the whole pie.

Society, however, did not want to relinquish that pie, and sounds of sympathy soon grew into cries of outrage. As the I.W.W. song wryly observes, the pie was lifted out of mortal reach. Society came more and more to resent and suspect the tramp for being a liar and a thief, and the tramp, in turn, waged a guerrilla war on society. The situation was made more complex by the fact that many "tramps" were indeed "honest, reluctant beggars," who were wandering in search of work, but undistinguishable in dress and demeanor from their brothers. In the Midwest, where seasonal harvests created a need for extra field hands, the tramps descended, to use Hamlin Garland's metaphor, "like a flight of alien, unclean birds."²⁹ These birds were not particular about what they harvested, however, and when they took flight in September, private property often took flight with them: "The wandering vagrants with which the city was burdened and cursed during the coming of warm weather and spring farm work have betaken themselves to the country. Some have gone really desirous of obtaining employment and have found it. Others are engaged in prowling about watching for opportunities to rob and

²⁷ Wayland, pp. 17-18.

²⁸ "The Tramp," in *Jack London: American Rebel*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York, 1947), pp. 485-86. The problem of charity to tramps was utilized for comic effect in Mark Twain's sketch, "The Facts concerning the Recent Carnival of Crime in Connecticut," in *The Stolen White Elephant, Etc.* (1882).

²⁹ *A Son of the Middle Border* (New York, 1917), p. 174, cited in Lewis Atherton, *Main Street on the Middle Border* (Bloomington, Ind., 1954), p. 98.

burn and plunder. Constantly we are hearing of crimes committed by these tramps on their travels through the country."³⁰

To tolerate the tramp was unthinkable, and it was not long before American ingenuity hit upon a satisfactory plan: the woodpile was replaced by the rockpile. Townships and states which passed strict anti-tramp legislation soon found the problem diminishing, and as the century came to a close, work gangs and workhouses further weakened the appeal of foot-loose life.³¹ Even Jack London, the hero tramp, did his thirty days in the Erie County Penitentiary: "I was forced to toil hard on a diet of bread and water and to march the shameful lock-step with armed guards over me—and for what? What had I done? What crime had I committed against the good citizens of Niagara Falls that all this vengeance should be wreaked upon me?"³² Prison life was no honeymoon, and London's outraged feelings soon cooled into something like fear: "All I asked when I got out was a chance to fade away from the landscape."³³ Society's answer to the tramp problem was relentless and often unfair, but it worked: in London's metamorphosis from braggart hero to "a wiser and a humbler man" we have a capsule history of the American tramp.

From the beginning, the tramp preferred to have wheels under him as he moved about: "Tramps," observed a grim prison official, "don't tramp very much; they ride."³⁴ The boxcar was early a part of the vagrant's existence, and the railroads, like the communities through which they passed, were plagued by the Menace. Hundreds of tramps on the way to harvest areas would perch on a freight train like a flight of starlings, and it was not uncommon for a gang of hobos to steal an engine and cars for their own purposes. Then, as now, tramp "jungles" were located near the wilderness of rails, and "the loss to the railroads in property destroyed, stations burned, obstructions placed on tracks, signals tampered with, lives lost, persons injured—and, indeed, the not infrequent suits that are brought by tramps themselves for injuries sustained while riding, or while walking on the railroad," led to "a state of warfare . . . between the trainmen in general and the tramps in general."³⁵ Like the woodpile, the boxcar became a symbol of the struggle between the tramp and society.

The battle between the trainmen and the tramp was a bitter one, and often resulted in bloodshed, but, like the woodpile, it was largely a

³⁰ *Jacksonville Journal*, May 23, 1876.

³¹ O. F. Lewis, "The Tramp Problem," in *Country Life*, Vol. XL of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Studies* (March 1912), 222.

³² *The Road*, p. 95.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 97. Although London took to the road for a lark, he was soon "scared into thinking. I saw the naked simplicities of the complicated civilization in which I lived" ("What Life Means to Me," in *Jack London: American Rebel*, pp. 394-45).

³⁴ Lewis, "Tramp Problem," p. 217. ³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 220-21. See also Nevins, p. 302.

laughing matter for those not involved: during the Nineties, one of the staples of the comic stage was the "professional vagabond in the toils of his two enemies, the policeman and the brakeman. The struggles around a freight car, in which the tramp wishes to ride and from which the brakeman expels him, is an unfailing theme which lends itself to all sorts of tricks and jokes."³⁶ This struggle is the embryo of Chaplin's many escapades with law and order, soon to appear on the screens that replaced the vaudeville stage, and the clown tramp was similarly one of the first types in the Sunday comics.

Thus, when London's *The Road* appeared in 1907, the tramp was already a comic fixture in America. Yet, in London's book, the struggle between the tramp and the trainmen is given an epic dimension, inspired by the strange Nietzschean socialism that was the author's political creed. London, ignoring the comic tradition (or perhaps countering it), created of himself a fair-haired "Super-tramp," who battled brakemen and conductors in order to stay aboard a cross-country express: "It is five to one, including the engineer and fireman, and the majesty of the law and the might of a great corporation are behind them, and I am beating them out."³⁷ As in the vaudeville skit, the boxcar becomes for London a symbol of the system in which the tramp wishes to live without working, but in London's hands the tramp is a revolutionary hero, beating the capitalists at their own game of rugged individualism. As Turner-esque as any frontiersman, London found his wilderness in a labyrinth of rails, but the image he projected of himself is as suspect as the mythic outlines of Davy Crockett or Mike Fink. London's book is patent propaganda, and his version of the tramp was not universally accepted by his contemporaries, who met the tramp at their back doors or in the funny papers. Neither encounter was likely to impress them with his heroic stature.

There was, however, one element of society that shared London's view of the tramp: "Innocent lads are cajoled into the nomadic and predatory life by the pictures of freedom and idleness which the older vagabonds paint."³⁸ These boys, brought up on a diet of dime-novel unreality and chafing under the restraint and boredom of village life, became recruits to the vagabond life, lured away from home by tall tales of life on the road, tales which are the basis of the folk-song, "Big Rock Candy Moun-

³⁶ Charles Joseph Bourget, *Outre-Mer* (1895), quoted in Oscar Handlin, *This Was America* (Cambridge, 1949), p. 378.

³⁷ *The Road*, p. 41.

³⁸ Charles Raymond Henderson, "Rural Police," *Country Life*, p. 229. See also Josiah Flynt, *Tramping with Tramps* (1899), pp. 55-58; Nels Anderson, *The Hobo: The Sociology of the Homeless Man* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 84-85; and Jim Tully, "The Hoboes of America," in *America as Americans See It* (New York, 1932), p. 318.

tain."³⁹ Assured thereby of a certain permanence despite the reduction of its membership by imprisonment and prosperity, the tramp community developed those tribal habits traditionally associated with it: the "jungle," the "bindle," the "mulligan" stew, and the stylized tale of woe.

Jack London was just such a "road kid," drawn to tramping by tales of adventure. It was this adventurous aspect of life on a swaying boxcar that permitted the image he created, and underlying the excitement of life on the road was the freedom it promised, independence denied by conventional society. Boys who, like London, went on the road, were acting out the role established by Huckleberry Finn.⁴⁰ Of course, the price paid by many of these young tramps was great: the road was a breeding ground for homosexuality and alcoholism. The appeal of idleness could be fatal, both to the body and the soul. It was perhaps fortunate for Jack London that the Erie Penitentiary cured him of his wandering habits.

Jack London was not the only tramp who wrote about his experiences: Josiah Flynt, Harry Kemp and Jim Tully, footnotes in the history of American bohemianism, were also attracted to the open road, and the books which they wrote are clues to the mysterious attraction that tramping had for so many other, less literate, young men. Flynt (1869-1907) was the first of these writers to record his adventures, and each of the others, in one way or another, expressed his debt to him. Perhaps the reason for Flynt's love of the wandering life was that he grew up in the household of his aunt, Frances E. Willard, the temperance leader. Born Josiah Flynt Willard, he died an early death from alcoholism. This may be too easy an explanation, but Flynt himself felt it was a dubious privilege "to live in a celebrity's home of this character."⁴¹ Worse yet, he grew up in an Illinois village stuffy with New England Protestantism, and his boyhood was measured out by a dreary succession of embalmed

³⁹ George Milburn, "Poesy in the Jungles," *American Mercury*, XX (May 1930), 83-84.

⁴⁰ Long before Mark Twain wrote of the appeal to small boys of river life, Timothy Flint described the lure of boating on the Ohio and Mississippi, the traffic which was the early counterpart of the freight train and its indolent passengers: "All the toil, and danger, and exposure, and moving accidents of this long and perilous voyage [downriver], are hidden, however, from the inhabitants [on the river bank], who contemplate the boats floating by their dwellings on beautiful spring mornings, when the verdant forest, the mild and delicious temperature of the air, the delightful azure of the sky . . . the broad and smooth stream rolling calmly down the forest, and floating the boat gently forward, present delightful images and associations to the beholders. . . . No wonder, that the young, along the banks of the great streams, should detest the labors of the field, and embrace every opportunity, either openly, or, if minors, covertly to escape, and devote themselves to the pernicious employment of boating" (*History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley* [1832], pp. 153-54).

⁴¹ *My Life* (New York, 1908), p. 42.

Sundays. Excitement eventually took the form of petty escapades, obvious acts of rebellion, and these, in turn, led to a discontent with schoolwork and the prospect of a normal, law-abiding life. Drawn on by the old, Horatio Alger "dream about disappearing from the view of friends, making my way alone in the world, and then returning independent, successful and well-to-do," young Josiah ended his college days by hopping a freight train out of town.⁴²

His first attempt at life on the road ended in reform school (on a buggy-stealing charge). Impressed, like Jack London, by prison life, but not much reformed, Josiah made a break for freedom and began the eight months' wandering that resulted in his most famous book, *Tramping with Tramps* (1899). It was this piece of amateur sociology that became, with Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, the bible of the later tramp writers, and yet Flynt, unlike Whitman, never extolled life on the open road. For him, the tramp was a discouraged criminal, more to be despised than admired. For London, who borrowed Flynt's phrase (and dedicated *The Road* to him), the tramp was a "discouraged worker," and the modification of the epithet tells us much about the difference between the two men. London, born into the proletariat, remained loyal to it, while Flynt maintained an allegiance to the morality of the middle class. Having rid himself of wanderlust, he turned against his former way of life by becoming a railroad detective, riding the rods to survey his old haunts for the same forces against which London rebelled.

Still, Flynt continued to move in the shadows: he followed "the road" in the role of detective and, later, crime reporter. His interest (if not loyalty) was with the criminal class, and his strange, shifty personality, his love for disguises and intrigue, suggest a familiar pattern. To this we can add his fatal addiction to alcohol and his chain-smoking. London, too, was bothered by John Barleycorn, but his ego was too strong to allow itself to be pulled under without a fight. It was Josiah Flynt, plagued from the start by a household of militant women, who was defeated by the spirits his aunt hoped to prohibit.

Like Flynt, Harry Kemp was a child of the Middle West, but there the similarity ends. Kemp's dream was not the attainment of conventional success: as an adolescent he was an avid reader of Byron and Moore, and he pursued through his youthful years "an adolescent ideal of woman, —exquisitely sensual and sexual, and yet an angel, superior to men: an ideal of a fellow creature who was both a living, breathing mystery and a walking sweetmeat . . . a white creation moved and actuated by instinct and intuition—a perpetually inexplicable ecstasy and madness to man".⁴³

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁴³ *Tramping on Life* (London, 1923), p. 38.

Such a vision as this is not soon fulfilled, and Kemp's pursuit of his dream woman resulted in a philandering way of life unmatched even among his fellow bohemians. Born in a near-rural Ohio milltown in 1883, Harry Kemp died a few years ago in Provincetown, and his pilgrimage was decidedly Whitmanesque: it might be said of Kemp that his life contains the history of American bohemianism. He worked for Elbert Hubbard in East Aurora, was one of the first food faddists and physical culturists, lived in a Utopian colony (founded by Upton Sinclair, whose first wife he stole), was a nudist, pioneered Greenwich Village and Provincetown, was a self-proclaimed "proletarian" writer, and gained a certain notoriety during his youth as a "Tramp Poet," a title in which he came to take little pride.

His early life, as recorded in an autobiographical novel, *Tramping on Life* (1923), was a troubled one, and he escaped into travel books and romantic poetry. It is not surprising, then, that as soon as he was old enough to declare his independence, he went to sea, deserting his ship at Sydney and taking to the bush for a while. From Australia he went to China, and then on to the Philippines where he hung around the Army post at Manila until someone put him on a troopship for San Francisco. Dressed as a discharged soldier, Harry made his way across California and the Southwest, living in tramp jungles and sleeping in boxcars. The fun ended in a Texas jailhouse where he was initiated into the darker mysteries of the picaresque life: it was there that he first gained a certain measure of maturity, and—as the result of a fight with a bully—rid himself of the physical cowardice that had plagued him from childhood.

Although he never returned to the road except for short, almost demonstrative excursions, although he denounced the tramp for his depravity and filth, Harry Kemp continued to move along a metaphorical "road," leading a picaro's existence in a world that put conformity next to godliness, preferring a "rambling, haphazard course of life, which was less comfortable, but better for the freedom of mind and spirit that poets must preserve."⁴⁴ Like Dean Moriarty, Harry Kemp was a tramp in spirit, whose greatest pleasure was "to vanish like smoke . . . to shout and sing for the sheer happiness of freedom from responsibility and regular work."⁴⁵ Until the end of his long life he continued to indulge himself in that singular joy.

Jim Tully (1891-1947), like Jack London, was lured into vagabondage by the tall tales of a road-kid, and took to the road to escape the monotonous poverty of shantytown life in Ohio. Unlike London, Tully did

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 220.

not weigh down his writing with propaganda. Both were Irishmen, but of the two it was Tully who had the gift for poetic prose which is supposed to be an Irish characteristic. Whereas London belonged to the anarchist-communist fringe of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Tully was one of the naturalists who wrote for Mencken's *Mercury*. There is in this group a self-consciousness about "material," a looking-about for "scene," for "depths," that is reflected in Tully's work. Having lived in the lower depths, having been his own material, he was a severe judge of other tramp writers: "Flint [sic], not gifted as a writer, could not tell all that he knew of hobo life. Jack London, who was a road-kid for about a year, told more than he knew."⁴⁶ Tully, the "American Gorky," decided to tell all that he knew about the world of the tramp, and to tell it better than anyone else.

Tully was, in many ways, a summation of the other tramp writers: born, like London, into poverty, like Kemp, into the oppressive atmosphere of industrial Ohio, he followed the same dream that inspired Josiah Flynt: he wanted to "show the aristocratic girls who snubbed me on Spring Street that I was not what they thought I was, I would not come back until everybody had heard of me."⁴⁷ From tramping and circus life he moved on to the brutal world of boxing, and from there to Hollywood and to writing about all four worlds. In him, as in all the tramp writers, there was a powerful appetite for recognition, and through his books he gained what he left home to find. The road, indirectly, was a way to fame and fortune: it was "material," and because he was not obsessed with his ego, because he was not trying to prove something to somebody, Jim Tully managed to convey the dark reality of that "material" better than anyone before him or after. His best book, *Beggars of Life* (1924), is dedicated to his friend Charlie Chaplin, but Tully's tramps and the clown created by the comic have few points of resemblance.

Tully and London fled the boredom of poverty, while Flynt and Kemp, sons of the middle class, followed an impulse as old as *Robinson Crusoe*. But such dichotomies are meaningless, for—beyond a mutual restlessness—these four men had little in common, and their writing styles, from the crabbed, graceless periods of Flynt to the wild Irish prose of Tully, reflect their different personalities. Still, each of them—like Huck Finn—found "civilization" intolerable, and headed for the wilderness of rails. It was as if the vastness of America exerted an irresistible force, drawing them out of shanty, cottage and tenement. It was as if they took the Declaration of Independence literally. Each man had some dream of what happiness should or could be, and the wandering experience was

⁴⁶ "Hoboes of America," p. 318.

⁴⁷ *Beggars of Life* (New York, 1924), p. 20.

once the pursuit, source and definition of that dream. Each, by his own declaration, found some kind of truth on the road, had an adventure shaped by the strengths and weaknesses of his character as it came into contact with the great variety of American life. There is something about their adventures which recalls the ordeal of the epic hero, an ordeal similarly defined by space and hardship.

But it must be remembered that these men were, for the duration of their adventures, members of a class hated and feared by society. It is this that defines the nature of their heroism: they were rebels, anti-heroes, in active revolt against the culture that gave them being. All four moved out of closed communities, societies which had been defined by outside pressures or which took their shape from within, by free election. In each case the young tramp found, at home, a world not to his liking, and chose, in its stead, an open society, a fluid, ill-defined layer that existed between the rigid worlds of the criminal and the citizen classes.

There is, among these writers, a common, implicit assent that "reality" is to be found "on the road," that the underground world contains the darkest, most valid truths: "Rolling freights, jails, vermin, ships at sea, rough fo'c'sle companions,—I am gladder for these things than for all that I have since learned from classrooms and from books."^{47a} Like boys at play, they took turns deep-diving into murky water, touching bottom before coming to the surface and gasping for breath. For tramping was a sort of game to these youths, a dangerous sport made even more exhilarating by the attitude of society toward the vagrant class. Here, on this forbidden playground of freight trains and jungles, they were free to do or say as they wished; here, they could carry out a ritual of self-initiation, necessary in a society that draws no line between childhood and maturity."⁴⁸

Small wonder, then, that these men were attracted to a way of life regarded by their contemporaries as near-criminal, a life, moreover, where a single misstep might bring sudden death. The rattling, swaying freight train, ultimately, was the agent of initiation into adulthood: it was a means of trial, a source of adventure mixed with the risk of death. "Speed is not only one of the modern signs of the quest for the absolute, but corresponds to the need for risk and self-affirmation in everyday life."⁴⁹

^{47a} Kemp, *Chanteys and Ballads* (New York, 1920), pp. 5-6.

⁴⁸ "The essential contradiction is the one that links the most intense aspiration to a total life with the greatest possibility of death. This contradiction is the problem of virile initiation, which is resolved in primitive societies by terrible institutionalized tests of endurance; in our society it is effected institutionally only by war (and vestigially by military service); lacking war or collective subversions (revolutions, underground resistance), this initiation must be sought in individual risk" (Edgar Morin, "The Case of James Dean," *Evergreen Review*, II [Summer 1958], 9). ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

The old forms have shriveled and died, the speeding automobile has replaced the boxcar, but the symbolic force of the "road" remains: whether the rebel is "beating" the railroads or "borrowing" a car (or a raft), the lure is freedom of contest, opportunity for trial, a chance to escape, a yearning toward an absolute. The transition from Jack London, grimly clinging to a ladder on a speeding express train, to Dean Moriarty, fiercely gripping the steering wheel of a powerful car, is not so great after all.

Like the cowboy and the frontiersman, the hero tramp and his way of life have passed from the American scene. As in the case of our other folk heroes, we are left with an image of something that may never have really existed, "an idealization . . . mainly literary, induced by the writings of Jack London, Josiah Flynt, and Maxim Gorky,"⁵⁰ but for a while, one feels, the tramp was something stronger, more heroic than he is today. Even now, for such as Jack Kerouac, the hobo is a figure of romance, with "something of the wise and tired old Negro in him, and something very much like Elmer Hassel, the New York dope addict, in him, but a railroad Hassel, a traveling epic Hassel, crossing and re-crossing the country every year."⁵¹

For Hart Crane, who fixed the image evoked by Kerouac, the tramp seemed a species of child, "holding to childhood like some timeless play," a sort of holy fool that "touches something like a key perhaps." For both Crane and Kerouac, as for the other tramp writers, it is the wandering hobo who knows America best, knows that "her yonder breast/ Snow silvered, sumac-stained or smoky blue—/ Is past the valley-sleepers, south or west."⁵² The tramp, whether a youngster "with eyes like fjords," drinking up the distance, or a "blind fist of nothing," is one of the last ties we have with the past, a historical coefficient of the restlessness that still infects our nation with a migrant search for some unnamed perfection.

But, at the same time, the tramp's restlessness is a parody of the dynamism of most Americans, whose energy whirls them into great configurations of static conformity. It is in this fact the heroic and comic aspects of the tramp converge, for the most comic thing about the tramp is the effort he expends in the avoidance of work. Work, for him, is antithesis of freedom, and stands for conformity and boredom: in the hyperbole of a comic tramp of the 1870s, "Work . . . has wasted more human life and happiness, and cemented the foundations of more inhuman wrong, oppression and misery than ever did the combined energies of war, physics, and bad whiskey."⁵³ In the words of a "real" tramp, en-

⁵⁰ *Tramping on Life*, p. 338.

⁵² *The Bridge*, p. 15.

⁵¹ *On the Road*, p. 28.

⁵³ *Bohemian Life*, pp. 161-62.

countered by Carl Sandburg during his own youthful wandering, the tramp "can't even think about work . . . and it gives him a pain in the ass to talk about it."⁵⁴ Perhaps it is this pain, detectable in the writing of Flynt, London, Kemp and Tully, which keeps the tramp moving on.

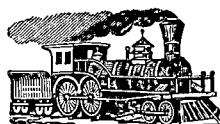
He is, certainly, the antithesis of the conventional American hero—the self-made man—for his success lies in what society terms failure. As anti-hero he has his triumphs for even the clown tramp, as presented by Chaplin, often emerges victorious from his struggles with law and society, and "Weary Willie" perseveres in his ill-fated quest for the whole peanut. There seems to be an element of truth in this comic triumph and perseverance that is closer to the human condition than the sham heroes cut from Hollywood cardboard. There is something about his stubborn, ill-fated struggle with conformity that appeals to us all, suggesting that we are not completely satisfied with what we have agreed to call "happiness."

One version of the hero, after all, is the trickster, the original of the picaro, he who bridges the gap between man and the beasts: the trickster is at once "a collective shadow figure, an epitome of all the inferior traits of character in individuals," and "a spirit of disorder, or an enemy of boundaries, a mighty life spirit."⁵⁵ So also is the tramp, whether a "hero" in the mold of Jack London, or a wizened little guru "worshiped" by Jack Kerouac. Perhaps this explains our need for the antics of Charlie Chaplin and Emmett Kelly, who, like their ancient counterparts, serve "to add disorder to order and so make a whole, to render possible, within the fixed bounds of what is permitted, an experience of what is not permitted."⁵⁶ Perhaps, in our loathing admiration of the filthy, bestial tramp, we preserve those elemental feelings which are the heritage of primitive times. It may be that we need the tramp more than he needs us: an everpresent reminder that America is not necessarily the best of all possible worlds, the tramp clings forever to his precarious perch on a swaying boxcar, one hand upraised in an impudent gesture.

⁵⁴ *Always the Young Strangers* (New York, 1953), p. 382.

⁵⁵ C. G. Jung, "On the Psychology of the Trickster Figure," and Karl Kerényi, "The Trickster in Relation to Greek Mythology," in Paul Radin, *The Trickster: A Study in American Indian Mythology* (New York, 1956), pp. 209, 189.

⁵⁶ Kerényi, *loc. cit.*



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The Fur Trader and the Noble Savage

IN NARRATING HIS EXPERIENCES IN THE FAR-NORTH AS TRADER AND EXPLORER, Samuel Hearne of the Hudson's Bay Company included a lengthy treatment of that fascinating animal, the beaver. In doing so, "honest old Hearne," as a nineteenth-century bibliographer called him,¹ felt the obligation to temper glowing accounts of the beaver written by people with inadequate knowledge. According to him, they greatly overestimated the organizational ability, sagacity and ingenuity of this remarkable creature. Because such exaggerations were often so pronounced, Hearne playfully suggested the existence of an open competition among their perpetrators in devising falsehoods. According to Hearne, one unnamed author clearly outdid his fellows by leaving nothing to be desired in his discussion of beavers except "a vocabulary of their language, a code of their laws, and a sketch of their religion. . . ." ² This satiric jibe was a telling one. It recognized the gratuitous glorification of natural forms, and it suggested that such efforts were the work of persons well removed from the supposed virtues of the nature being described.

Because they were versed in the unpleasant ways of the wilderness, fur traders infrequently touched upon the noble savage, that "free and wild being who draws directly from nature virtues which raise doubts as to the value of civilization."³ Proverbially, this virtuous and happy creature has been the product of the imaginations of fireside travelers, philosophers and litterateurs. Fairchild's classic work on the subject referred to him as "the creation of a philosopher . . . reacting from contemporary glorification of culture. . . ." ⁴ Chauncey Brewster Tinker located the

¹ Thomas W. Field, *An Essay towards an Indian Bibliography . . .* (New York, 1873), p. 164.

² *A Journey From Prince of Wales's Fort . . .* (London, 1795), pp. 229-37.

³ Hoxie Fairchild, *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York, 1928), p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

origin of the convention in an intellectual climate different from that described by Fairchild but the persons involved in creating the delusion fit the same description. "The 'noble savage,'" according to Tinker, "was the offspring of the rationalism of the Deist philosophers, who, in their attack upon the Christian doctrine of the fall of man, had idealized the child of Nature."⁵ And according to A. O. Lovejoy, the cultural primitivist was, by definition, unfamiliar with the people he lauded.⁶ Seemingly, the Hearnies with their practical experience in the affairs of the wilderness and its inhabitants could provide an antidote to the noble savage convention. Having foregone the benefits of civilization—the "land of Cakes" as one trader called it⁷—they should have been disinclined to entertain ideas that compared it invidiously with savagery. To a surprising degree, however, they indulged in the unexpected.

Hoxie Fairchild has written that the philosophers who conjured up noble savages relied upon travelers and explorers for their raw material.⁸ Considering this and considering the probability that few knew the Indian better than fur traders, one might ask to what degree primitivistic writers utilized their accounts. Such theoreticians rarely consulted fur traders. Fairchild mentioned only one trader, James Adair, whose writings lent themselves to such a design.⁹ Tinker, in his work of narrower scope, cited none at all. Even Benjamin Bissell's *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century*¹⁰ contains only slight mention of fur-trade evaluations and the way they were woven into more artistic or philosophical treatments of the natives.

Of course, the eighteenth century with which Bissell concerned himself had no great wealth of fur-trade narratives upon which to draw. Major works of this kind published in the period were those of Joseph Robson in the 1750s, James Adair in the 1770s, Edward Umfreville, Samuel Hearne and John Long in the 1790s, and Alexander Mackenzie at the turn of the century. However, this does not seem to have been the basic reason for the failure to utilize such material. The fur traders' considered judgments of wilderness life simply did not coincide with European presuppositions. John Long and James Adair, both of whom seem romantic or fanciful at times, appear in Bissell's study as contributors to the English literary concept of the Indian. The grimly realistic Samuel

⁵ *Nature's Simple Plan: A Phase of Radical Thought in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, 1922), pp. 88-89.

⁶ Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1935), p. 8.

⁷ John M. McLeod to John McLeod, March 16, 1833 in "Journals and Correspondence of John McLeod . . ." (unpublished typescript in the Library of Congress), p. 177.

⁸ *The Noble Savage*, pp. 97-120.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98. ¹⁰ *Yale Studies in English*, LXVIII (New Haven, 1925).

Hearne appears only once, and the way he is used is noteworthy and indicative of the general position of the fur trader vis-à-vis the literal, not the noble, savage. Bissell mentioned Wordsworth's citing of Hearne as the source of "Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman," a heart-rending soliloquy of a dying squaw abandoned on a far-north trail.¹¹ Hearne presented the incident as sickeningly brutal, though he admitted the possible necessity for such a practice in the sub-Arctic.¹² Wordsworth, on the other hand, passed by the hideousness of the affair, and went on to dwell upon the nobility of the sentiments of the unfortunate woman, her amazingly magnanimous understanding, and, especially, her poignant concern for her small child taken from her and given to another. The accurate reportage of a Samuel Hearne could be ignored except as it provided a backdrop for the heroic tragedy of dramatic lyrics. After all, if the fur trader failed to say the proper things about the condition of the natural state, European intellectuals could turn to someone who would—a Baron Lahontan, a Chateaubriand or a Jonathan Carver.

More directly, it requires no great effort to discover in the fur-trade literature specific and heated denials that the natives were in any way noble. Writing in the early 1850s, Peter Skene Ogden, the wandering scion of a prominent United Empire Loyalist family, chided "drawing-room authors" for their misrepresentation of Indian character. Though this experienced Hudson's Bay Company trader recognized "savage virtues," he sought to illustrate the "dark character" of the aborigines and to demonstrate their "natural disposition to war and rapine."¹³ Similarly, when the French Canadian Pierre-Antoine Tabeau wrote his narrative of a trading expedition up the Missouri in the year before Lewis and Clark, he left little doubt about the exalted nature of the primitives. Tabeau showed none of Ogden's reservations:

If the Ricara, if the Sioux, is the man of nature so much praised by poets, every poetic license has been taken in painting him; for their pictures make a beautiful contrast to that which I have before me. All that one can say is that, if these barbarians leave no doubt that they are human, intelligent beings, it is because they have the form, the face, and the faculty of speech of human beings.¹⁴

Others evidenced their disbelief in a somewhat less direct fashion. John McLean, a former Hudson's Bay Company trader, resorted to irony in

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

¹² *A Journey From Prince of Wales's Fort*, pp. 202-3.

¹³ *Traits of American Indian Life & Character* (modern ed.; San Francisco, 1933), pp. 1-3.

¹⁴ *Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition . . .*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Norman, Okla., 1939), p. 172.

touching upon the noble savage theme when discussing the Nascopies of Labrador. These people had undergone so little contact with whites that, according to McLean, they could be considered "children of nature," and possessed, of course, of all the virtues ascribed to such. . . ." "Yet I must say," he continued, "that my acquaintance with them disclosed nothing that impressed me with a higher opinion of them than of my own race, corrupted as they are by the arts of civilized life."¹⁵ In his Fort Sarpy journal James Chambers set down a scurrilous raillery that could hardly be farther removed from exoticism or respect for the native race. Apparently unhampered by McLean's Methodist piety or by concern for offending readers, Chambers commented on an Indian dance at which "Princess May & her bosom Friend & Maid of Honor 'E 'See 'Tah" were "the observed of all observers":

The princess led the van & made but two or three circles in the yard of the Fort when she placed her divine foot in something of a dark brown substance that emitted an odor like anything but the Otto of roses. May blushed or as good tryed to blush[,] her Lord & Husband was cast down, the Squaws sighed the Bucks laughed & Big Six [a Virginian] Shame on him, bellowed out May tramped on a green tird, however the miss step broke the Ball thus depriving the Princess of bringing out her powers of fascination before her loving subjects.¹⁶

Thus, when traders consciously and sincerely discussed the Indian, qua Indian, their evaluations generally paralleled Hearne's treatment of the "noble" beaver: they displayed impatience and ridicule in regard to the noble savage concept.

However, the dichotomy between unmoved realism on the part of fur traders and the unsubstantiated glorification by uninitiated intellectuals and artists does not have the clarity one might suspect. After all, the noble savage was a mental construct, and one needs feel no surprise when generally honest, candid and intelligent men in the fur trade failed to discover him in the flesh. At the same time, it should occasion no greater surprise to find traders flirting, though generally reservedly, with this very concept. Because the noble savage was a mental construct and an imaginative device for the accomplishing of something, the fur trader could, without logical contradiction, utilize it if he so desired. To argue that he could not ennoble the Indian because his true knowledge and experience stood in direct contradiction, would be to argue that Swift in his account of the Houyhnhnms and Montaigne in his treatment of

¹⁵ John McLean, *Notes of a Twenty-five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory*, ed. W. S. Wallace (Toronto, 1932), p. 259.

¹⁶ "Original Journal of James H. Chambers," ed. Anne McDonnell, *Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana*, X (1940), 106-7.

the Caniballes were, to the best of their ability, expounding truth. Most often the trader wrote of the Indian, *qua* Indian, but not always.

None of this is meant to imply that traders saw no real virtues in Indian life. They readily admitted the existence of such. For example, traders occasionally expressed envy of the free and casual nature of Indian existence. While discussing the serenely pastoral setting of a Sioux camp, the devout Jedediah Smith remarked in his 1822 journal that it would "almost persuade a man to renounce the world, take the lodge and live the careless, Lazy life of an indian."¹⁷ Making the comparison between the civilized and the primitive even more evident, Alexander Ross on one occasion commented on the apparent happiness of the Columbia River tribes, a state "which civilized men, wearied with care and anxious pursuits, perhaps seldom enjoy."¹⁸ Although these commentators were singularly guiltless of patent flirtation with the noble savage concept, both were involving themselves in primitivistic assumptions. They compared invidiously the contrived and intricate workings of civilization to the artlessness and simplicity of the natural state. Though neither would have admitted it, they were substantiating the paradoxical and perhaps playful maxim of Erasmus: "the least unhappy are those who approximate the naivete of the beasts. . . ."¹⁹

In arguing that the fur trader occasionally portrayed noble savages, one needs to recognize that his brethren in civilization were not above doing violence to his generally honest and accurate reportage. For the sake of a philosophical concept, they would by fiat make silk purses out of sows' ears. The description of the Cree chief, Le Sonnant, given in a letter by upper-Missouri trader Robert Campbell to his brother in Philadelphia, illustrates the point. In this letter, extant only in the form that it was published by a Philadelphia newspaper, Le Sonnant appears as a figure of grand proportions. He had eyes set so deep between hawk nose and high cheek bones that no man "even in your *prying* and *starring* [sic] city" could tell their color. On the other hand, the chief with only a glance could "peer into your very soul." His head was formed grandly. Even without phrenological training one could see strength of purpose in it, while his physical make-up and carriage attested to his capacity as a leader.²⁰

¹⁷ *The Travels of Jedediah Smith . . .*, ed. Maurice S. Sullivan (Santa Ana, Calif., 1934), p. 5.

¹⁸ *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River . . .* (London, 1849), p. 94.

¹⁹ *The Praise of Folly*, trans. Leonard F. Dean (Chicago, 1946), pp. 73-74.

²⁰ Robert Campbell to Hugh Campbell, November 16, 1833, in *The Rocky Mountain Letters of Robert Campbell*, ed. Charles Eberstadt (n. p., 1955), pp. 14-16.

Unfortunately, this flattering description does not fit Le Sonnant. In the same year that Campbell wrote his letter Carl Bodmer, the Swiss artist accompanying Prince Maximilian, drew that Indian's portrait. Bodmer's Le Sonnant has an aquiline but not a hawk nose. His cheek bones, rather than prominent, are unusually low. His eyes, rather than deep-set, appear prominent on a flat face. His chin is small, and his mouth is loose and has a petulant bearing. The eyes, which were of particular note in the Campbell letter, appeared far different to Bodmer. Along with being prominent rather than deep-set, the left one is marred by a noticeable bag beneath it while the right one could scarcely "peer into your very soul" because it is covered by an ophthalmic film so common among Indians. Without knowing definitely whether Robert Campbell ordinarily glamorized the Indians, one suspects that his brother or the Philadelphia newspaper edited his letters to increase their appeal to eastern readers. What was probably meant for no more than a passing mention of Le Sonnant became in Philadelphia the glowing account of a very nearly noble savage.

But not all the noble savages in fur-trade literature were furtively foisted off upon dead or unsuspecting traders. These grim, hardened and realistic wilderness operators must bear most of the responsibility for the presence in their writings of the symbols of the primitivistic myth. Hoxie Fairchild has written that the noble savage idea, once started, traveled in a circle: literature colored the observations of travelers just as their observations influenced literature.²¹ From what has been shown at the outset this reciprocal effect seems not to have been very compelling where fur men were concerned. Still, the impact of this romantic concept upon traders' writings demands at least passing consideration in explaining why the noble savage reared his exotic head in the pages of fur-trade records. Of course, had all men in the trade been mental and moral degenerates, had they been Mike Finks or even Kit Carsons, this would amount to a meaningless exercise because literary and philosophical conventions would have been lost to them. Such was not the case. The men who recorded their impressions for posterity, for the reading public, or simply for superiors in the trade were men who had, for their time in history, quite good, occasionally excellent, educations. If "literature" colored "observation," there should be some evidence of it in the writings of fur traders.

And, indeed, there is. One element in this influence was an effort to cater to the demands of the reading public. Hoxie Fairchild has written that by 1799 no one considering the publication of travel material could afford to ill-use the savages.²² This generalization needs some qualifica-

²¹ *The Noble Savage*, p. 429.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

tion where fur men were concerned. For example, Ross Cox, an Astorian who returned to his native Dublin to become a correspondent for a London newspaper, announced in the preface to his narrative that his portrayals of the American Indians would not compare with the "beautiful colouring which the romantic pen of a Chateaubriand has imparted."²³ And Robert Michael Ballantyne, who spent six years as an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company and then went back to Scotland where he wrote over eighty youthful adventure books, seemed unwilling even in the fiction form gratuitously to exalt the savages. In *The Wild Man of the West* his Hawkswing, though a member of a band of heroic trappers, is so voiceless, subdued and inconspicuous that he hardly measures up to the traditional role of faithful Indian guide, let alone that of noble savage. He never acts as spokesman for virtue or justice, and Ballantyne, though giving him admirable traits, described him quite negatively: "he was not a hero; few savages are."²⁴

Nevertheless, the essence of Fairchild's comment seems valid. In spite of his pronouncement at the outset and his conformity with the spirit of it through most of his work, Cox deals with suspiciously idealized savages later in his work. Of the Flatheads, he wrote: "Their bravery is pre-eminent:—a love of truth they think necessary to a warrior's character. They are too proud to be dishonest, too candid to be cunning." "Their many avocations" left no time for gambling, and the necessity to cooperate precluded quarreling.²⁵ For a time in the 1830s and 1840s the Flatheads enjoyed a good reputation in the East, probably stemming from their supposed efforts to obtain Christian missionaries for their tribe. In their reminiscences of Rocky Mountain life, Osborne Russell, Zenas Leonard and Warren Angus Ferris brought their comments on these Indians into accord with eastern presuppositions by ascribing bravery, generosity and friendliness to them.²⁶ Thus, by their willingness to indulge this predilection on the part of Easterners, men in the fur trade evidenced the basic accuracy of Fairchild's observation.

Even those who apparently had never seen a Flathead showed a willingness to oblige. James Ohio Pattie, at the time that American Christianity was heralding the tawny "Wise Men from the West," went out of his way to mention the Flatheads. Though this

²³ *The Columbia River . . .* (2nd ed.; 2 vols.; London, 1832), I, vi.

²⁴ *The Wild Man of the West: A Tale of the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia, n.d.), p. 47.

²⁵ *The Columbia River*, II, 140-41.

²⁶ Osborne Russell, *Journal of a Trapper . . .* (2nd ed.; Boise, 1921), p. 38; *Adventures of Zenas Leonard Fur Trader*, ed. John C. Ewers (Norman, Okla., 1959), pp. 33-34; Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains . . .*, ed. Paul C. Phillips (Denver, 1940), p. 88.

tribe did not practice head-flattening, Pattie understandably assumed that they did, and so pictured them as fine looking people except for their "horrid deformity."²⁷ Finally, one can hardly doubt that the lip service given the noble savage convention by Isaac Cowie of the late-nineteenth-century trade was dictated by a regard for reading tastes. Late in his volume of recollections, Cowie justified the slaughter of some eighty Assiniboines by a handful of American ranchers armed with repeating rifles. In spite of his approbation of this "signal service," he had seen fit at the outset of his book to invoke the primitivistic mood by describing the Indian of times past in the words of Dryden:

Free as the day when nature first made man,
Ere the base laws of servitude began,
When wild in woods the noble savage ran.²⁸

But many traders, like the European intellectuals who fostered the noble savage theme, employed it out of motivation more commendable than that of the Patties and the Cowies. Some of them used the theme in an effort to procure better treatment for the aborigines. Of course, men of religion had often indulged in primitivism to effect that very goal, Bartholomew de Las Casas being a prime example. Fur traders of a religious or humane bent, not surprisingly, did the same thing. John McLean, for example, combined a pique against his former employer, the Hudson's Bay Company, and a strong Methodist piety to make an impassioned appeal in behalf of the American Indians. Earlier in his book, as has been noted, he had left no doubt that the state of nature had little to offer. Still, he called upon the very thing he had earlier denied in making his closing plea for humaneness. With England expending vast sums of money and energy in the cause of the benighted Negroes, "can nothing," asked McLean, "be done for the once noble, but now degraded, aborigines of America?"²⁹ He did not dwell on this former state of nobility because he knew it was a sham. If his primitivism involved untruth, it probably seemed justifiable under the circumstances. McLean must have recognized that a once noble Indian was a more potent argumentative weapon than the barbarians described earlier in the narrative. He used primitivism much as A. O. Lovejoy has maintained that Rousseau used it—not as a literal description of an actual condition, but as a disputatious device.³⁰

²⁷ James O. Pattie, *The Personal Narrative of . . .*, ed. Timothy Flint (Cincinnati, 1833), p. 100.

²⁸ *The Company of Adventurers . . .* (Toronto, 1913), pp. 451-53, 28. Cowie slightly misquoted this passage from *Conquest of Granada*, Part I, Act I, Scene 1.

²⁹ *Notes*, p. 355.

³⁰ A. O. Lovejoy, "The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality*," *Modern Philology*, XXI (1923), 165-86.

But men of the fur trade went farther even than these qualified and somewhat questionable applications of noble savagery. At times they invoked concepts that fit almost perfectly into the primitivistic convention. While ordinarily insisting with vehemence, for example, that no Indians in their experience approached nobility, traders tended to harbor a vague presentiment that such a creature could exist somewhere on ahead. A good example appears in the journal of Matthew Cocking on a pioneering trip from York Factory to the Blackfoot country in the early 1770s. "I shall be sorry," he wrote during the course of his journey, "if I do not see the Equestrian Natives [Blackfeet] who are certainly a brave people, & far superior to any tribes that visit our Forts: they have dealings with no Europeans, but live in a state of nature to the S. W. Westerly. . . ." ³¹ Similarly, the occasionally naive Vérendrye carried with him on his way to the Mandans an unrealistically high evaluation of that tribe. Even when seeing and recognizing evidence that this Siouan group did not equal his preconceptions, he seemed not quite capable of ridding his mind of the flattering prejudices.³² A philosophical convention could not literally overcome a trader's sense perceptions. However, it could apparently instill in his mind certain muted, paradisiac anticipations that are quite relevant to the noble savage idea. In a fashion quite reminiscent of European intellectuals and theorists, these wilderness men of action felt what A. O. Lovejoy called "the charm of the remote and the strange, the craving to imagine, and even to experience, some fashion of life which is at least *different* from the all too familiar visage of existence as it has hitherto presented itself. . . ." ³³

As a corollary and in natural sequence to these romantic expectations, one finds evidence to indicate that, where trader and Indian were concerned, familiarity bred contempt. Realizations rarely equalled expectations. Traders operated in practical affairs on the assumption that the red man's awe and regard for him decreased with time. Probably because introspection was required to recognize it, they less often remarked on their own tendency to reciprocate. Nevertheless, it was the Indian near at hand who excited the fur man's wrath and scorn, while the one elsewhere—whether Ross Cox's Flatheads so comfortably removed from the country of the detestable Chinooks, or Matthew Cocking's Blackfeet, or Vérendrye's Mandans, or the Southwesterner Pattie's admirable tribes of the Northwest—conjured up visions of honesty, virtue and possibly even excellence.

³¹ "Journal of Matthew Cocking . . .," ed. Lawrence J. Burpee, *Royal Society of Canada Proceedings and Transactions*, 3rd Series, Vol. II (1908), Section 2, 110.

³² *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Vérendrye . . .*, ed. Lawrence J. Burpee (Toronto, 1927), pp. 316-43.

³³ Lovejoy and Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, p. 8.

In the average trader this abhorrence of the familiar manifested itself in desires to see the local tribes treated roughly by their enemies. For example, Francis Chardon on the upper Missouri wished the surrounding Arikaras and Mandans an abundance of ill-fortune at the hands of the happily distant Yanktons and Assiniboines.³⁴ That Chardon's ill-will was not indiscriminate as Bernard DeVoto suggested,³⁵ can be shown by his determination expressed to his employer at a trying juncture "to bid you all adieu for ever—and end my days with the Sioux."³⁶ However, the best illustration of the working of this mechanism appears in the journal, and in the career, of Rudolph Friederich Kurz, a thoroughly romantic young Swiss artist who became a part-time clerk for the Upper Missouri Outfit in order to remain in Indian country. Unlike many of his fellows, Kurz recognized that the principle applied to trader and Indian alike. In describing the intelligent and perceptive Edwin Denig, a trader whom he knew quite well, Kurz revealed the following:

Every time a band of Indians annoys Mr. Denig with their begging he flees to me and unburdens his heart by calling them names. At such times he bestows much praise on other Indians who are not here but who get their share of abuse also at some future time. He is always in the best humor with Indians when none are around. . . . Today the red men who were at the fort stood high in his esteem, but since they have shown that his many courtesies only encouraged them to beg, to expect presents, he thinks them good for nothing, not worthy to unloose the shoe laces of Indians who inhabit the eastern domain.³⁷

Though the good Indians were ordinarily to the West rather than to the East, the generally realistic Mr. Denig, like many of his fellows, showed a mark of the romantic in condemning the familiar while acclaiming the remote.

Another element in this complex of primitivistic ideas involves the belief that civilized man soiled the character of the wilderness dweller. The perennial and worrisome conviction that such was indeed the rule has a prominent place in a recent work by Charles L. Sanford. He argues that "human history, converging in the perspective of time on America, is best understood in relation to the pursuit of paradise . . .," and that "the Edenic myth . . . has been the most powerful and comprehensive

³⁴ Chardon's *Journal at Fort Clark 1834-1839 . . .*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Pierre, S. Dak., 1932), pp. 34, 45.

³⁵ *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston, 1947), pp. 242-43.

³⁶ F. A. Chardon to Pierre Chouteau Jr., May 18, 1835, Chouteau Collections, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.

³⁷ "Journal of Rudolph Friederich Kurz . . .," ed. J. N. B. Hewitt, *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, CXV (1937), 204.

organizing force in American culture." ³⁸ As Sanford points out, this conception entailed the blissful assumption that the vices of an overly sophisticated, artificial and sinful Old World could be exchanged for paradisiac simplicity. Psychologically, America represented "a rebirth out of hell," ³⁹ and, unlike Savonarola who could only burn the vanities, sojourners into the wilderness seemingly could escape them. However, hardly had the new society been erected on the seaboard than the haunting intimation came upon the inhabitants that the corruption of Europe had followed after them.

To some degree the fur traders in the wilderness recognized the operation of the same mechanism. However, being in contact with the literal primitive, they tended to see themselves in a somewhat different juxtaposition with Europe. Unlike the nonfrontier American who saw himself being seduced by the over-civilization of the Old World, the fur trader seemed to view himself as a part of that vitiating force. As fur traders entertained to some degree paradisiac notions of what lay ahead, so they also felt the misgivings and frustrations in watching the inhabitants of their supposititious Eden—the Indians, not themselves—degenerate at the civilized touch. The red man, they insisted, learned only the vices and never the virtues of civilization.

In assessing fur-trade expressions of this state of affairs one has to face first of all the rather imponderable possibility that this degeneration was literally taking place. That problem must be left for others. Moreover, one must bear in mind the more demonstrable fact that the virtues-and-vices theme coincided with the best interests of the fur trade. To argue that the advance of civilization entailed the debasement of the natives logically implied the obligation of preserving a primeval state in which Indians perpetuated their virtues, trapped fur-bearing animals and sold them to traders. This import emerges clearly from a document written by Duncan M'Gillivray of the North West Company in an effort to justify that concern's dominion over much of the interior of British America. Contact with Christianity and with "civil society" did nothing for the aborigines, he argued; indeed, those so exposed were in the worst condition of any Indians. While they appeared "timid, lazy and wretched," those in the interior were "brave, active & industrious." M'Gillivray's brief sketches of the various tribes—arranged geographically probably to heighten the drama—described a striking anthropological ascent from east to west. The eastern Algonquins were "insolent, timid & of weak constitutions" while their western relatives to the north of Lake Superior were "more daring, enterprising and industrious." Still farther to the

³⁸ *The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination* (Urbana, Ill., 1961), pp. vi, 3. ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

west, the Assiniboines showed even greater excellence by being "bold and intrepid, but in their intercourse with friends, mild and hospitable." This seasoned Nor'Wester, by a rather contrived primitivism, raised the prospect of preserving the nobility of the red men and, at the same time for those of a more practical bent, the prospect of maintaining several thousand hardy warriors who would protect the empire rather than degenerate into a rabble of debilitated wards of the state.⁴⁰

Because the noble savage was a mental construct, one might argue that M'Gillivray's reason for invoking it was as good as another. Be that as it may, other traders substantiated the virtues-and-vices facet of primitivism out of honest conviction or, at least, out of a more commendable, ulterior motive. As a matter of fact, most fur men seem to have been too candid and unapologetic to have dissembled in an effort to justify their endeavors. Moreover, most of their written expressions were meant only for the eyes of their superiors, an audience that hardly needed convincing.

The prevalence of the corruption theme in fur-trade literature can be well illustrated by examples from the unquestionably authentic journals of two men whose practical attitudes toward the natives was anything but fawning. In December of 1826 Peter Skene Ogden recorded in his journal his brigade's encounter with some red men whose behavior led this veteran Hudson's Bay Company trader to describe them as "good Indians." At this point he digressed long enough to deplore the fact that they would not remain "good" for very long. "Two years intimacy with the Whites," he wrote, "will make them like all other Indians [—] villains. . . ."⁴¹ A final illustration comes from the journal of Alexander Henry the younger, a man whose hatred for the natives seems unbounded. In spite of his pique, however, he heralded in the following commentary on some Rocky Mountain peoples the virtues of noncivilization:

Their morals have not yet been sufficiently debauched and corrupted by an intercourse with people who call themselves Christians, but whose licentious and lecherous manners are far worse than those of the savages. . . . Happy those who have the least connection with us, for most of their present depravity is easily traced to its origin in their intercourse with the whites.⁴²

Thus, the fur trader viewed himself not as the inhabitant of nature's paradise, but as the emissary of the corrupting influence of civilization.

⁴⁰ "Some Account of the Trade Carried on by the North West Company," Dominion of Canada. *Report of the Public Archives for the Year 1928*, pp. 63-67.

⁴¹ Peter Skene Ogden's *Snake Country Journal 1826-27*, ed. K. G. Davies (London, 1961), p. 35.

⁴² *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest . . .*, ed. Elliott Coues (3 vols.; New York, 1897), II, 710-11.

Paradoxically, the bulk of the American society considered itself the embodiment of the pristine excellence of nature.

The classic function of a noble savage is, as Hoxie Fairchild has put it, to exhibit "virtues which raise doubts as to the value of civilization." These virtues have been implicit in the fur-trade expressions discussed up to this point. But traders did not always deal in implications and did not always maintain subtlety or abstruseness. At times they employed the pure use of the noble savage theme by joining the issue directly, by flailing civilization with the cudgel of primitivism, and even occasionally by playing an unimaginatively obliging devil's advocate locked in a verbal struggle with a wonderfully rational red man who instructs in the good life. Not all traders, of course, engaged in such antics, and none of them plied the tools of primitivism well enough to conjure up the equal of, say, Baron Lahontan's enviably cerebral, wilderness free-thinker, Adario. However, the significant thing would seem to be not the quality or the overwhelming quantity of this most straightforward noble savage device, but rather the fact that it appears at all in fur-trade literature.

Sometimes these exercises in primitivism had a selfish, a chauvinistic or an ethnocentric flavor, with the wisdom of the savage mortifying, not all of civilization, but only the other fellow's. Like ethnocentrics generally, they applauded their own way only by showing antipathy for the ways of others. Alexander McDonnell, a clerk for the North West Company, illustrated the working of this mechanism on one level when, in a published tract, he recorded what purported to be a profound speech of a Red River chief. The particulars of the case arouse doubts because McDonnell's eloquent Indian devoted a peculiarly great amount of time to counselling the wisdom of acceding to the supposedly selfless wishes of the North West Company at a time when that concern and Lord Selkirk's "bad garden-makers" were struggling for control of the region.⁴³ One can see the same device used for a slightly different purpose in James Ohio Pattie's portrayal of a remarkably Protestant primitive who sagaciously exposed and confounded the sophistry of a Catholic priest. Such savages were not only noble, they were obliging as well.⁴⁴

More typically, the fabricators of ideal primitives criticized their own culture. They indulged in cultural self-abnegation rather than the cultural egoism mentioned above. Furthermore, being civilized men and holding essentially to the values of civilization—"the land of Cakes"—fur traders who utilized the noble savage theme ordinarily channeled the efforts of their aboriginal spokesmen into attacks upon specific institutions or practices. Their attacks were detailed, not wholesale. Like Love-

⁴³ *Narrative of Transactions in the Red River Country . . .* (London, 1819), pp. 6-7, 71.

⁴⁴ *Personal Narrative*, pp. 79-80.

joy's Rousseau, they reproved civilization; they did not eschew it. Indeed, the burden of their primitivistic message was more nearly social criticism than anthropological regression.

In *The Quest for Paradise* Charles Sanford demonstrated the anti-intellectual tone of primitivistic thought.⁴⁵ Occasionally, a fur trader belittled sophisticated rationality by heralding the intuition of the natural man. David Thompson, for example, himself a product of the Westminster Grey Coat School, conveyed this import in a discussion of the vast, frantic and seemingly senseless reindeer migrations—movements that entailed huge losses from exhaustion, trampling, drowning and starvation. He wrote that he had once attempted to explain this singular phenomenon to some Indians in terms of "Instinct," defined by Thompson as "the free and voluntary actions of an animal for its self preservation." This theory aroused the derision of his tawny listeners, and, in what must have been a patronizing tone, they asked rhetorically if he thought the animals trampled each other, drowned and died of exhaustion in order to preserve themselves. " 'You white men,' " they taunted, " 'you look like wise men, and talk like fools.' " The migrations, the Indians loftily informed him, were the workings of the reindeer Manito. Thompson seemed unable to parry these thrusts by his red protagonists, and terminated the discussion in his narrative by a hurried surrender and a rather apologetic admission of the poverty of learned theories: "I had to give up my doctrine of Instinct, to that of their Manito. I have sometimes thought Instinct, to be a word invented by the learned to cover their ignorance."⁴⁶

But other failings in their fellow men must have appeared far more evident to men in the trade than sophism. For example, they seem to have had much more occasion to remark by indirection upon that classic weakness, niggardliness. American Rocky Mountain trader Rufus Sage provided a somewhat extreme illustration in a chapter of his recollections dealing partly with "Nature's nobleman." On the Cimarron River Sage's party came upon a pair of Indian ponies, butchered one and kept the other. Shortly thereafter, they met a band of Arapahoes searching for the selfsame mounts. With hazard in the circumstances, the white spokesman decided that the truth properly and discreetly stated would best appeal to the red sense of justice. After a contrived introduction involving the imminence of starvation, he informed the Indian leader that, "the flesh of the younger one has caused us to bless the Good Spirit. . . ." "My heart is good," the chief replied, but he appeared downcast and went on to indicate that the dead pony had been a favorite of his wife

⁴⁵ See, for example, pp. 62-63.

⁴⁶ *David Thompson's Narrative . . .*, ed. J. B. Tyrrell (Toronto, 1916), pp. 101-2.

and children. Sensing a highly dangerous impasse, the white leader became very solicitous in seeking ways to make amends. However, the somber red man reassured him with the words, "now my heart blesses the pale faces," and indicated a desire only for a bit of tobacco that the two parties might smoke to friendship. Even the least discerning could hardly have missed the point, but Sage made doubly certain: "where, let me ask, do we find in civilized countries an instance of noble generosity equal to that of the poor savage?"⁴⁷

Of all the fur-trade primitivists James Adair of the southern colonial frontier came nearest to making blanket condemnations of the civilized way. Adair presented Indians "governed by the plain and honest law of nature," a condition making for equality, liberty and physical soundness. In the late chapters of his work Adair turned his attention to particular blights on civilized society. Where the white man, for example, punished wrongdoers by physical abuse and incarceration, the Indian practiced a gentle rehabilitation. If the culprit had stolen or lied, he was praised for his honesty, and "so good naturally and skilfully" was he struck by these barbs that he would die before committing the same offense again. Though they were "unskilfull in making the marks of our ugly lying books, which spoil people's honesty," the natives had on the other hand been "duly taught in the honest volumes of nature."⁴⁸

With the old trader playing the traditional role of devil's advocate, albeit a less effectual and believable one than the reader has a right to expect, the institutions of law, military and medicine took the brunt of the verbal onslaught. Adair's Indians considered the civilized practice of amputation so heinous that they would have beaten the practitioners of it with knobby poles, revived them, and then cut off their ears and noses with dull knives.⁴⁹ The fact that these supposititious wilderness sages did not mention the possibility of a generous and bantering rehabilitation for doctors, as there was for thieves, evidences a real contradiction. Adair, for whom these savages spoke, maintained more consistency in his critique of civilized forms than he did in his contrived championing of the natural life. Indeed, a contrariety between the real and the *ad hoc* savage appears in nearly all such sources. As noted earlier, John McLean portrayed one Indian in his considered description of native life and quite another in his plea for Christian mercy. Edward Umfreville, like McLean a disgruntled ex-Hudson's Bay Company man, tended to dress up the Indians in those sections of his book which indicted his former employer, but he straightforwardly exposed the utter savagery of the

⁴⁷ *Rocky Mountain Life . . .* (Boston, 1880), p. 314.

⁴⁸ *The History of the American Indians . . .* (London, 1775), pp. 378-79, 429-30, 434.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

red men when he had no argument to make.⁵⁰ By the same token, Adair's enlightened aboriginal critics appeared late in his work and bore little resemblance to the barbarous natives described at the outset. Though Hoxie Fairchild referred to this trader as the "highly romantic Adair,"⁵¹ one finds the Indians depicted early in the book to have been cunning, deceitful, mischievous, dishonest, and, though given to bloody revenge, quite cowardly. The Choctaws, Adair argued, possessed no human attributes "except shape and language."⁵²

Thus one must face the question of whether the fur traders trafficked in authentic noble savages. Were they primitivists? or, did they indulge in what A. O. Lovejoy referred to as "supposed primitivism"? In light of the facts that the noble savage is myth and that the clear superiority of civilization over savagery is generally, if not universally, recognized, this involves a knotty problem with some fine distinctions. Quite demonstrably, fur traders at times evidenced the elements of noble savagery. The problem hinges upon the question of whether these outward signs truly indicated an inward conviction. Or, was that conviction necessary? Did the fur trader have to maintain the ignorance of believing in the literal existence of noble savages in order to utilize the theme validly? By calling Rousseau's a "supposed primitivism" because he did not actually believe in the excellence of the natural state, A. O. Lovejoy has implied the affirmative.

According to this logic, the trader was capable only of a superficial or artificial form of noble savagery—a tautology, of course. By Lovejoy's definition, the cultural primitivist idealized races or peoples foreign to him,⁵³ apparently because knowledge would preclude idolizing. Evidently the trader as primitivist was at an overwhelming disadvantage. The scholar or intellectual could convey sincerity, conviction and consistency by conscientiously maintaining a semblance of ignorance. He could express his dislike of civilization—also a part of Lovejoy's definition of cultural primitivism⁵⁴—by comparing it invidiously with savagery, and regardless of how much he may have had tongue in cheek, his motivation would go unquestioned. Having seen the savage, the fur trader had fallen from innocence.

Though he probably utilized the noble savage in much the way that the philosopher did, the trader displayed the mark of guilty knowledge, indicating that his noble savage was a contrived device fabricated for an ulterior motive. The young Swiss romantic Rudolph Friederich Kurz, for

⁵⁰ *The Present State of Hudson's Bay . . .* (London, 1790).

⁵¹ *The Noble Savage*, p. 98. ⁵² *History of the American Indians*, pp. 4-5, 285.

⁵³ Lovejoy and Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

instance, recorded that his superior at Fort Union, Edwin Denig, once informed him that, "I should count myself happy, that, owing to my nearsightedness, I was prevented from entering fully upon the Indian mode of life."⁵⁵ Denig apparently assumed that good vision would have destroyed Kurz's cherished notions. Actually, the experienced and intelligent trader had overestimated Kurz's handicap; the young intellectual's powers of observation were not so bad that he preserved the innocently ignorant predilections which had survived as far west as St. Joseph; Missouri. At that point his ardor for portraying "the romantic mode of life" of the Indian waxed strong. Through the course of his sojourn on the high plains his outlook changed remarkably and came to resemble that of the sympathetic but realistic "Mr. Denig." Near the end of his stay he watched Rottentail's band of Crows ride out of the fort and commented tellingly: "do but go; the fewer Indians we have in this vicinity the more animals are to be seen. For my studies, beasts of the chase are now more welcome than Indians."⁵⁶ At St. Joseph and again when he had returned to Switzerland, Kurz described noble savages. While at the frontier town with his naivete unimpaired, Kurz, by common definition, engaged in primitivism. However, having returned to Switzerland apparently shorn of his sanguine conviction of primal excellence, he engaged in something less than that. For having gained an intimate knowledge of the wilderness, fur traders could only manifest the outward signs of primitivism, the designation "primitivist" seems denied them.

Whatever the problems of definition, fur traders did utilize the noble savage theme, and they did so essentially to air their grievances, an activity for which they had sound precedent. One can not help suspecting, for example, that John Long of the eastern Canadian trade felt personally abused by niggardly treatment, and that he reflected this in his combined carpings at the "parsimonious conduct of those whom providence hath blessed with affluence" and encomiums on the Indians who were free of such "mean sordid sentiments."⁵⁷ James Adair seemed quite incapable of maintaining accord with the civilized scheme of things and so he vented his rancor via noble savages. One of the best illustrations of the workings of this mechanism appears in the writings of Rufus Sage. This Rocky Mountain trader, as noted earlier, portrayed savage excellence in his published narrative of frontier life. Letters written to his mother during his sojourn in the mountains reveal a man of fervent religious tendency, of deep and morbid pessimism, who con-

⁵⁵ "Journal of Kurz," p. 205. ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁵⁷ John Long, *Voyages and Travels . . . in Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (32 vols.; Cleveland, 1904-7), II, 157.

sidered himself adrift amidst a sea of enemies. He despised what he knew, including himself, and perhaps, like other dissatisfied souls, he could embrace the foreign for having spiritually forsaken the familiar. Thus, after a year on the fur-trade frontier, he wrote to his mother that, "the whites in that country are worse than the Indians . . .,"⁵⁸ and, however just or accurate this observation may have been in its own right, its statement by a person of Sage's outlook leaves one unconvinced. A man who, after viewing the crudities and nastiness of savage life, could censure the smokers and chewers among the mountain men for indulging "their filthy and unnatural taste" invites an evaluation of inverse bigotry.⁵⁹

Hoxie Fairchild, though chronicling specific declines in the noble savage convention, concluded that the concept was as "immortal as the phoenix."⁶⁰ Even the dominance in the last hundred years of the evolutionary theory has not stilled the voices of those who see excellence in the primeval past—or those "interested people," as trader Joseph Hargrave called them, who conjure up "ideal figures" to serve some selfish design.⁶¹ The writings of men in the American fur trade indicate that, along with being timeless, the noble savage appears far more universally than one might expect. At times, traders invoked primitive perfection as "interested people" and, at other times, like the Jacksonian Americans discussed by John Ward,⁶² they seemed to offer sincere warnings of the evils of over-civilization. In either case, first-hand experience in the crude realities of wilderness existence provided no absolute immunity from that intriguing and perennial passion, the ennobling of the savage.

⁵⁸ Rufus Sage to Mrs. J. Sage, July 20, 1842 in *Rufus B. Sage . . .*, eds. Le Roy R. and Ann W. Hafen (2 vols.; Glendale, Calif., 1956), I, 90.

⁵⁹ *Rocky Mountain Life*, p. 197. ⁶⁰ *The Noble Savage*, p. 364.

⁶¹ *Red River* (Montreal, 1871), 410-11.

⁶² *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (New York, 1955).



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T. S. Eliot and the *Bhagavad-Gita*

INDIAN THOUGHT HAS ATTRACTED MANY INTELLECTUALS IN THE WEST, AMONG whom, in modern times, T. S. Eliot is notable. While at Harvard, Eliot studied Sanskrit and some Indian philosophy. In his own words:

Two years spent in the study of Sanskrit under Charles Lanman, and a year in the mazes of Patanjali's metaphysics under the guidance of James Woods, left me in a state of enlightened mystification. A good half of the effort of understanding what the Indian philosophers were after—and their subtleties make most of the great European philosophers look like schoolboys—lay in trying to erase from my mind all the categories and kinds of distinction common to European philosophy from the time of the Greeks. . . . And I came to the conclusion . . . that my only hope of really penetrating to the heart of that mystery would lie in forgetting how to think and feel as an American or a European: which, for practical as well as sentimental reasons, I did not wish to do.¹

This statement explains, partly at least, a kind of disassociation which exists in Eliot's approach to Indian thought—an intellectual identification combined with an emotional detachment. Eliot sits on the inner wall of the outer structure of a spiritual thermos-flask separated by an almost complete emotional vacuum from the inner philosophic contents his intellect surveys. Or, to change the figure, he—like Matthew Arnold—gazes at the “high, white star of Truth” of the Indian philosophic sky. The star is bright but cold. Indian philosophic thought, which is inextricably mixed up with Indian religious thought, is to him an intellectual creed rather than an emotional faith. However, with respect to the *Bhagavad-Gita*, he is no longer, to use an Indian metaphor, going round the outer wall of the inner sanctuary in sacred circumambulation (*pradakshina*) but appears to catch a glimpse of the inner shrine. In his own

¹ T. S. Eliot, *After Strange Gods, A Primer of Modern Heresy*, 1st ed. (New York, 1934), pp. 43-44.

words, the *Bhagavad-Gita* was "the next greatest philosophical poem to the *Divine Comedy* within my experience."² The influence of the *Gita* on him appears to have been profound. The universalism of the main teachings of the *Gita* has evidently exercised nearly as much fascination on the dean of contemporary English poets as it did on India's epic hero. The Indian philosophical poem deals with a deep spiritual and emotional crisis of man and calls for action to preserve the world from becoming a spiritual wasteland dominated by evil. It is not therefore surprising that the author of *The Waste Land* turned to this poem and felt attuned to its spirit. The purpose of this paper is to explicate a relatively unknown poem of Eliot's entitled "To the Indians who Died in Africa" * from the point of view of the Indian thought in it.

Although the poem does not find a place in *The Complete Poems and Plays 1909-1950*, it is included in the recently published *Collected Poems 1909-1962*. None of Eliot's well-known critics mention the poem except Grover Smith Jr., who says:

The poet of the *Bhagavad-Gita* attributed to Krishna the command to pursue ordinary activity without attachment to the fruits of action. In the poem "To the Indians who Died in Africa" (1943) . . . Eliot referred pointedly to the Hindu doctrine.³

He does not, however, go into further details; neither does he assess to what specific stanzas of the *Gita* Eliot might have gone for inspiration. Moreover, Smith's statement that Krishna gave to Arjuna the "command to pursue *ordinary* activity [emphasis mine] without attachment to the fruits of action" has an unwarranted implication. The detachment referred to in the *Gita* applies to all kinds of activities, ordinary as well as extraordinary, and in the context of the *Mahābhārata* (the epic of which the *Gita* is a part), the reference is especially to an extraordinary activity, namely war and the necessity of killing one's own friends and relatives on the opposite side of the battlefield. Besides, there is more of Hindu thought in the poem than appears at a cursory glance. In the composition of this poem, perhaps more than in most others where Indian thought appears, Eliot must have said to himself, "I sometimes wonder if that is what Krishna meant."

The poem was written for a special purpose and was published in *Queen Mary's Book for India*.⁴ The book is addressed to Indians and has a message of sympathy from Queen Mary for those mothers whose sons had died or had been fighting on the battlefield outside their country

*It is included in the recently published *Collected Poems 1909-1962*.

² T. S. Eliot, "Dante," *Selected Essays 1917-1932* (New York, 1932), p. 219.

³ T. S. Eliot's *Poetry and Plays: A Study in Sources and Meaning* (Chicago, 1956), p. 277. ⁴ (London, 1943), p. 61.

during World War II. Eliot's contribution to this anthology is a poem of twenty-two lines, pregnant with characteristic Indian thought, and addressed to those Indians who died in Africa, as the title makes clear. The context in which the poem came into being obviously has much in common with the context of the *Gita*'s origin in the epic, the *Mahābhārata*.

Arjuna, one of the heroes of the epic, was confronted with the unusual situation of having to kill his kith and kin, his revered preceptors and beloved friends. The alternative was the dereliction of duty resulting in the deterioration of *dharma* (righteousness) on earth. It was an instance of *dharma sankata*: a dilemma in the pursuit of righteous action. The Second World War had already taken its toll of Indians, a million and a half of whom were fighting on behalf of their imperial masters without much to gain. It was an act of duty performed at the behest of the British, probably perfunctorily and with more reluctance than enthusiasm, at a time when increased national agitation for independence was in full swing and when national leaders like Gandhi and Nehru were torn between opposition to the Nazi and Fascist powers and non-cooperation with the English. Unsure of his reward either here or hereafter, as Arjuna was, the humble Indian soldier away in Africa must have vacillated between loyalty to his superiors and reluctance to kill. This situation closely paralleled that of the epic, and Eliot exploited it—an instance of *kavisamaya* (a poet's opportunity). The performance of one's duty as behooves his caste (or, more accurately *varna*—any one of the four great classes in Hinduism) without attachment to the fruits of his action, the unwisdom of mourning the dead, and the goal of individual salvation with an emphasis on destiny are among the principal teachings of the *Gita*, and Eliot has abundantly drawn on them for his poem. In the poem, Eliot has therefore stressed the spiritual rather than the material, the eternal rather than the ephemeral, the means rather than the end and duty rather than desire.

The poem is in four stanzas, the first three of which have five lines each and the last seven lines. In the first two stanzas, the poet draws the picture of a happy old warrior, "scarred but secure," whose destination is his home, where he enjoys the privileges of his wife's cooking, his fire and watching his grandson play with "the neighbour's grandson" in the evening hours. He has many narratives to repeat about "foreign men, who fought in foreign places,/Foreign to each other." In the last two stanzas, Eliot points out that "a man's destination is not his destiny" and that "where a man dies bravely/At one with his destiny," there "the soil is his." A land does not belong to anyone, and two persons from two different countries, the one from the land of the Five Rivers (the

Punjab) in India⁵ and the other from the Midlands in England, may share the same memory. The poem ends with the lines:

Let those who go home tell the same story of you:
 Of action with a common purpose, action
 None the less fruitful if neither you nor I
 Know, until the judgment after death,
 What is the fruit of action.

Structurally, the poem moves from the material plane to the spiritual, from man's destination on earth to man's destiny in death. The first two stanzas form a unit. A sense of man's attachment is very well suggested in the beginning of the poem in such phrases as "his own village," "his own fire," "his wife's cooking" and "his grandson." The first unit of the poem ends with the lines:

Of foreign men, who fought in foreign places,
 Foreign to each other.

The next unit of the poem, beginning with "A man's destination is not his destiny./Every country is home to one man/And exile to another," introduces the thought of detachment—detachment even from homeland. This thought is further reinforced in the first line of the last and longest stanza: "This was not your land, or ours."

Beginning with the idea of attachment to homeland and touching on the thought that a country may be home to one and exile to another, the poem makes the point that a man belongs where he dies bravely. From the contemplation of the fruits of victory the poet takes us to the cessation of thoughts about the rewards of action.

"To the Indians who Died in Africa"

A man's destination is his own village,
 His own fire, and his wife's cooking;
 To sit in front of his own door at sunset
 And see his grandson and his neighbour's grandson
 Play in the dust together.

Scarred but secure, he has many narratives
 To repeat at the hour of conversation
 (The warm, or the cool hour, according to the climate),
 Of foreign men, who fought in foreign places,
 Foreign to each other.

⁵ The word "Punjab" (Sanskrit, pancha=five and ap=water) means "land of five rivers."

A man's destination is not his destiny.
 Every country is home to one man
 And exile to another. Where a man dies bravely
 At one with his destiny, that soil is his.
 Let his village remember.

This was not your land, or ours: but a village in the Midlands
 And one in the Five Rivers, may have the same memories.
 Let those who go home tell the same story of you:
 Of action with a common purpose, action
 None the less fruitful if neither you nor I
 Know, until the judgment after death,
 What is the fruit of action.

From *Collected Poems 1909-1963*, (c) 1963 by T. S. Eliot. Reprinted by permission of Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

The final stanza in seven lines puts more emphasis on the spiritual and eternal. The exhortation to pursue action without regard to its fruits is in the manner of Krishna's advice to Arjuna, and perhaps the direct manner of address was suggested by the dialogue of the *Gita*.

Eliot appears to be indebted to specific stanzas of the *Gita* for certain thoughts in his poem. The pictures of the two soldiers, one of whom has survived the battle successfully and lives to enjoy his life on earth, and the other of whom embraces the soil where he fell fighting and meets his destiny, were apparently inspired by one of the well-known stanzas of the *Gita* where Krishna, exhorting Arjuna to fight, tells him that, living or dead, he will reap the fruits of his action—if killed, he will attain heaven, and if victorious, he will enjoy the earth (II:37). Eliot's emphasis on “action with a common purpose, action/None the less fruitful if neither you nor I/Know, until the judgment after death,/What is the fruit of action,” apparently derives from Krishna's holy injunction to do one's duty without contemplating its rewards: You have the right only to your work and not to the fruits thereof [*Karmanyēvādhikāraste māphalēshu kādachana* (II:46)].

Again, Krishna tells Arjuna that he should regard happiness and sorrow and gain and loss with an even eye and fight the battle, for then he will not acquire sin (II:38). But Eliot does not put the thoughts so cryptically nor the message so peremptorily, for understandable reasons. In enjoining the Indian soldiers not to seek to know the rewards of their duty, he probably had in mind the *Gita* teaching that thought brings about attachment, and attachment produces desire.

When a man meditates on the objects of sense,
 Attachment to them is produced.
 From attachment springs desire,
 From desire wrath arises (II:62).⁶

Eliot could also have had in mind Krishna's evaluation of meditation, action and knowledge. Krishna says that knowledge is better than action, meditation better than knowledge, and renunciation of the fruits of action (that is, action without attachment) better than meditation (XII:12). It is also possible that Eliot was influenced by the Biblical injunction against the search after forbidden knowledge when he wrote, "neither you nor I/Know, until the judgment after death," since the phrase *judgment after death* is more suggestive of the last judgment of Christianity than the individual judgments of Hinduism.

The emphasis on action derives from an outstanding teaching of the *Gita*, which says that none can refrain from action and the world itself is imprisoned in its own activity. The Lord is active all the time.

For no one even for a moment
 Remains at all without performing actions;
 For he is made to perform action willy-nilly (III:5).

Except action for the purpose of worship,
 This world is bound by actions;
 Action for that purpose, son of Kuntī,
 Perform thou, free from attachment (to its fruits) (III:9).

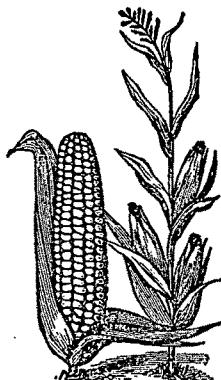
The concerted action "with a common purpose" is clearly the warriors' class duty (*kshātra dharma*) undertaken for the good of the world (*lōka kalyāna*) and not for personal good.

That one's destiny may lie far away from one's land is a thought typical of more than one religion. But the idea of rebirth, the doctrine of Karma (according to which a man reaps the results of his actions, good or bad, performed in an earlier life), and the thought of *pūrva janma samskāra* (influential tendencies of the previous life) bringing about association of individuals from different countries, such as Eliot speaks of, are peculiar to Hinduism and may exist in the poem without the poet's conscious knowledge of their effects on an Indian reader. Similarly, the idea that the perfection of the soul is a lonely pursuit, that in his search for salvation man is alone and that all friends and relatives are, ultimately, alien to each other are popular Hindu beliefs. However, it is doubtful that

⁶ *The Bhagavad Gita*, trans. Franklin Edgerton (Cambridge, 1952). Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XXXVIII. All verse translations are taken from this source and are identified by chapter number and verse number in parentheses.

Eliot was aware of these beliefs at the time he composed this poem. His use of words, "foreign men, who fought in foreign places,/Foreign to each other," may have been prompted by the strong nationalistic feelings in India at that time, the *swadeshi* (literally, *of one's own land*, and hence the opposition to foreign rule) movement (also known as the Quit-India movement) and the then current Indo-British relationship. This last impression is further strengthened by his reference to the land that is not "your land, or ours."

On the whole, it may be said that this little poem is pregnant with Indian thought, especially that of the *Bhagavad-Gita*. Besides owing something of its structure to the general tenor of the philosophical poem, it reveals a specific indebtedness to certain *shlokas* (stanzas) of the *Bhagavad-Gita*. It is one poem of Eliot's which appears to have been almost wholly inspired by and permeated with Indian religious and philosophic thought.



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Two Depression Plays and Broadway's Popular Idealism

IT IS A TRUISM THAT, AS THE MOST PUBLIC OF THE ARTS AND THE ONE THEREFORE most immediately responsive to the pressures of its times, the drama may be considered a reliable indicator of current popular thought and sentiment. For the social and cultural historian, the ideas, subjects and themes presented onstage in any era provide useful clues to the states of mind prevailing in that era. This topicality of the theater, which is at once one of its most appealing qualities and a major source of its weakness, holds true whether we are dealing with Aristophanes or Albee. In the hands of a second-rate playwright, where topicality is all, the play sinks rapidly into its earned oblivion, to be exhumed only by scholars prowling dusty stacks; in the hands of more gifted writers, the topical issue is merely the point of departure for an examination of more lasting and general concerns. No one today remembers a 1934 play by Philip Barber entitled *The Klein-Orbach Strike*; but somehow *The Cherry Orchard* manages to remain alive.

Prior to World War I, however, the American theater seemed to be an exception to the general rule; it was only about 1916 that the late-flowering drama began to have any relevance to the American scene, coming to a full and explicit relationship in the 1930s. During that rapidly receding period of social dislocation and economic depression, the theater played an unusually active part in the ferment of national self-examination and criticism. This was the period of the so-called "proletarian literature," a significant portion of which emerged in writing for the stage. The products of the WPA Federal Theatre constituted, for the most part, the high-water mark of that achievement; but, in addition, amateur groups, labor groups and left-wing "agit-prop" groups took to the empty lofts and stores and labor halls in order to present their ideas through the theatrical medium. This was the period of the Workers' Laboratory Theatre, the League of Workers' Theatres, Theatre

Union, the New Theatre League, the Theatre of Action and the journal, *New Theatre*, which was the unofficial organ of these shifting and short-lived organizations. The common denominator for most of these groups—namely, their concept of theater—was defined by Joseph Freeman as “a school, a forum, a communal institution, a weapon in the hands of the masses for fashioning a sound society.”¹

Perhaps the best-remembered organization is the Group Theatre, an offshoot of the Theatre Guild, created by disgruntled younger artists who found the parent organization lacking in vision, forcefulness and relevance for the times. Certainly the single most important factor influencing the success of the Group Theatre was the discovery, within its own ranks, of a young actor-playwright named Clifford Odets. For a brief four-year period during its total existence of ten years, the Group flourished on Broadway (and even sent out a road company), and Odets became the candidate of the 1930s for the title of white hope of the American theater. After being variously hailed as the American Chekhov and the American O’Casey, Odets (like other members of the Group Theatre) went to Hollywood, and the Group eventually disbanded. But the impact of their achievement was powerful and memorable; and it was Odets’ first full-length play, *Awake and Sing!*, presented at the Belasco Theatre on February 19, 1935, that established the Group as an important new element in the development of the American theater.²

Few plays and playwrights could avoid reflecting, in some measure, the malaise of the thirties, even when, superficially, the plays seemed to be setting out directly only to entertain, to provide for the spectators an evening’s welcome escape from the disheartening Depression just outside the doors of the theater. In one sense, the choice of the play to receive the Pulitzer Prize for 1936 seems eminently appropriate today. Although the members of the Critics’ Circle disagreed (they chose Maxwell Anderson’s *High Tor*), the determinedly middlebrow Pulitzer Prize Committee gave the laurel to *You Can’t Take It With You*, the comedy by George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart that has since become the archetypal American farce. Certainly, *You Can’t Take It With You* was not the best play of 1936 by any conceivable criterion of artistic merit; but it has survived the immediate moment both by the sheer inventiveness of its lunatic action and by the fact that, like *Awake and Sing!*, it represents a recurring, if simplified, strand in American thought. *You Can’t Take It With You* is, in fact, *Awake and Sing!* turned inside out or upside down or

¹ Joseph Freeman (ed.), *Proletarian Literature in the United States* (New York, 1935), p. 264.

² The indispensable history of the Group Theatre is Harold Clurman’s *The Fervent Years* (New York, 1957).

seen through a mirror—but taken together they offer a revealing glimpse into the ways of the theater in the Depression era.

Awake and Sing!, dealing with the fortunes and misfortunes of the Berger (burgher?) family of the Bronx, was regarded by most critics in terms similar to those used by Burns Mantle when he included it in his list of the ten best plays of 1934-35. He called it "an embittered protest against the injustices put upon the poor by the workings of the capitalist system."³ But this evaluation, it seems clear today, is grossly oversimplified.

Odets' first words about his characters are that they "share a fundamental activity: a struggle for life amidst petty conditions." The family consists of Myron and Bessie Berger, their children Hennie and Ralph, and Grandpa Jacob. Myron has long since been defeated by life, but the domineering Bessie persists in trying to arrange her children's lives for them. Hennie, left pregnant and abandoned by a fickle suitor, consents reluctantly to Bessie's scheme to marry her off to a man she does not love, for the sake of respectability. Ralph, a stock clerk in his Uncle Morty's factory, is a naive and frustrated boy whose first love affair is broken up by Bessie, also in the interests of what she considers proper. The spokesman for rebellion against this spiritually as well as economically impoverished life is the grandfather, a retired barber (but, it is emphasized, an "artist"). Jacob is an old-fashioned idealistic revolutionary merely tolerated by his daughter; when he observes the bickering among the Bergers, he comments: "Marx said it—abolish such families." But it is his plunge off the tenement roof in an apparent accident that enables Ralph to begin a new life. He rejects the insurance money Jacob has left him, but the old man's sacrifice opens his eyes, and the revolutionary spirit presumably passes on to Ralph in a new and more vigorous form. Ralph cries: "The night he died, I saw it like a thunderbolt! I saw he was dead and I was born!" At the same time, Hennie flees the Berger household with her old flame, the mordant racketeer Moe Axelrod, to "the place where it's moonlight and roses." Moe, who has lost one leg in the war, values nothing but the immediate moment. The complete hardboiled cynic, he finally persuades Hennie to break her family ties: "Christ, baby," he says, "there's one life to live! Live it!"

The two choices of the Berger children—one to flee, the other to stay and fight for a better life—however disparate they seem, have as their common source their discontent with life as they live it. Seen in this sense, *Awake and Sing!* is less a play dealing with the class struggle than one

³ Burns Mantle (ed.), *The Best Plays of 1934-35* (New York, 1935), p. 236.

embodying the vague dissatisfactions of the lower middle class at the thwarting of normal human desires. "I never had a pair of black and white shoes!" cries Ralph, but it is not the shoes alone that he is crying for. That the play is not really a "revolutionary" play at all was recognized by the Left press; according to Harold Clurman, who directed the production, the *New Masses* "spoke gingerly" of it and the *Daily Worker* called it "an unimportant play whichever way you look at it."⁴ Odets' original title, *I Got the Blues*, would seem also to indicate that he was less concerned with the uprising of "ye that dwell in the dust" than with the expression of a mood of widespread disquiet. But the final title, together with Ralph's outcry, as the play ends, that he is "twenty-two and kickin'" and ready to fight for a new life, seemed sufficiently ominous and specific to convince others besides Burns Mantle that Odets was calling for an immediate revolution.

With the popular success of *Awake and Sing!*, the Group Theatre, after years of promise, discouragement and continual near-failure, had finally arrived. Clurman's comment at the time was: "Now the Group has put on long pants."⁵ During that winter of the Group's great success, Moss Hart, one of Broadway's most popular as well as professional playwrights, conceived of the idea for his next collaboration with George S. Kaufman. It was to be a play about another New York family—but quite unlike the Bergers of the Bronx. This comedy was to deal with an "utterly mad but lovable" family, each member of which did exactly as he pleased "and the hell with what other folks thought." Kaufman and Hart had gotten as far as suggesting the title of *Grandpa's Other Snake*—fortunately vetoed by Mrs. Kaufman—before they dropped the project in favor of another idea. This new plan involved dramatizing an unpublished novel by Dalton Trumbo entitled *Washington Jitters*, a political satire which they intended to do in the broad strokes of Kaufman's 1932 Pulitzer Prize winner, *Of Thee I Sing*. In the summer of 1936, Kaufman left New York to join Hart in Hollywood and work on this project; when he arrived, however, Hart persuaded him to revert to the original idea of the mad family, and they wrote *You Can't Take It With You* in thirty days.⁶ But between the conception and the execution fell the political satire; and some buried element of that satire, with its reflections on contemporary American life, is present amidst the lunacies of the Vanderhof family.

It was the lunacies, of course, that made the play the immediate success it became. The Booth Theatre was sold out on the second night, and the play settled in for a long and prosperous run. Brooks Atkinson, with an

⁴ Clurman, p. 140.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁶ *New York Times*, December 20, 1936.

unmistakable sigh of relief, applauded the fact that the play was not (for a change, evidently) "a moral harangue," and praised the authors for being merely "fantastic humorists with a knack for extravagances of word and episode and an eye for hilarious incongruities."⁷ George Jean Nathan, although learnedly pointing out that the "loony household idea" was far from being original, called it "superior fooling," "thoroughly amusing" and "something winningly tender."⁸ Another critic wrote that "it offers no serious contribution to social or political philosophy, and yet it is by all odds the most delightful American play to be seen so far this year."⁹ The reviewer for *Theatre Arts Monthly* called it "all absurdity" and said of the characters: "There is not a single ounce of rational thinking or acting in the lot of them."¹⁰ And Euphemia Van Rensselaer Wyatt, writing for the *Catholic World*, said that New York always had room "for such pleasant comedies" without any "cross or disagreeable" characters.¹¹

There is no evidence that Kaufman and Hart deliberately conceived of *You Can't Take It With You* as a reply to *Awake and Sing!*, that they set out to convert Odets' basic situation, that of the middle-class New York family trapped by the Depression, into a farce comedy. But, whether by design or by accident, there are a number of echoes in the second play, and at one major point the lines of force emanating from these plays intersect. (To raise one minor detail, consider the names that Kaufman and Hart give mother and daughter. Whereas for Odets their names had been Bessie and Hennie, Kaufman and Hart call them Penny and Essie.)

It is a curious circumstance, however, that the titles of the two plays may be considered to be almost interchangeable. *You Can't Take It With You*, which is a jazzy restatement of the *carpe diem* theme, is what Jacob preaches and Ralph learns—that the making of money is not the end of man. Jacob's ironical comment on Uncle Morty's materialistic views is: "Don't live—just make success." Ralph leaves the insurance money to his mother, and vows: "Let me die like a dog, if I can't get more from life." Hennie and Moe, fleeing the Bronx for their tropical paradise, may be judged to be socially irresponsible, but they have made the decision to live life on their own terms. Conversely, also, the injunction to awake and sing is exactly what the uninhibited members of the Vanderhof

⁷ *New York Times*, December 15, 1936.

⁸ George Jean Nathan, "Art of the Night," *Saturday Review*, May 8, 1937, p. 19.

⁹ Grenville Vernon, in *Commonweal*, December 25, 1936, p. 249.

¹⁰ Edith J. R. Isaacs, "Broadway in Review," *Theatre Arts Monthly*, Fall 1937, pp. 96-97.

¹¹ Euphemia Van Rensselaer Wyatt, in *Catholic World*, Fall 1937, pp. 597-98. Her review of *Awake and Sing!* had begun: "The Bergers are such a very unattractive family!" In succeeding capsule summaries of the current Broadway plays, she continued to use "disagreeable" as the characterizing adjective.

household have obeyed—they not only sing, but they dance, perform on the xylophone, make candy, paint, write plays, throw darts, feed snakes and visit zoos and commencements, make firecrackers in the basement, and in general practice the twin gospels of total relaxation and total individualism. What is significant about both plays, seen in this light, is that, in their own ways—one melodramatic, the other farcical—each examines the quality of American life, its values, its ideals, its actual practice and its apparent breakdown in the thirties.

The Berger family is full of tensions, frustrations and rivalries. "Everybody hates, nobody loves," is the way Jacob characterizes the situation. The home is the place to escape from. But the Martin Vanderhof home is a haven—not only for the immediate members of the family but for Rheba, the cook; her boy friend Donald; Mr. De Pinna, the iceman who has just happened to stay for eight years; Mr. Kolenkhov, the Russian ballet teacher; and all others who fall under its spell. Everyone seems to have adopted Grandpa Vanderhof's *laissez-faire* philosophy; and the rampant individualism, not to say anarchy, of the household where each does as he will produces happiness and peace with the world.

To be sure, this peace is attained only by resolutely ignoring the outside world. As Grandpa says at grace: ". . . all we ask is just to go along and be happy in our own sort of way." When that world occasionally intrudes, in the form of an Internal Revenue agent or Mr. and Mrs. Kirby, prospective members by marriage of the happy clan, the outside values are shown up as illogical and pointless; and at the end of the play, Mr. Kirby is revealed to be a frustrated saxophone player who has never really enjoyed making money on Wall Street, but who, unlike Grandpa, has lacked the good sense to "sign off" and start living. The Vanderhof values triumph over or convert the outside world.

The philosophic grandfathers who dominate the actions of both plays express apparently contrasting principles of conduct. Jacob's first statement is: "If this life leads to a revolution it's a good life. Otherwise it's nothing." Grandpa Vanderhof says: "Life's pretty simple if you just relax." But Odets undercuts his characterization of Jacob by calling him "a sentimental idealist with no power to turn ideal into action"; and the truth about Grandpa Vanderhof is that his strength and calm assurance derive precisely from the fact that he long ago made the crucial decision to turn his ideal into action—to leave the business world in favor of living and, in a strong Thoreauian echo, having "time to notice when spring comes around." Fundamentally, their diagnoses of what is wrong with the world are identical: it is the old "late and soon, getting and spending" syndrome. Jacob rejects a life that is "printed on dollar bills" because it

lacks dignity; Grandpa rejects it because it's no fun. "Do what is in your heart and you carry in yourself a revolution," cries Jacob—but this exhortation is closer to Emerson than to Marx.

It is at this point that the lines of force intersect. The ostensibly realistic "socially-conscious" drama and the extravagantly nonsensical farce are both expressions of the irrepressible American idealism that constantly lurks just below the surface of our brazen materialism. Idealism—and sentimental optimism as well. Ralph's final speech concludes vigorously: "I want the whole city to hear it—fresh blood, arms. We got 'em. We're glad we're living." Grandpa Vanderhof's final grace is more restrained, but along the same lines: "We want to say thanks once more for everything You've done for us. Things seem to be going along fine. . . . We've all got our health and as far as anything else is concerned, we'll leave it to You."

It is not surprising that these plays were popular and successful in 1935 and 1936. Both are basically consolatory and sentimental comedies, restating a familiar and acceptable American principle: namely, the integrity of the individual and his right to rear back and assert himself. The terms of assertion are different in these two plays, but the underlying theme, evoked by the times, is identical. At a time when the individual seemed to be helpless and at the mercy of impersonal and powerful economic forces, the theme of individual dignity and freedom must be reckoned as a criticism of existing conditions and as an American ideal too important to be lost sight of.



Reviews

Conducted by Theodore Hornberger

Nothing is Profane

OF THE SEVENTEEN ACADEMIC SUBJECTS RECOGNIZED BY THE *American Quarterly*'s annual list of "Articles in American Studies," religion, which logically is not a discipline in its own right,¹ is perhaps the most interdisciplinary subject of all. As William Temple so succinctly put it, "Only if nothing is profane can anything be sacred."² Therefore, "To the religious man every activity is religious."³ But convention permits, and expediency dictates, that we use *religion* in the more conventional sense. This essay attempts to review four recent publications with a bearing on religion in America.

The most important of these is Edwin Scott Gaustad's *Historical Atlas of Religion in America*.⁴ In this splendid work the author traces the history of the major Christian groups through the colonial and national periods. Maps, graphs and diagrams depict the distribution and number of churches, the proportionate strength of the denominations in each state and the organizational structure of the several bodies. The less traditional groups (Eastern Orthodoxy, the Mennonites, Unitarians and Universalists, Christian Science and the fundamentalist sects) are treated separately, and in the last part of the book the author deals with Indians, Negroes and Jews, and with Alaska and Hawaii.

Dr. Gaustad is the first to recognize the limitations of such a study. What, for instance, constitutes a church member? One can avoid the problem by counting churches, but this, too, has its limitations. A fine map in color conveys an excellent idea of how denominations are distributed in the country, but if one looks for detail, instead of at the over-all picture, one can be fooled, as this reviewer was when he first noticed that his denomination had a majority of all church members in one county. Upon closer examination of the map and recourse to the *World Almanac* his elation faded, for Mineral County, Colorado, has a population of 423! The reader may safely assume that the data in the

¹ Theology is an academic discipline in its own right. "Religion" as an academic subject is a hodgepodge of theology, history, philosophy, psychology, sociology and, more recently, literature, the arts, psychiatry, etc.

² *Nature, Man, and God* (London, 1949 [first published in 1934]), p. 306.

³ *Christus Veritas* (London, 1949 [first published in 1924]), p. 37.

⁴ Harper and Row, 1962. 179 pp. \$8.95.

Atlas are as accurate as meticulous scholarship permits, and if he remembers the insuperable difficulties involved, he will find that this is indeed "a great contribution . . . an indispensable tool for the study of American religion," as Robert T. Handy observes in the publisher's blurb.

The scholar interested in law will find Philip B. Kurland's *Religion and the Law: Of Church and State and the Supreme Court*⁵ stimulating. The author advances the thesis that the freedom and separation clauses of the First Amendment must be regarded "as a single precept that government cannot utilize religion as a standard for action or inaction," and that the Amendment prohibits "classification in terms of religion."⁶ With this in mind, the author, who, notwithstanding his avowed disapproval of dogma, is a rather dogmatic separationist, provides a commentary on court decisions involving Church and State. As one might expect, he heartily endorses the majority opinions in the *Gobitis* and *McCollum* cases and deplores the decisions in *Barnette* and *Zorach*. The reader's reaction to the book will depend largely on his interpretation of the religion clauses of the First Amendment and on his definition of *religion*. If he believes that secularism is itself a religion, he may find himself allied not with the writer, but with Professor Kurland's learned colleague in the legal profession, Bishop Pike. Regardless of the reader's position, he should be warned that the book presupposes a thorough knowledge of the cases. It will help if has the opinions of the justices available.⁷

Of interest to historians, political scientists and religionists (and, methodologically, to sociologists) is a new study of the election of 1928.⁸ To prove her thesis that Alfred E. Smith was "a strong Democratic candidate" and that alcohol, religion and the urban issue were negligible factors, Dr. Ruth Silva has fed a mass of data to an electronic brain. The result is a book written in mathematical Sociologese, which, in a typical sentence, tells us that

the *positive* coefficient of partial regression indicates that, when the inter-correlations between Protestantism and the other independent variables are considered, the *negative* relationship of Smith's strength and Protestantism is even less significant than the size of the partial-correlation coefficient might suggest.⁹

⁵ Aldine Publishing Company, 1962. 127 pp. \$3.95.

⁶ P. 18.

⁷ For all save the most recent cases, Mark De Wolfe Howe, *Cases on Church and State in the United States* (Cambridge, 1952) is an excellent collection. The more important recent cases can be found in any up-to-date edition of a casebook on constitutional law.

⁸ Ruth C. Silva, *Rum, Religion, and Votes: 1928 Re-Examined* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962. vi, 76 pp. \$5.00).

⁹ Pp. 39-40.

That the same thought can be expressed in everyday English recently was demonstrated to this reviewer by Dr. Eric Boehm. It might help if writers on politics were to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" Lindsay Rogers' splendid "Notes on the Language of Politics,"¹⁰ wherein the Burgess Professor of Public Law (now emeritus) in Columbia University admonishes writers on political subjects to be intelligible and to mind their style. That Dr. Silva's thesis may well be valid is suggested by the fact that Richard Hofstadter, in an article written in English, has come to the same conclusion by relying on his own brain.¹¹

Perhaps the most remarkable recent interdisciplinary work on American religion is a collection of essays reflecting a curious trend in American Christian thought.¹² The contributors, among whom are Cleanth Brooks, Sir Herbert Read, Nathan Scott Jr., Roger L. Shinn, Joseph Sittler, Robert Penn Warren and Amos Wilder, first discuss "The Contemporary Situation of the Artist" and then turn to specific art forms. Most art with an obviously Christian content is ignored. Picasso and his "Guernica" are featured, but nothing is said about Dali's Christ. Sir Joseph Epstein's highly controversial Christ the King in Llandaff Cathedral must be far too traditional for these critics and goes unnoticed, but there are photographs of paintings entitled "The Cathedral" and "For the Feast of Christ the King." The former might make a good print for curtains in a summer cottage; the latter resembles poorly cut paper dolls. (Perhaps these are examples of a visual equivalent of glossolalia!) One doubts that the authors are aware of the splendid modern Christian art produced at Bede House, whose demise was a distinct loss to the Church. Among composers, Bartok, Hindemith and Stravinsky are clearly "in," along with jazz (the latter with reservations), but churchmen Holst, Sowerby and Vaughan Williams are "out," as is Healey Willan, whose *Missa de Sancta Maria Magdalena*, now threatening to displace Merbecke after four centuries, bids fair to survive not only its composer and his Toronto church but also the composers who are highlighted. As if by mistake, W. H. Auden and T. S. Eliot are included, but for C. S. Lewis there is no room. Is it because the writers of this book take themselves so very seriously that they have excluded holy comedy? Or is the quota too small to admit a third Christian writer?

The "Christian faith" implied in this volume is as heretical in its way as Norman Vincent Peale is in his. The few contributors who see the

¹⁰ *Political Science Quarterly*, LXIV (1949), 481-506.

¹¹ "Could a Protestant Have Beaten Hoover in 1928?", *The Reporter*, XXII, No. 6 (March 17, 1960), 31-33.

¹² Finley Eversole, ed., *Christian Faith and the Contemporary Arts* (Abingdon Press, 1962. 255 pp. \$5.00).

relevance of the Incarnation for their subject¹³ are as exceptional in the company of their fellow-writers as Athanasius was at Nicaea. The Law, the prophets and the condemnation in the teaching of Jesus are amply reflected in these pages. The Pauline anthropology recurs as on a broken record: "Wretched man that I am! Wretched man that I am wretched . . ."¹⁴ the book seems to say. Most of the twenty-nine writers are oblivious to the fact that the record has a flaw, and many of them seem to take a perverse delight in their misery. What is missing is the essence of the Christian faith, which is not centered in an anthropology. Soteriology is overlooked.¹⁵ Somebody ought to give the needle a little push lest the voices of despair drown the sound of the *kerygma*.

EMIL OBERHOLZER JR., *The City College, New York*

The Nationalization of the Higher Learning

THESE VOLUMES ILLUSTRATE OUR DISTINCTIVELY AMERICAN LITERATURE OF higher education.* They carry the flavor of Nationalism, Organization and Pragmatism. Much of our writing on higher education has been so flavored at least since Jacksonian days; now these themes pervade virtually everything written on the subject. The authors, like many modern Americans, are at once optimistic for our educational future (McConnell, Nevins and Weidner), committed to action and program in the present (Dodds, McConnell, Thomas and Weidner) and (except Thomas) more sensitive to the history of institutions than of ideas. So deep in their writing are these attitudes (particularly with McConnell, Nevins and Weidner) that the reader who is considering the role of education in American culture may be persuaded that he is reading about the new "democratiza-

¹³ Notably John W. Dixon Jr. (chap. 8, *passim*) and Celia Hubbard (chap. 22, *passim*).

¹⁴ Romans 7:24a.

¹⁵ One notable exception is Malcolm Boyd, who, in his last sentence, expresses the hope that the " 'art of the Fall' may give way to . . . the 'art of redemption.'" (p. 158.)

* They are Allan Nevins, *The State Universities and Democracy* (viii, 171 pp., University of Illinois Press, 1962, \$2.95); Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University. A History* (x, 516 pp., Alfred A. Knopf, 1962, \$6.75); and four volumes in *The Carnegie Series in American Education*: Harold W. Dodds, with the collaboration of Felix C. Robb and R. Robb Taylor, *The Academic President—Educator or Caretaker?* (ix, 294 pp., McGraw-Hill, 1962, \$5.95); T. R. McConnell, *A General Pattern for American Public Higher Education* (x, 198 pp., McGraw-Hill, 1962, \$5.95); Russell Thomas, *The Search for a Common Learning: General Education, 1800-1960* (xi, 324 pp., McGraw-Hill, 1962, \$6.95); Edward W. Weidner, *The World Role of Universities* (xii, 366 pp., McGraw-Hill, 1962, \$6.95).

tion" of higher learning. If this were a valid conclusion, there might be little to say about the books.

On the contrary, these volumes suggest to me that we are nationalizing higher learning, perhaps to a greater degree than did the nineteenth-century German universities. To make our institutions fit certain national patterns is not necessarily to make them democratic. For example, the idea of higher learning as "service" to many ranks of specialists in our society, from creative genius to applied scientist to school teacher, is a compelling one. We increasingly educate for a society of technicians. But with Professor McConnell let us recognize our devotion to specialization for what it is. Although in our colleges we teach greater numbers of people than yesterday and apply egalitarian techniques to mass higher learning (Nevins), can we be sure that the process makes either higher education or society egalitarian? None of these writers grapples fully with the problem of how higher learning can help to maintain political democracy in an industrial society.

Their pragmatic views of institutional change, and the present-minded sponsorship of four of them by a great foundation, set these books in the current American grain. Doubtless in this "transitional" time for higher education—and when has it ever been free from "crisis"?—careful attention to our institutions is mandatory. We can clearly learn the *Where* and *How* of our colleges and universities from these volumes; Professor Rudolph also helps us to know who has learned; and Professor McConnell ventures a design for who should learn in the future. But if one hopes that development of intellect to search for truth is the first task of education, these books, with one exception, leave much to be desired. Only Professor Thomas' is concerned mainly with what basically has been and should be learned in our colleges. In his brief but masterly survey of "the *common elements* of a liberal education" Thomas drives straight to the hard substance of academic intellect. His is a brilliant historical essay on the quest for humane themes that bridge the compartments of modern scholarship and that offer a "philosophy of unity" for all that we learn and teach.

In failing to state their relevance to academic doubt and inquiry at the inner core of higher learning, the other books tend to be intellectually neutral and ephemeral literature. They often are shrewd and perceptive on the techniques and tactics of higher education. But absent from them are the stinging or the constructive polemics that we heard from Robert Hutchins in 1936, from Abraham Flexner in 1910 and 1930, from Thorstein Veblen in 1918, or from the Yale Report of 1828. I doubt that Professor Weidner's study of the export abroad of "technical skills" from our universities can do more than signal our unfortunate willingness to sub-

ordinate the first concerns of learning to the demands of international politics, demands that pose as much of a threat to independence in learning as do government directives over the use of federal research funds. I doubt that Professor Nevins' justifiable pride in our public universities, in their triumph over sectarian and curricular narrowness, and in their victories for professionalism over vocationalism, will help us to decide how disciplined intellect and increasing numbers of undisciplined students can be suitably matched. I doubt that President Dodds' plea for the college president to be freed from public relations and fund raising to increase the number of hours he spends on educational policies to as much as 50% of his presidential time can do much to save the office from the Organization Man. Although Professor Rudolph's institutional history is surely the best of its kind to date—and I hope it soon is put into paperback so that fewer people will continue wholly ignorant of the established history of higher learning in this country—I doubt that it brings us to the wider social examination of our educational past that the author endorses in his challenging bibliographical essay.

These are reservations that in no way diminish the merit of these books as lengthy Position Papers for Big Education in our day. We all are alive to and concerned with the mechanics of higher education—its organization, its facilities and its administrative ways. Nor do I mean by these comments that higher education is only the life of pure reason or that society does not powerfully influence the means of education. I do mean that unless our literature of higher education is addressed first to the intellectual issues of higher learning and to how they can be stimulated and sharpened in a democracy, it surely will lapse into what has been called "creeping lowest common denominatorism."

There is a hard core of academic men who value more the *What* and *Why* of higher learning. With the exception of Professor Thomas' volume, these works may suggest to them that we have almost built an Establishment in higher education. By Establishment I mean an administrative and professorial leadership that is sustained by an institutional view of its own national educational history and that recruits its members and draws its power along fairly clear institutional lines. The Establishment has national form but often is intellectually faceless; it may applaud but it rarely heeds academic unorthodoxy. The Establishment may change when its members (who I fear are most of us in academic life today) write more books not about the ways and means of institutions of learning but about the nature of learning itself.

WILSON SMITH, *Johns Hopkins University*

CARL BRIDENBAUGH, *Mitre and Sceptre, Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-1775*. xiv, 354 pp. Oxford University Press, 1962. \$7.50.

ALTHOUGH the economic and political backgrounds of the colonial period have frequently received more attention, religion is traditionally named as one of the chief causes of the American Revolution. J. W. Thornton (1860) proved the eighteenth-century "alliance between politics and religion"; A. L. Cross contributed *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* (1902; 1924); Alice M. Baldwin wrote *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* (1928); and C. Van Tyne (1922) and John C. Miller (1943), relying heavily on Cross, gave reliable perspectives to the influence of Protestantism and to the long debate between Anglicans and Dissenters over whether the colonies should have a bishop. It is this debate which is the subject of Professor Bridenbaugh's latest book. But in spite of its many attractions, *Mitre and Sceptre* is neither so necessary nor so balanced in judgment as, say, the same author's *Cities in Revolt*.

It is less necessary because Cross' well-documented study covers a longer period and is satisfactorily thorough. To be sure, Professor Bridenbaugh modestly points out that "*Mitre and Sceptre* is meant to supplement rather than to replace Mr. Cross's fine book" (p. v), but extended comparison leaves an impression that the supplementary material, though welcome to any scholar of the period, is hardly significant enough for book-length treatment.

Nor is *Mitre and Sceptre* always so objective as one would expect. Its thesis is that the Anglican attempt to install a bishop in the colonies was repulsed so vigorously by American Dissenters that the ensuing long debate contributed much to the spirit that caused armed rebellion. Such a thesis may lead—as it does in this book—to an overemphasis on New England, where religion was a more vital question, and to a consequent de-emphasis not only on the vulgar, irreligious frontier reported by Byrd, Crèvecoeur and Brackenridge but also on the Anglican South, where religious debates were relatively calmer and fewer.

This concentration on one important group of colonies is, however, much more acceptable than the strong bias which *Mitre and Sceptre* displays for the non-Anglicans in their attempts to keep Episcopalian out of the New World. While the Dissenters are credited with "a superb intelligence service" (p. 258) that "exposes" Anglican "ignorance" and "errors" (pp. 294-95), the Church of England is endowed with "furtive activities," "schemes" and "intrigues" (pp. 258-59). Whereas Dissenter Jonathan Mayhew's "eloquent outburst" becomes "the center of much comment and abuse" and his "well-directed blows . . . hurt the sensi-

tive members of the church of England" (pp. 100-1), Samuel Johnson, great Anglican divine, is accused of "Grossly distorting the truth" (p. 76). It seems quite clear that both sides were guilty of intrigue and abuse, Mayhew's zeal, for example, leading him in the controversy with Apthorp in 1763 to exaggerations and errors as "gross" as those of his rivals (compare Cross, pp. 155-59, 193, with Bridenbaugh, pp. 220-29).

Closely related to his interpretation of the Anglican-Dissenter debate is Professor Bridenbaugh's analysis of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Foreign Parts. In *Mitre and Sceptre* the missionaries of the S.P.G. become fifth columnists representing "British imperialism in ecclesiastical guise" (pp. 57, 76), their motives purely political. But since C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G. . . . 1701-1900* (1901), is just as pro-Anglican in detailing the fight for an American episcopate, one turns again to Cross, who reminds us that while the missionary efforts of the S.P.G.s contributed much to the political debates prior to the Revolution, "the Society continued on the whole to be a refining and elevating force . . . rarely meddling with politics as such" (p. 35). Again, it was chiefly in New England where the charges of political ambitions were directed at the S.P.G., and there only a handful of its missionaries, out of over one hundred in the colonies at the time of the Revolution, were ever sent.

But in spite of these strictures, one would be unwise not to make good use of a book by such a conscientious and informed scholar. Its long summary of Ezra Stiles' *A Discourse on the Christian Union* (1761), its emphasis on William Livingstone, called the "lay champion against an American episcopate," and its greater stress on the close relations between politics and religion in colonial America—these are reasons why *Mitre and Sceptre* is a supplement not only to Cross but to such older books as Thornton's *The Pulpit and the American Revolution*.

PERCY G. ADAMS, *The University of Tennessee*

CHARLES IVES, *Essays Before a Sonata and Other Writings*. Edited by Howard Boatwright. xxv, 258 pp. W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1962. \$5.00.

FROM the time of his graduation from college in 1898 through 1916 Charles Ives composed a body of remarkable music. He employed all the technical devices of New Music before Stravinsky, Schönberg or Bartok, yet his work was plainly different from that of the European masters. His true contemporary, in fact, was not the Europeans but the architect Frank Lloyd Wright, with whom he shared a considerable debt to the aesthetic of the American transcendentalists.

In 1918, when Ives suffered a severe physical breakdown that left his heart permanently damaged, his music had received virtually no public hearing; he seemed as thorough a failure in music as he had been a success in business. Yet he wished to leave some record of his music, and as soon as his health permitted he hastily prepared three manuscripts for the press: the *Sonata No. 2 for Piano (Concord, Mass. in the 1840's)* (1919), *Essays Before a Sonata* (1920) and *114 Songs* (1922). All three were privately printed; no commercial publisher would have had the slightest interest in Ives' work. It was not until the 1930s that he began to have a reputation among the avant-garde, and public recognition, including election to the National Institute of Arts and Letters and a Pulitzer Prize, came only in the 1940s.

Essays Before a Sonata, intended as a complement to the "*Concord*" *Sonata*, is Ives' longest and most important work on music. Its prose, in spite of its complex and even clotted syntax, often suggests Thoreau, both in the apparent informality of the structure and in the brilliance of the aphorisms. "Emerson wrings the neck of any law that would become exclusive and arrogant." "Strauss remembers; Beethoven dreams." "Beauty in music is too often confused with something that lets the ears lie back in an easy chair."

The 1920 edition was full of mechanical errors because, in the editor's words, of Ives' "sense of hurry, illness, and emotional disturbance over the war." Since some of these errors made important differences in meaning, Mr. Boatwright has prepared an edition collated with the manuscript (while acknowledging as gracefully as possible that Ives would probably have shared Emerson's contempt for "the restorers of readings, the emendators, the bibliomaniacs of all degrees"). He has also annotated Ives' many quotations and allusions, thus performing an extremely important service, since "quotation" is scarcely an adequate description of Ives' procedure; both the music and the prose are full of—not quotations—but *variations* on the literary and musical phrases which Ives found appropriate to his own compositions.

The "Other Writings" include "Some 'Quarter-tone' Impressions," the "Postface" to *114 Songs*, excerpts from a pamphlet on insurance, and a number of social and political writings that are clearly in the transcendentalist tradition. These last are here published for the first time. Their shrillness of tone may be partly a result of the nearly total lack of an audience; more probably it results from the difficulty of maintaining a transcendental optimism in the face of twentieth century political events.

CHADWICK HANSEN, *Pennsylvania State University*

DONALD DAVIDSON, *The Spyglass, Views and Reviews, 1924-1930*. Selected and edited by John Tyree Fain. xxii, 263 pp. Vanderbilt University Press, 1963. \$4.00.

FROM 1924 until 1930, Donald Davidson, poet and essayist of the Vanderbilt Agrarians, edited the weekly book page of the Nashville *Tennessean*. Professor Fain has selected some highly provocative book reviews and essays of literary criticism representing this perceptive Southerner's point of view toward life and literature of the 1920s. Individually, they increase our insight into the authors writing in that decade. Collectively, they bring a provincial judgment to bear on the "Jazz Age" that provides some balance to the predominant Northeastern and Midwestern interpretations of the era.

In the process of presenting an independent Southerner's studied analysis of American writing, Davidson's critiques demonstrate the art of criticism at a high level. They do what a review ought to do—to make a reader want to read a good book, even if the reviewer has criticized it in passing. Those who aspire to quality in this field might do well to examine this book.

Davidson's style has vigor and clarity. He presents his opinions with wit and forthrightness. His views are marked with a strong loyalty to the states of the former Confederacy, but they do not avoid the shortcomings of the section. This is a fine example of the Vanderbilt Agrarian position in the 1920s.

GERALD E. CRITOPH, *Stetson University*

CUSHING STROUT, *The American Image of the Old World*. xiv, 288 pp. Harper & Row, 1963. \$4.75.

ASSUMING correctly that Americans have usually defined themselves in relation to Europe, Strout has written a terse and often epigrammatic "narrative and critical history of the American image of Europe as it has shaped and expressed national policies and culture." Strout moves quickly through the first 150 years and into the "prudent isolationism" of the new nation. He shows how Europe has represented, at various times and to various people, wisdom, ignorance, art, nature, the past, the future, the enemy, the ally. Readers mainly political or sociological will welcome the critiques of Hawthorne, James, Hemingway, and the American artists who migrated in successive generations from London to Florence to Munich to Paris; readers mainly literary will probably prefer the complex analysis of the origins of American foreign policy in the twentieth century.

As he approaches the present, Strout broadens his focus from repre-

sentative men to classes and movements. The research is wide and occasionally thin. Every specialist will find his *Zankapfel*. Cooper, for instance, was not a "liberal democrat" and Irving may not fairly be called Astor's "glorifying publicist." But irate readers are likely to be won back by Strout's discussion of *Life's* wartime awe of the USSR, by his characterization of Gertrude Stein as "queen bee of the expatriate hive," or simply by the scope and clarity of his synthesis.

ALLEN GUTTMANN, *Amherst College*

WALT WHITMAN, *The Early Poems and Fiction*. Edited by Thomas L. Brasher. xxii, 352 pp. New York University Press, 1963. \$10.00.

WALT WHITMAN, *Prose Works 1892*, Volume I, *Specimen Days*. Edited by Floyd Stovall. xxiv, 358 pp. New York University Press, 1963. \$10.00.

WHITMAN's early poems and fiction, for years available only in scattered collections of his work, many of which are out of print, are here gathered in an organic and chronologically organized volume edited with professional competence by Thomas L. Brasher. While of interest primarily to the inquiring scholar, Whitman's early poems and fiction, with their vapid moralizing and sentimental didacticism, reveal much about trends in mid-nineteenth-century periodical and newspaper literature. Curiously enough, the twenty-one early poems, conventional in form and crudely amateurish, contain next to nothing to suggest a gradually emerging set of ideas or style that in any way forecasts *Leaves of Grass*.

Specimen Days is a completely admirable job of editing by Floyd Stovall, who has collated all the known versions of the sketches and recorded all variants from Whitman's own 1892 text. With some accuracy, Whitman called *Specimen Days* the "most wayward, spontaneous, fragmentary book ever printed." An uneven work, it has a short introductory section containing reminiscences of Whitman's youth, which, although disappointingly sketchy, is of interest in its memories of his family and of the New York scene. A second section contains notes and jottings descriptive of Whitman's war activities, which were originally written and published as newspaper dispatches. Terse and realistic, these sketches of battles and soldiers are the most significant part of *Specimen Days* and constitute a distinguished contribution to the writing about the Civil War. A third section consists of nature studies and thoughts on a variety of topics. Whitman's reflections on Carlyle, Emerson and Poe are memorable, and some of the nature studies are striking in their realism and lack of artificiality.

These volumes are the third and fourth to be issued in the projected fifteen-volume definitive edition of Whitman's collected writings, a most

important event in American literary scholarship. Serious students of American studies will find these volumes indispensable.

CLARENCE A. BROWN, *Marquette University*

Aspects of American Poetry: Essays Presented to Howard Mumford Jones.
Edited by Richard M. Ludwig. xii, 335 pp. Ohio State University Press,
1962. \$6.75.

THIS *Festschrift* for a great professor, whose pre-retirement career began at Texas in 1919 and ended at Harvard in 1962 and whose post-retirement teaching is still going strong, is restricted—unlike his own ubiquity—to a single field, but exhibits therein something of the diversity of approach in which he has always delighted. Edwin Fussell, G. Ferris Cronkhite and William Charvat illuminate basic terms in poetic theory stemming from Emerson and Poe. Perceptive readings of poems by Whitman, Frost, Sherwood Anderson, Hart Crane, Stevens and Tate appear, respectively, in essays by Marvin Felheim, Claude Simpson, Walter Rideout, Albert Van Nostrand, Richard Ellmann and Radcliffe Squires. Richard Ludwig on Pound's London years and Frederick P. W. McDowell on Auden's American phase add a touch of the Plutarchian method and the international theme. Wallace Douglas sheds new light on the old theme of the New Criticism's sociology. Thirty-three pages are devoted to Jones' bibliography from 1913 through December 1961—his twenty books, his pamphlets, editions, introductions, articles, addresses, poems, short stories, plays, translations, book reviews. From a versatile young academic man of letters he became a master of Comparative Literature and American Studies and one of our most challenging expositors of the educational values of the Humanities.

JOE LEE DAVIS, *University of Michigan*

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Beginning in 1964 a prize of \$100 will be given annually to the author of the article published each year in *American Quarterly* which best exemplifies its stated aim, "to aid in giving a sense of direction to studies in the culture of the United States, past and present." A committee of judges appointed by the President of the American Studies Association will determine the recipient of the award.



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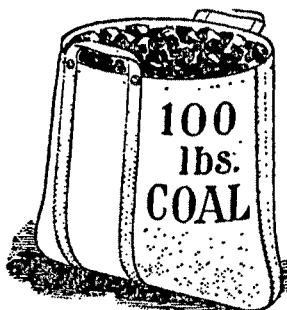
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American Calendar

Winter



1963

WHA. A joint session with the Western History Association at the Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City on Oct. 6 included a paper by W. N. Davis Jr., California State Archives, titled "Will the West Survive as a Field in American History?" and one by Watson Parker of Norman, Oklahoma, titled "The Great American Desert in Periodical Literature." J. Golden Taylor, Utah State University, presided at the meeting and Robert W. Johannsen, University of Illinois, was the commentator. . . . The next conference is scheduled for Oct. 29-31, 1964, at the Sheraton-Oklahoma Hotel in Oklahoma City. Membership in the Association, including subscription to the new quarterly *The American West*, may be had by remitting \$7.50 to the secretary, John Porter Bloom, 1501 Slade Court, Falls Church, Va.

• ROCKY MT. Under the chairmanship of Alexander Evanoff, University of New Mexico, the ASA section of the Rocky Mountain MLA

met Oct. 11-12 at the Albany Hotel in Denver for a program consisting of the following papers: "Ruth Suckow: A Reappraisal," by Leedice Kissane, Idaho State College; "Modern American Humor: The Janus Laugh," by Hamlin Hill, University of New Mexico; "Henry David Thoreau: Poet, Historian, Mythologist," by Francis D. Ross, University of Colorado; "W. J. Cash and the Legend of the Old South," by Jan Shipps, University of Colorado; "The Negative Values of Eliza Gant in *Look Homeward, Angel*," by Clayton L. Eichelberger, Arlington State College. Hamlin Hill was elected chairman and Francis D. Ross co-chairman of the section for 1964.

LOWER MISS. The ninth annual meeting of the Lower Mississippi chapter was held Oct. 11-12, on the campus of the University of Southwestern Louisiana with a program devoted to "The Humor of the Old Southwest." John Q. Anderson, from Texas A. & M. University,

gave a dinner address the opening night on "Scholarship in Southwestern Humor." The next day a program arranged by Lewis P. Simpson, LSU, included papers on "The Enduring Facets of Humor in the Old Southwest," by John K. Bettersworth, Mississippi State University; "The Political Ambivalence of the Southwestern Humorists," by William Havard, LSU; "In Search of George Washington Harris," by Milton Rickels, University of Southwestern Louisiana; "William Faulkner and Folk Humor," by Otis B. Wheeler, LSU. At the business meeting following, Darwin H. Shrell, LSU, was elected president; Robert B. Holland, Mississippi State University, was elected vice president; and John Pilkington Jr., University of Mississippi, was elected to succeed himself as secretary-treasurer.

CHESAPEAKE. The Fall meeting of the Chesapeake Chapter was held Oct. 13 at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., where National Park Service staff members conducted a tour of the restored area of the town. After luncheon at Hilltop House, members and their guests spent the remainder of the afternoon visiting the John Brown exhibit and points of interest in nearby Charles Town.

NEW YORK STATE. The Spring meeting of the New York State chapter, hitherto unreported, was held at Cooperstown April 20, with the New York State Historical Association as host. The afternoon session, held in the Hall of Life Masks

at Fenimore House, was devoted to the topic "American Studies Abroad." The situation in France was discussed by John Lydenberg, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, and Charles I. Sanford, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute; Austria by Edward Palmer, Syracuse University, and Melvin Bernstein, Alfred University; The Philippines by William Bert Fink, State University College at Oneonta; and Ceylon by James A. Frost, State University College at Oneonta. At the dinner meeting at Tunnicliff Inn, Louis C. Jones, director of the New York State Historical Association, spoke on "Museum Feet in Northern Europe". . . . The chapter's Fall meeting was held at the State University of New York at Buffalo on Oct. 19. An afternoon session considered the topic "The Artist in the Academic Community," with Christian P. Gruber, Harpur College, and Charles Dibble, Lowe Art Center, as speakers. An evening session devoted to "The Musician and the Academic Community" was moderated by Allan Sapp, State University at Buffalo, with panelists consisting of Joseph Henry, Utica College and conductor of the Utica Symphony Orchestra; David Diamond, State University at Buffalo; and a member of the Budapest Quartet. At the business meeting Miriam Small, Wells College, was elected president, and Eric Brunger, State University of New York at Buffalo, was returned as secretary-treasurer.

OHIO-IND. Oct. 26 was the date of the Ohio-Indiana Fall meeting at Saint Mary's College in Notre Dame, Ind. At the morning session two papers were read: "Hawthorne and Utopia: *The Blithedale Romance*," by Robert C. Elliott, Ohio State University; "Christopher A. Greene: Rhode Island Transcendentalist," by Leo Stoller, Wayne State University. At the luncheon meeting William Charvat spoke on "American Literature in Spain Today." Later in the afternoon David E. Smith, Indiana University, spoke on "The Impact of the Idea of the Imminent Millennium."

SO. CAL. Meeting at UCLA Nov. 16, the Southern California chapter presented a program consisting of papers by Charles Metzger, University of Southern California, on "American Letters in Brazil: A Glimpse of a Context," and by John Stafford, San Fernando State College, on "Kabuki and Cowboys: Japanese Culture and American Studies." In the afternoon session Leon Howard, UCLA, spoke on "Some Problems in the Exchange Program" and distributed questionnaires to collect information from those who have participated in educational exchange programs and may be available for overseas posts in the future.

ACLS. The ACLS has invited scholars to call to its attention the titles of books in the humanities and so-

cial sciences, written in languages not widely known in this country, that deserve to be published in translation. ACLS expects to sponsor such translations, and to arrange for their publication by other agencies. Titles proposed should be major works of scholarship in languages other than French, German, Spanish, Italian. Address suggestions to the Scholarly Translations Program, American Council of Learned Societies, 345 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017. Each nomination should include an analytical précis of the book and the name and address of at least one scholarly authority competent to evaluate the book's importance.

WEMYSS. To consolidate and expand its interests in American Studies the Wemyss Foundation has established an American Studies Research Program directed by Marshall Fishwick. Its advisory committee now consists of Ralph H. Gabriel, Francis Young, Robert E. Spiller, David Potter, Charles Montgomery, Bruce Dearing and Charles Boewe. The first of a series of monographs on theory and methodology has been published; titled *American Studies: Words or Things?* this 19-page pamphlet by John Kouwenhoven has been mailed to ASA members. A request to the Foundation at 200 West Ninth Street, Wilmington, Del. 19801, will bring a gratis copy of another recent publication, *American Studies and the University: Two Case Studies*.

FILM. Available to subscribers who have space or storage problems, *American Quarterly* can be obtained as a positive microfilm at the conclusion of each printed volume from University Microfilms, 313 North First Street, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.

STUDENTS. Do your students read *American Quarterly*? Student membership in ASA, now past the hundred mark, can be had by pre-doctoral students for \$3 a year. Student membership is valid only while the student is in academic residence, and the student's status must be certified by a professor directly concerned with his instruction. Cards making certification an easy matter will be supplied to faculty members who request them.

AWARDS. The Institute of Early American History and Culture has announced that one of its post-doctoral fellowships will be available beginning in the summer of 1964. The appointment is for a three-year term at a stipend beginning at \$5,900 a year. Preference will be given to a recent Ph.D. whose dissertation shows marked potential for publication. Inquiries should be addressed to the Director, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Box 220, Williamsburg, Va. 23185. . . . The John Carter Brown Library again offers a one-year graduate fellowship paying \$4,000 plus \$600 for each dependent to a pre-doctoral candidate whose dis-

sertation relates to the resources of the Library. It also offers one post-doctoral fellowship paying \$500 to \$600 a month for two or three months of research in the Library. Applications may be obtained from the Librarian, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence 12, R. I. . . . Feb. 15 is the deadline for Winterthur Fellowships offered in cooperation with the University of Delaware. A maximum of eight fellowships will be given, five of them carrying the stipend of \$2,500 a year for two years to enable the holder to pursue a two-year graduate course of study in early American arts and cultural history leading to the M.A. degree. Applications and further information from the Coordinator, Winterthur Program, University of Delaware, Newark, Del. . . . The University of Delaware, in cooperation with the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, will also award two or more Hagley Museum Fellowships for the academic year 1964-66. Carrying a stipend of \$2,000 a year and leading to the M.A. degree, these fellowships are of special interest to those wishing to study the development of American industry and technology. Applications must be submitted before Mar. 5 to the Chairman, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, Del. . . . The Haney Foundation, through the University of Pennsylvania, has announced three awards of \$5,000 each for distinguished manuscripts in the

humanities and social sciences for which the date of submission is Aug. 1, 1965. To receive further information submit a working title and summary of the contents of the proposed book to Merrill G. Berthrong, Secretary, Haney Foundation Series Committee, Charles Patterson Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. . . . The National Center for Education in Politics will award six to ten faculty fellowships to full-time faculty members in the social sciences or law. Fellows are assigned for one year as regular working members on top level staffs of governors, mayors, other appointed or elected executives, or with political interest groups. Stipends equal academic salaries plus cost of living and travel allowances. Additional information from the Director, National Center for Education in Politics, 46 Washington Mews, New York 3, N. Y. . . . Colonial Williamsburg will award six grants of \$300 each to doctoral candidates and post-doctoral researchers for original research on colonial history, a substantial portion of which deals with Virginia. Recipients are expected to spend a minimum of six weeks in Williamsburg or at other appropriate depositories. For further information address Edward M. Riley, Director of Research, Colonial Williamsburg, Williamsburg, Va.

GAFFELBITER. *Experiment in International Understanding*, an

85-page report of the Board of Foreign Scholarships on the U.S. educational exchange program, with special emphasis on the program in Italy, has been mailed by the Department of State to ASA members. Coming along soon will be copies of *American Studies Abroad*, Walter Johnson's special report to the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs. The three numbers of *American Studies News* so far issued, the international newsletter published by the Conference Board American Studies Committee, have also been mailed on ASA's address plates, and other issues are expected to follow. These are but three examples of incidental benefits of ASA membership, provided without cost to members. . . . The first number of the *Newsletter of Moravian Studies* appeared in September, 18 pages devoted to scholarship of the history, sociology, economics, musicology, liturgics, and theology of the Moravian Church. Planned for twice a year publication it will be sent gratis to anyone registering a request with the Harvey Memorial Library, Moravian College, Bethlehem, Pa. . . . The Norman Foerster Prize—to be awarded annually, beginning in December, 1964—will pay \$250 to the author of the best article appearing in *American Literature* during the calendar year. A committee appointed by the chairman of the American Literature Group of MLA will choose the winner. . . . The

National Trust for Historic Preservation, 815 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C., has announced a conference, Feb. 9-21, for associates of historical museums to discuss the problems of museum function and administration. A fee of \$85, plus \$10 registration, covers cost of tour transportation, room and meals. . . . The Center for American Studies of Arizona State University has offered its third annual lecture series, a Fall sequence of five lectures on the topic "Shaping the American Society," a Spring sequence of five lectures on the topic "To Form a More Perfect Union". . . . ASA member Richard Beale Davis, University of Tennessee, has been awarded the first \$1,000 manuscript prize of the American Association for State and Local History for his book, *Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia*, a volume planned for spring publication by the University of North Carolina Press. . . . ASA member Joseph Schiffman, Dickinson College, has been appointed director of the American Studies Research Center at Hyderabad, India. . . . ASA councilman Edwin H. Cady, Indiana University, represented the Association at the inauguration of William Edward Kerstetter as sixteenth president of De Pauw University on Oct. 12. . . . J. Potter, London School of Economics and Political

Science, is conducting a survey for the British Association for American Studies on the present status of teaching, publication and research in American Studies in the United Kingdom. It is expected that a report on the survey will be ready for the next BAAS conference, scheduled to be held at Keele in April. . . . This is the last Calendar which will appear over the subjoined initials. Despite the seeming omniscience which sometimes creeps into these columns, everything here has been supplied by somebody willing to take a few moments to provide the executive secretary with information that ought to be shared with other ASA members. Many readers have been kind enough to remark on the usefulness of the Calendar; none has yet suggested its abolition. Since a reporter is no better than his sources, readers can render a great service to ASA and a compliment to the new secretary by sending in full and accurate accounts of newsworthy events. For the writer of these columns during the past two years, ASA has been a continuous source of pleasant and rewarding human relationships, both through personal contact and by means of correspondence. He hopes that whatever good-will may have been his by virtue of the office will go by right of heritage to his successor.

C. B.

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